ELF IN EFL SOUTH KOREA:
GLOBALIZATION INTRODUCES LINGUICISTICALLY-CONVEYED ANGLOCENTRICITY TO THE LOCAL VERSION.
"HELLO—" "I AM FINE, AND YOU?"
FERMENTING SWEET WINE FROM SOUR GRAPES

by

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ABSTRACT (METHODOLOGY)

Chapter One introduces the motivations (M) for writing, empirical questions (E) advanced, and hypotheses (H) speculated for this dissertation. (M): my students would ask me, "What is " (Korean word) in English?" I knew not, which in combination with being offended by their direct Korean belittling, motivated me to learn Korean. Once I learned Korean, though, I noticed Koreans often wanted to speak in English; not Korean. This led me to ask: (E1): why do NESTs tend not to learn Korean? (E2): why were most of my friends NESTs? (E3): why were some groups of Koreans proficient in English, while others were not, and what types of groups were these? (E4): why did I get paid so much to teach English conversation classes?

Chapter Two examines CALP and FUNP on English, the global lingua franca. Concepts that are referred to are Crystal's (2003) *linguistic principles* of English-presupposed additive bilingualism, and CALP's ethical purpose, for which the author proposes his own ethical criterion, Phillipson's (1992) *Linguistic Imperialism*, and *hegemony*. Significant findings in Chapter Two are that CALP's LI theoretical framework and FUNP discourse may both seem overgeneralized, overcontextualized, and undertheorized because they do not examine EFL contexts critically.

In an attempt to supplement both perspectives, **Chapter Three** examines one such EFL context: South Korea, and local linguists' representations of ELF. Significant findings in this chapter include: (1) hegemony may have originated in the Centre, but with the advent of globalization English has been appropriated in order to pursue individual and national aggrandizement. This has resulted in (2): perpetuating indigenous Korean hegemony, which manifests the English divide, in which poorer socioeconomic classes tend to learn English less effectively than wealthier ones. Because acquiring authentic English as well as authentic Korean is presupposed in achieving societal success, this has serious ethical implications. (3): Ineffective NESTs have also been appropriated to teach ELT, which may have a conjunctional Anglocentrism/Koreacentrism basis.

Chapter Four proposes that (4): although it has not been proposed antecedently, diglossia may apply to South Korea. This diglossia's functional tendency is for Koreans to speak to NESTs in English, *diglossia's H variety*, but to each other in Korean, the *L variety*, which

constitutes (5): *ELH linguicism*. However *Anglocentricity* and *Koreacentricity* are conducive to this diglossia. (6): Because NESTs cannot achieve *social independence*, nor *bilingual* Korean/English *identities*, they are disempowered, and may consequently teach ELT *monolingually*; less effectively, which perpetuates the two complementary forms of proposed *linguicism: (Koreacentric) ELH*, and *(Anglocentric) ELI*. Finally Chapter Four demonstrates how *bilingual approaches* may more effectively enable teachers and students to achieve *Vygotskian Psycholinguistics'* concept of *scaffolding* in the *Zone of Proximal Development*, thus suggesting that NESTs should learn Korean, and Koreans should help NESTs do this in order to aggrandize everyone, and in the process realize the *ethical criterion*.

Chapter Five concludes that both forms of linguicism are veritable, and that they have not been previously described because Korean linguists are unaware due to their racial-Koreanness. Concomitantly, NEST linguists are unaware because, either (a): they have not examined South Korea in detail, or (b): they cannot speak Korean, so they are dependent on English translators in Korean society, and thus are oblivious to the English-conveyed ELH linguicism. Then Chapter Five evaluates linguicism's guilty agents' degree of consciousness and appropriate punishment, concluding that because hegemony may be unconscious, the animate agents of linguicism may be indeterminable, and thus no real punishment can be administered unproblematically. Instead, NESTs and Koreans should respond by pursuing Crystal's (2003) (FUNP) linguistic principles and Skutnabb-Kangas's (1998) linguistic human rights of realizing widespread advanced level bilingualism, which inevitably presupposes English as one of the two languages.

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Finally, humbly, I would like to remind all linguists, NNESTs, NESTs, and perfect multilingual teachers, alike: together let us pursue FUNP's principles of enabling *everyone* to become at least bilingual, thus reifying and realizing CALP's principles in the process, and uniting the two perspectives. Represent!

CONTENTS

TABLES

ACRONYMS

NEST	Native-English-Speaking Teacher	**1**
ESL	English-as-a-Second-Language-Learning Context	**3**
EFL	English-as-a-Foreign-Language-Learning Context	**3**
ELF	English-as-the-global-*lingua franca*	**3**
AL	Applied Linguistics	**4**
FUNP	The Functionalist Perspective on English as the Global *Lingua Franca*	**4**
CALP	The Critical Applied Linguistics Perspective on English as the Global *Lingua Franca*	**4**
EGL	English as a Global Language (Crystal, 1997, 2003)	**5**
L1	Mother Tongue, or Native Language	**6**
L2	Second, or Non-native Language	**6**
LI	Linguistic Imperialism (Phillipson, 1992)	**11**
ELT	English-Language Teaching	**11**
ELI	English-Linguistic Imperialism (Anglocentric linguicism)	**12**
CDA	Critical-Discourse Analysis	**14**
ELH	English Linguistic Hegemony (Koreacentric linguicism)	**13**
SK	South Korea	**18**
MoE	(South Korea's) Ministry of Education	**22**
SNU	Seoul National University	**23**
ED	The English Divide	**26**
EO	English-Only (Teaching Approach)	**26**
SFG	Systemic-Functional Grammar	**27**
SKY	*Seoul National*, *Korea*, and *Yonsei* (Elite Universities)	**30**
EPIK	English Programme in South Korea	**33**
T4/T1/TT2	Tenet Four/ Tenet One/ Tenet Two	**34**
E2	Commonest NEST-Teaching Visa in South Korea	**34**
KEST	Korean-English-Speaking (Bilingual) Teacher	**34**
EOL	English as an Official Language	**38**

H	*High* Language Variety in a diglossia	**40**
L	Low Language Variety in a Diglossia	**40**
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CELS	Center for English Language Studies (at the University of Birmingham)	**42**
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages	**53**
BA	Bilingual (Teaching) Approaches	**53**
NNEST	Non-Native-English-Speaking Teacher	**54**
AA	Affirmative Action	**54**
SLA	Second-Language Acquisition	**56**
ZPD	The Zone of Proximal Development **(**Vygotskian Psycholinguistics)	**57**

EPIGRAPH

Panopticon…Several billion… Shackled in a lexicon…

Chinese, Japanese,Arabic, Korean,

Swedish, German, Spanish,

but the Queen's… English!

(From *Rockdown*; Boludisimo., 2012).

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Dissertation Motivation

Like many *NESTs*[1] (cf. Medgyes, 1992: 344) in South Korea, I arrived on the have-your-cake-and-eat-it-too Express: experience Asia, *and* get rich doing in the process! The first year, 2005, a student asked, "Teacher, how say '부담스러운, 거지 원숭이?'" How was I to know this meant *unrequiting, mendicant simian*? Nonetheless, not knowing simpler words, like *hwŏ-jŏng-shēl* (화장실: *bathroom*), or *dōng-chēm* (똥침: *goose*), soon grew unspeakably embarrassing. "*You* must learn English—not *I*, Korean." Little did I fathom, such exchanges would form the seeds and roots of my bilingual teaching approach! I learned most of my basic Korean trying to answer students' semantics questions directly. (Also, they would mock me to my face in Korean because they knew I did not comprehend. This vexed me unendingly.)

Three years later when my Korean had begun to improve, I began noticing many Koreans would imply, "Don't speak Korean: I speak English!" Meanwhile devouring critical theory at Birmingham, I soon realized my irritation had a theoretical basis: English meant power, and I meant English. Conversely, I wanted Korean. But why speak Korean, and only switch into English when *Parker* materialized (ch. 3-4[2])?

1.2 Empirical Questions

First, reiterate the antecedent question, for which the second may partially account: why did almost none of my friends *bother* learning Korean (ch. 4)? Incidentally, *why* were they predominantly NESTs (ch. 4)? Third, *what* was to account for most Koreans' poor or nonexistent English (ch. 3)? Fourth, how was it so when they studied exceedingly (ch. 3)? Fifth, hey—*why should* they learn: was this obligation *okay* (ch. 2-3)? Nobody in my *alma mater* learned *Korean*. Sixth, how could they (seemingly all) pay me so much merely to have a conversation (ch. 3)? And finally, how could I help them learn better, cheaper (ch. 4)?

[1] *NEST* subsequently refers to any *inner-circle-country, native/L1-speaking EFL teacher* (cf. table 2.1).
[2] In chapter one references like *(Ch. 3,4)* mean the antecedent question or hypothesis is addressed in that chapter.

1.3 Hypotheses

First, maybe NESTs tend not to learn Korean because they primarily only speak English in, and outside class (ch. 4). Furthermore, they must realize how difficult Korean is: a *superhard language* (cf. 3.4.1.3) to learn, and yet it is largely spoken in but two countries. So perhaps they fear Korean impracticable outside the peninsula. Or, they may feel toting only English, one can circumvent Earth satisfactorily (ch. 2). Or, they may feel Koreans exploit them to access English, have a strange, foreign culture, and consequently look to fellow NESTs for camaraderie (ch. 4).

Second, maybe many Koreans know—not *know*—but if they learn so—*suppose*, without direct confirmation, that NESTs cannot speak Korean (ch. 4). Third, maybe Koreans assume they have no English-acquisition access, that they must pay NESTs to practice. However, my students from *Kŏng-nŏm* (강남) tend to speak better English than those from *Kŏng-bo͞o͞k*[3]. So, the dynamics also appear to comprise a class-access correlation (ch. 3).

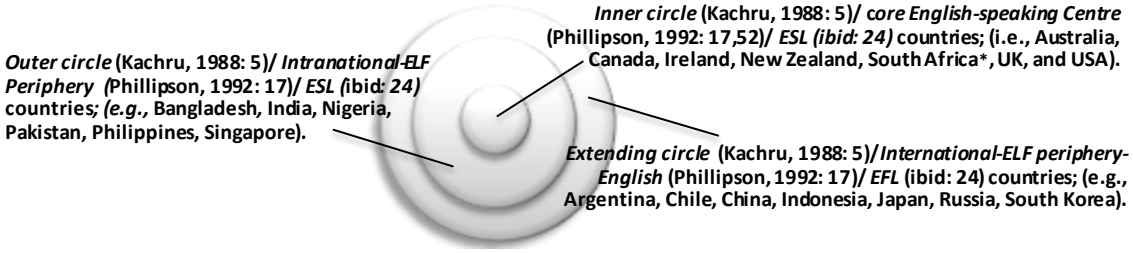
Finally, certainly Koreans should not *have to* learn English, but apparently, corollary to the veritable process and discursive representations of *globalization* (ch. 3), they *must*: this may not be fair; if not, *someone* must be at fault (ch. 2-3). So, judging from the variables, if all Koreans could reify more than just NEST-conversation classes as legitimate acquisition environments, perhaps everyone could access the power of the global *lingua franca*. And if more NESTs would learn Korean, they might better teach—not only English—but Koreans, themselves, that we respect their exquisite language and culture, and *deserve* reciprocity (ch. 4-5).

[3] *Kŏng-nŏm* (강남), *South of the Han River*, tends to have wealthier students and better schools than *Kŏng-bo͞o͞k* (강북), *North of the Hŏn River* (cf. Shin, H., 2010: 7, 64, 65, 73; Korean Pronunciation System: appendix two).

CHAPTER TWO: THE GLOBAL CONTEXT: THE RELEVANT PRINCIPLES FROM THE FUNCTIONALIST AND CRITICAL APPLIED LINGUISTICS PERSPECTIVES ON ENGLISH AS THE GLOBAL LINGUA FRANCA

While approximately one quarter of the world's people have "…a useful level in English" (Crystal, 2003: 69), linguists and *English as a second language*[4] and *English as a foreign language* (subsequently *ESL* and *EFL*) learners increasingly consider English the *global lingua franca* (henceforth *ELF*). Together with their other relevant epithets, these learning contexts are construed in the following chart:

Table 2.1: English as the global *lingua franca's* three concentric circles



(Chart compiled according to Kachru, 1988: 5; Phillipson, 1992: 17, 24, 52).

Thus, it is *where* it is used—not *how many* people speak it— that earns English the epithet *global*: *ESL Periphery* contexts are those where English has *official status*. In these largely *post-colonial* (Canagarajah, 1999: 4) contexts, English is used "…as a medium of communication in such domains as government, the law courts, the media, and the educational system" (Crystal, 2003: 4). *EFL Periphery*, on the other hand, refers to non-post-colonial contexts where English has no official status, but does play a significant role in private and public education systems (Crystal, 2003: 4-5, Phillipson, 1992: 24). Examining ELF's implications has become a significant discourse in *Applied Linguistics* (*AL*), which is defined as "…the study of second and foreign language learning and teaching… in relation to practical problems…" (Richards et al., 1985: 15). As it gains importance in EFL and ESL contexts, *English* becomes increasingly substitutable for

[4] Italics introduce metalinguistic/conceptual terminology and succinct phrasal quotations. Less frequently they provide intonational emphasis.
* South Africa, while not originally *inner circle*, is included here because South Africans can legally teach as native speakers in South Korea.

language in the previous definition. And such *practical problems* have come to include ELF's ethical and political implications, which are addressed now.

2.1: The functionalist perspective on English as the global *lingua franca*

Evaluating ELF's development, some linguists (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Crystal, 2003; Kachru, 1986, 1988; Widdowson, 1997) take a *functionalist perspective*[5] (Crystal, 2003: 24; Pennycook, 1995: 79), regarding English as "…a valuable instrument enabling people to achieve particular goals", particularly achieving a global political and economic presence (Crystal, 2003: 24). Thus, active-ELF promotion is a corollary. However, and contrary to various *critical*[6] representations of *FUNP* (2.1.1), functionalists *do* recognize certain negative ELF features: Crystal (2003) acknowledges the "…legacy of colonialism, as matter of historical fact…" (24). Brutt-Griffler (2002) affirms *imperialism* "…facilitated the development of [ELF]…" (111; cf. Kachru, 1986: 20). And Widdowson (1997) briefly admits as a *substantial argument*, ELF "…leads to the privileging of certain groups of people and the neglect of others (144). However, functionalists generally devote more attention to ELF's positive aspects, regarding English as "…playing a central role in empowering the subjugated and marginalized, and eroding the division between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'" (Crystal, 2003: 24). While historically it was the elite classes who used English, Brutt-Griffler (2002) shakily maintains that its two billion users indicate ELF "…is no longer a language for exclusive use of the elite" (120-121, 125; cf. Kachru, 1988: 8). Yes, there are *risks* associated with ELF: (1): "…the disastrous effects of globalization on global diversity" (Crystal, 2003: 25), (2): the cultivation of a *complacent elite monolingual linguistic class* (ibid: 14-19), (3): unequal class access to English education (ibid: 17; Brutt-Griffler, 2002: 120; Kachru, 1986: 13-15), and (4): *linguistic death* (Crystal, 2003: 20). However, if bilingualism is actively pursued, as ELF users proliferated, English will become "…an immensely democratising institution" (ibid: 172). The following section examines FUNP's EFL-context-relevant bilingualism principles.

[5] The *functionalist perspective* is subsequently referred to as *FUNP*, and its adherents are *functionalists*.
[6] Counterpoising the *functionalist perspective* is the *critical applied linguistics (CAL) perspective*, which is subsequently referred to as *CALP*.

2.1.1 Those English-as-a-foreign-language-learning context-relevant functionalist perspective principles

While Crystal (2003), Brutt-Griffler (2002), and Kachru's (1986, 1988) ELF descriptions refer mainly to *Periphery*-ESL contexts (table 2.1), their theory is ethically, politically, and pedagogically relevant to EFL contexts. CALP's (2.1.1, 2.2) Pennycook (1995) claims that FUNP "…suggests… English is unconnected to cultural and political issues…" (79).This criticism is echoed in Phillipson's (1999) attack on Crystal (1997, (2003): his "…wish to be apolitical involves political choices…" (Phillipson, 1999: 266), but without a theoretical basis in the social sciences, Crystal fails to explore ELF's connection to "…colonialism, globalization, [and] cultural hegemony…" (ibid). However, Crystal (2000) retorts, Phillipson's "…political views have led him to misrepresent *EGL* [Crystal's (1997, 2003) *English as a Global language]"* (417). Indeed, Crystal explicitly states in *EGL* (2003), "The geographic extent to which a lingua franca can be used is entirely governed by *political* factors" (11; emphasis). Actually, the ambiguous term *political* is significant to both perspectives: Crystal's usage refers to "…a general concern for the state and its citizens…" (Crystal, 2000: 417). For CALP, *politics* refers to "…workings of power…"— in fact, the "… notion of power…" is "…the central concern…" in CALP's "…notion of politics" (Pennycook, 2001: 27). The present analysis will incorporate both senses of *political*. And, illustrating its pertinence to linguistics, *language*, "…the commonest form of social behavior…" (Fairclough, 1989: 2), conveys *ideology*, "…the prime means for manufacturing consent" (ibid: 4). Fairclough implicitly invokes Gramsci's (1971) concept of *hegemony*: exercising *power* through *consent* rather than through resorting to "…physical force…" (Fairclough, 1989: 3, cf. 33). In this analysis *hegemony* and *ideology* figure significantly in examining the political power to which ELF either provides—or withholds—access, and are revisited (2.4). Returning now to Crystal, his ELF-related linguistic (political) principles are now addressed.

2.1.2 The political and ethical implications of Crystal's linguistic principles

Crystal (2003) explicitly states two such principles: (1): to foster conditions in which "…everyone would be at least bi-lingual", which presupposes (2): one of the two languages be

English (xiii-xiv). If so, our "…linguistic heritage can be preserved", but simultaneously everyone can exploit the "…possibilities for mutual understanding…" and "…opportunities for international cooperation…" that ELF entails (ibid). Crystal intends for everyone to "…progress towards the kind of peaceful and tolerant society which most people dream about" (ibid). Accordingly, Crystal apparently shares CALP's *ethical vision*, in which people might achieve equal access to linguistically-represented knowledge (power) (Pennycook, 2001: 43). Why, then, is Crystal not considered a CALP proponent? Certain FUNP logical incongruities suggest a lack of circumspection, and could render unconditional support of ELF untenable.

2.1.3 Is language intrinsically a *democratising* institution?

Crystal's (2003) principles are self-admittedly *idealistic* (xiii), but he insists they are realizable if two conditions are met: (1): if ELF "…is taught early enough…" and (2): "…if it is maintained continuously and resourced well…", the resulting bilingualism will provide equal access to ELF's benefits (16). Crystal admits these *ifs* are *enormous* because of "…costly financial implications…" (ibid: 17) and an often historically nonexistent "…climate of cooperation…" (ibid: 127). Admittedly, bilingualism "…is currently achieved by only a minority of non-native learners…" (ibid: 17). Acknowledging the difficulty of realizing global *additive bilingualism* (cf. Gardner, 1988: 139; Lambert, 1973: 9-10, 25), and having already estimated only 25% of people are English-competent (Crystal, 2003: 69), it seems premature to conclude language "…*is* an immensely democratising institution" (ibid: 172; emphasis; implications in 3.4.1.3). *Could become* would be more accurate modally. Another obstacle for the bilingualism principle is *L1*[7] English speakers' increasing monolingualism.

2.1.4 Additive bilingualism for *all* of the world's people?

Crystal (2003) also lists *increased L1-English-speaker monolingualism* as an ELF-related danger: "[c]lear signs of linguistic complacency…" are reflected "…in the archetypal British or American tourist who travels the world assuming everyone speaks English…", which "… might

[7] L1 refers to *mother tongue*, or *native language. L2* refers to *second,* or *non-native language.*

well be fostered by the increasing presence of [ELF]…" (17-19). Here Crystal mentions *tourists*—but what about the more permanent, thus pertinent, English teachers? Particularly in highly monolingual EFL contexts, widespread additive bilingualism implies not only L2 English speakers learn English, but that *NESTs* learn their students' L1s. "Local languages continue to perform an important set of functions (chiefly, the expression of local identity)…" (Crystal, 2003: 24). Accordingly, as "…a well-resourced regional language…" both provides "…access to a local community" (ibid: 22) and fulfills "…the need for national or cultural identity…" (ibid: 24), monolingual NESTs in EFL contexts may face serious social disempowerment (cf. ch. 4). In fact, what linguistic interaction does not occur in a local context? Despite acknowledging the L1-English speaker pattern of, as Phillipson (1992) refers to it, "… increasing monolingualism" (17), Crystal (2003) concludes local languages and ELF are complementary. "It is perfectly possible to develop a situation in which intelligibility and identity happily co-exist. This situation is the familiar one of bilingualism…" (22), which "…both enable[s] people 'to have their cake [ELF-provided global mutual intelligibility] and eat it' [local language-provided local identity]" (Crystal, 2003: 127). However, for those not speaking the local language, there can be no *eating of cake*, which, because it is an essential FUNP principle, is problematic. Such inconsistencies may exacerbate FUNP's untenability.

Finally, functionalists attempting to account for the spread of *global* (Crystal, 2003) or *World English* (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Kachru, 1986, 1988) address primarily ESL contexts, consequently largely disregarding the peripheral, yet highly relevant EFL contexts. Hence, this may define Pennycook's (2001) allusive assertion, "One of the shortcomings of work in applied linguistics generally has been a tendency to operate with… decontextualised contexts", which results from "…an overlocalized and undertheorized view of social relations" (5). At this point, attempting to supplement shortcomings stemming from such *overlocalization*, those relevant counterpoised CALP features are collated.

2.2 The critical applied linguistics perspective on English as the global *lingua franca*

Pennycook (2001) attempts to "…present an overview of…", and to *critique* (xiv) CAL. He distinguishes it as "…an approach to language-related questions…" that views "…social

relations as problematic": a fundamental CALP tenet is that "… language perpetuates inequitable social relations" (ibid: 6; cf. Canagarajah, 1999: 41; Fairclough, 1989: 5-8; Phillipson, 1992: 47). To adequately address social "…inequality, injustice, rights, and wrongs" (Pennycook, 2001: 6), CAL must "… engage with questions of morals and ethics" (ibid: 65). Hence, as the ambiguous *ethicality* largely motivated the present examination (1.1), here, defined according to the following denotations, is a methodologically elemental *ethical criterion*:

Table 2.2: The *ethical criterion*; (defined according to English denotations)

Relevant terms	Relevant etymology/ denotations	Source
ethic	"1. A principle of *right* or good behavior"	(Soukhanov et al, 1988: 445).
right	"1. Conforming with or conformable to law, *justice*, or morality"	(ibid: 1011).
justice	"1. The principle or ideal of moral rightness: *EQUITY*"	(ibid: 660).
equity	[etymology] "… < Lat. *aequitas* < *aequus*, *even*, fair"	(ibid: 440).
even	"5. *Equally* matched or balanced. 6. *Equal* or identical in degree, extent, or amount"	(ibid: 448).
equal	"2. Being the *same* or identical to in value. 3. a. Having the *same* rights, privileges, or status b. Being the same for all members of a group"	(ibid: 439; emphasis).

As all language is ideologically determined by social convention (Fairclough, 1989: 23, 32), *my* ethical criterion's ideological purpose is three-fold: (1) to remind people we all belong to the same species (*Homosapiens)* in order to: (2) diminish social discrimination between races and classes, and: (3) establish equal access to material wealth and spiritual happiness for everyone. Applying this criterion within a CAL theoretical framework, the overarching purpose is to use language to expose, critique, and ultimately eradicate language-related social injustice; to pursue, as Pennycook (2001) describes it, "… the possibility of change" (7; cf. Canagarajah, 1999; Fairclough, 1989: 4-5; Phillipson, 1992: 319). Applying these principles, ELF is critically reexamined.

2.3 The nature of volition in learners' pursuit of English

Brutt-Griffler (2002) accuses (CALP's) Phillipson (1992), with whom she classes Canagarajah (1999) and Pennycook (1994) as *Linguistic Imperialism* (2.5) adherents (7), of disregarding *Periphery* (table 2.1) learners' roles "…as active agents in the process of creation of [ELF]" (ibid: 107). Such a biased interpretation, she continues, "… contributes to the writing of an imperial

narrative of English spread" (ibid). Actually, she explains, English provided "… access to non-industrial education…" and "… a conscious strategy to resist colonial rule…" (ibid: 73). This is a legitimate point. Nonetheless, as suggested previously (2.1.4), such an argument may be anachronous, ironically disregarding current EFL contexts. My students are ambivalent about ELF: on one hand *the possibility of social mobility* is motivating, but on the other, *having to learn English to succeed socially* is frustrating (cf. 3.3-3.4.1.3). Such discordant reactions to learning English analogously represent the dichotomy [*choice/agency* versus *compellation/hegemony*], which introduces the next section, a disambiguation of *hegemony*, a prominent CALP (Canagarajah, 1999; Fairclough, 1989; Pennycook, 1998; Phillipson, 1992), and to a lesser extent, FUNP (Crystal, 2003; Brutt-Griffler, 2002) concept.

2.4 Hegemony

When asked why they study English, my students' answers tend toward one of two basic modalities: (1) "I *want to* to succeed", or (2): "I *have to* to succeed" (cf. table 4.6, 4.8). (*1*) embodies FUNP's tenet in which individuals are autonomous agents: they are free—in fact privileged—to choose the aggrandizing English. (*2*) reflects CALP's concern that this "…view of individual agency and choice fails to account for social, cultural, political, and economic forces that…produce such choices" (Pennycook, 2001: 57). These *forces/choices* allude to *hegemony*, "… a significant construct in critical social theory… building particularly on the ideas of Gramsci (1971)" (Phillipson, 1992: 72). Gramsci (1971) defines *hegemony's* two "… organizational and connective… subaltern [societal] functions…" (145), which are construed here:

Table 2.3: Gramsci's (1970) subaltern functions of hegemony

function	essence	description
(1)	Non-coercive consent	"The "spontaneous" consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group…"
(2)	coercive reinforcement	"The apparatus of state coercive power which "legally" enforces discipline on those groups who do not "consent" either actively or passively"

(Excerpted from Gramsci (1970: 145).

Risking grammatical fastidiousness, because their elliptic verb processes are *relational identifying* rather than *verbal* (Butt et al., 2000: 51), these *functions* seem more like *characteristics* of *functional hegemony*. Gramsci (1971) never explicitly defines *hegemony* in the often, according to its editors, "…fragmentary and elliptical…" (625) 800-plus-paged *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, which may contribute to ambiguous interpretations of the concept. For example, Fairclough (1989), who *draws upon* Gramsci (1971) in his "…interpretation of class and power…" (Fairclough, 1989: 42), seems to allude to *hegemony* when he maintains, "The state includes repressive forces which can be used to coerce if necessary, but any ruling class finds it less costly and less risky to rule if possible by *consent*" (ibid: 33-34; emphasis). This assertion is lucid enough, but the hegemonic agent, the *capitalist class* (ibid: 40) is tacitly deliberate—implicitly pre-meditative. This sense increases with the capitalist class's *hidden agenda* (40), *power to disguise power* (52), *keeping the power… hidden* (54), and *inculcation* (ibid: 75). (Ironically applying Fairclough's theory to Fairclough, these are all *presuppositions* featuring *relational modality* that reinforces authors' ideologies (ibid: 126-127, 152). This tendency to represent hegemonic agents as conscious is also implicit in Gramsci's (1971) description of the *élite's* hegemonic purpose: "…an *élite* amongst them must have the capacity to be an organiser of society in general… because of the need to create the conditions most favourable to the expansion of their own class…" (135). Such implicitness causes ambiguity, which can lead to misinterpretation, and may contribute to the CALP-FUNP rift (cf. 2.5.5, 3.4.1.1). Here, therefore, intending explicitness, *hegemony*, "The influence of one *state* over others" (Soukhanov et al, 1988: 572; my emphasis)—incorporates Gramsci's (1971) and Faircloughian (1989) *functions* (*characteristics),* as well. Intra-nationally, then, *hegemony* is an intrinsic, unequal power relationship between social classes, in which dominant classes may redirect internationally-originat*ed* exploitation onto their lower classes. In perpetuating this relation, *consent*, rather than *coercion,* "…presupposes that account be taken of the interests…of the groups over which hegemony is to be exercised, and that a certain compromise equilibrium should be formed…" (Gramsci, 1971: 373; cf. Phillipson, 1992: 74). And most significantly, as Phillipson (1992) admits, the dominant group is not necessarily malevolent: there may not be "…an elite group of managers… plotting ways to "do in" their workers…" (72). Thus, "Hegemony does not imply a conspiracy theory, but a competing and complementary set of values and practices, with those in power better able to legitimate themselves and to convert their

ideas into material power" (ibid: 74). Nevertheless, I argue, this violates the *ethical criterion* (2.2) because the upper classes tend to have an unfair advantage, or a head start, as it were. As Friedman advances (2009), invoking Bourdieu & Passeron (1990), elites are socialized into the educational-system-institutionalized societal norms "…before they ever set foot in school…" (Friedman, 2009: 361). Consequently, "…people *misrecognize* educational success as merit, not privilege" (ibid). This introduces the concept *linguistic imperialism (LI)*, within which *hegemony*, itself, looms influentially. And because he is considered an LI authority by CALP (Pennycook, 2001: 60-63; 1995: 82-84; Canagarajah, 1999: 40-41) and FUNP (Crystal, 2003: 23-24; Brutt-Griffler, 2002: 6-7; Widdowson, 1997: 136; Davies, 1996), (for better or worse), the next section presents a critical examination of Phillipson's (1992) conceptual framework.

2.5 Relevant features of Phillipson's *LI* theoretical framework

Section 2.5.1 examines relevant, albeit problematic, features of Phillipson's (1992) *LI* theoretical framework. These comprise Phillipson's representations of Centre *ELT*[8] organizations' *participant agency* and *intention/consciousness* in the spread of ELF. But first, several of Phillipson's stated purposes are given.

2.5.1 Phillipson's motivation and purposes in writing *Linguistic Imperialism*

The following table conveys Phillipson's main purposes with *LI*:

[8] *ELT* subsequently refers to *English language teaching*.

Table 2.4: Phillipson's basic motivating factors and purposes with *Linguistic Imperialism* (1992)

Motivating factor	Immediate purpose	Overarching purpose
"…language pedagogy… has been isolated from the social sciences for too long…" (2).	To examine which ELF-related "…ethical issues are raised by the ELT profession…" (2).	To situate social scientists with linguists under "…a macro-societal theoretical perspective" (2).
AL has failed to adequately "…explore why English has become the dominant international language…" (4).		To contribute to "… 'rational, scientifically-based discourse' on the issues [of ELT-related imperialism/hegemony]…" (75)
"…language pedagogy has contributed to [ELF's] hegemony" (4).		To make "…those who react defensively or have an alternative view of ELT and imperialism…make their value judgments explicit…" (75).
ELT-related linguicist ideology "…legitimates an unequal division of power and resources" (318) between *Centre* (particularly the U.S. and Britain) and *Periphery-ESL* countries (ibid: 52; cf. table 2.1).		To enable ELT to "…contribute constructively to greater linguistic and social equality…" (ibid: 319).

Excerpted from Phillipson, (1992).

In pursuing these ambitious purposes, Phillipson himself foresees "... the inherent difficulty of probing into such a complex set of problems" (Phillipson, 1992: 2). This difficulty may inadvertently manifest itself as a *participant agency* problem in the *textual representations* (Fairclough, 1989: 120-125) of Phillipson.

2.5.2: Introducing *Linguistic Imperialism* and its participant-agency-related problems, and consequently proposing a complementary counterpart to Centre-originated *ELI*: *ELH*

To achieve his purposes Phillipson adopts as a primary source Galtung's (1980) *imperialism theory*, in which the *Centre* exploits and dominates the *Periphery* (table 2.1) imperialistically (Phillipson, 1992: 51-52). There are six complementary subtypes of imperialism: *communicative, cultural, economic, military, political, and social* (ibid: 52). Phillipson's adapts the Galtung model by coining *linguistic imperialism* (*LI*), a version highlighting *language* as the transmitter of each subtype's norms and behavior (ibid: 53-54). LI is epitomized by *English linguistic imperialism* (*ELI*) (ibid: 47), which is "…one sub-type of *linguicism*" (ibid: 55), the *central notion* in *LI*'s analytical framework (Canagarajah, 1999: 41). *Linguicism* is defined as the "…ideologies, structures, and practices…used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power…between groups…defined on the basis of language'…" (Phillipson,

1992: 47). Adapting this definition, if (1): *English* is substituted for *language*, and (2): the presupposition *linguicism constitutes LI if its effecting actors* "…are supported by an imperialist structure of exploitation of one society or collectivity by another…" is added, *ELI* becomes redefined (ibid: 55). (Phillipson explicitly defines *ELI* (ibid: 47), but, similar to Gramsci's (1971) *hegemonic functions* (2.4), *ELI* resembles a characteristic, rather than a characterization (i.e., definition.) ELI's counterpart, *English linguistic hegemony* (*ELH*), is subsequently introduced to distinguish Periphery-originat*ed*[9]-English-related hegemony from the Centre-originating version, (*ELI*) (cf. 2.5.3, ch. 3).

In adopting Galtung's imperialism model, a subtle—yet significant semantic issue arises. Brutt-Griffler (2002) criticizes Phillipson's designation of *Centre-Periphery* English language influence as *imperialism* (28). Here, too, though arrived at from a different premise, the usage seems inaccurate. According to Phillipson (1992), in the early *colonial phase of imperialism*, the Centre élites in the Periphery, "…linked by shared interests within each type of imperialism…", "…consisted of the colonizers, themselves…" (52). But in "…present-day neo-colonialism, the [Periphery] élites are to a large extent indigenous…" (ibid). But by definition, *imperialism* is "… the establishment of economic and political hegemony over *other nations*" (Soukhanov et al, 1988: 613; my emphasis). Accordingly, as indigenous Periphery élites implicitly exploit the Periphery, the criterion that would constitute *imperialism* is not met. *Hegemony* (cf. 2.4) seems more exact. While this criticism may appear pedantic, it garners significance considering *imperialism* is not merely a recurring theme, but the book's veritable title (*LI*) and participant-agency-theoretical basis. Holborow (1999) likewise criticizes Phillipson's agency representation, arguing "…local ruling classes come to articulate ideologies that operate in their own interests, and are not just the ventriloquists' dummies of their Western masters" (78; cited in Corcoran, 2009: 10). As subsequently reflected in local descriptions of participant agency in SK's ELF-related hegemony (chapter three), Periphery agents may represent more authority than in Phillipson's account. This is ironically reminiscent of CALP's criticism of FUNP for being *overlocalized and undertheorized* (section 2.1.4; implications readdressed in 2.5.5). But now, another *LI* agency-related problem is examined.

[9] The *ed* on *originated* is intentionally italicized to emphasize that, although imperialistic hegemony *originated* in the Centre, because it exacerbates Periphery-intrinsic hegemony, is technically Periphery-originating.

2.5.3 Abstraction in Phillipson's representations of participant identities: who exactly is the agent of linguistic imperialism?

Expanding upon the previous section, *CDA*[10] is applied to show how, using *tropes* like *metonymy* and *personification* (cf. Murfin & Ray, 2003: 264, 339, 490), Phillipson (1992) represents LI's animate human *agents* as the inanimate, homogenized *Centre/ Centre countries.* They have a unilaterally imperialistic relationship with the likewise figuratively represented *Periphery*:

Table 2.5: Metonymy personifies abstract nouns, realizing abstract entities as agents

Examples in which metonymy enables inanimate, abstract nouns to replace animate, human agents through a process of personification.	Page number
"…perpetuating North-South [Centre-Periphery] inequalities and exploitation"	(1).
"…if Third World peoples do not voluntarily accept American hegemony, the imperial power might have recourse to force…"	(9).
"…the gap between them [third world countries] and the West has been widening…"	(11).
"…the relationship between the dominant rich countries and dominated poor ones"	(17).
"… the gap between them [Centre countries] and underdeveloped [Periphery] countries has progressively increased"	(43).
"…a division of the world into a dominant Centre [powerful western countries and interests], and dominated Peripheries [the underdeveloped countries]"	(52).

Excerpts from Phillipson, (1992).

The effect of such representations is a "…possible ideologically motivated obfuscation of agency, causality, and responsibility" (Fairclough, 1989: 124). On the one hand, unidentified human agents are abstracted, which enables Phillipson to wage a circumlocutory accusation of imperialism. But also significant, *LI's* hypothesis, that hegemony radiates unilaterally outward (Centre→Periphery), is reaffirmed. This is material because, conversely, Periphery élites are also represented as implicitly exempt from Centre exploitation:

Table 2.6: Does intra-national exploitation constitute imperialism?

Representations in which Centre exploitation does not apply to Periphery élites	Page number
"…the wealth that English provides access to [in Third World countries] is very inequitably distributed"	(11).
"…English has a social stratification function within the [EFL/ESL] country"	(25).
"…the élites who benefit directly from their proficiency in English …"	(27).
"Proficiency in the latter [European languages] is essential for upward social mobility and privileged positions in society"	(28).
"The peripheries in both the Centre and the Periphery are exploited by their respected Centres"; "…the élites are to a large extent indigenous…"	(52).

Excerpted from Phillipson, (1992).

[10] *CDA* refers to *critical discourse analysis (*cf. Fairclough, 1989: 109-167*).*

This seems logically problematic: if Periphery élites are *not* exploited, but rather exploit their own peripheries, and Centre peripheries (lower socioeconomic classes) exploit nobody, Phillipson's (1992) hypothesis of *homogenized, unilateral Centre→Periphery LI* (1-2, 4-5, 9-11, 17, 43, 52) is contradicted, its validity jeopardized. In my opinion, if hegemony is peripherally indigenous, or appropriated by Periphery elites, (*ELH*) would capture the concept's essence more acccurately (cf. ch. 3, 4). Furthermore, not only could this detract from the persuasiveness of *LI's* theoretical premise, if repatriation for damages incurred from ELI is ever to be pursued, the actual guilty agents need be explicitly identified. But not only *who* they are—their legal infraction, too, must be ascertained. This introduces the next section.

2.5.4 Are hegemonic agents portrayed as malevolent or negligent in *LI*?

Also problematic, ELI-agent intention is alternately represented diametrically as *conscious/unconscious*. In the following excerpts *Centre*-agent consciousness appears deliberate—wicked, even:

Table 2.7: Centre agents seem to deliberately exploit the Periphery

Examples (italics provide emphasis)	Page number
The spread of English has not been left to *chance*…"	(6).
"…the dominance of English is *asserted* and *maintained*…", "…*used to*… *reproduce* an unequal division of power…"	(47).
"Anglocentricity… *devalues* other languages, either *explicitly* or implicitly"	(48).
"…linguicism may be *conscious* or unconscious on the part of the actors, and overt or *covert*"	(55).
"…they [donor governments] *can scarcely be unaware* of the outcomes [of Centre policies]…"	(72).
"Those who created the ideology of ELT seem to have been *fully aware* of what they were doing"	(193).

Excerpted from Phillipson, (1992).

However, alternately, ELI's agents are represented as unconscious, and their resulting hegemony as accidental—even automatic:

Table 2.8: ELI's agents are represented as unconscious/ unintentional/ ignorant

Examples (italics provide emphasis)	Page number
"… individuals with possibly the most *altruistic motives* for their work may nevertheless function in an imperialistic structure"	(46).
"…linguicism may be conscious or *unconscious* on the part of the actors…"	(55).
"…imperialism *does not depend* for its functioning on *wicked* people…"	(72).
While "…ideology… tends to have about it some notion of *contrivance*, of *deliberate manipulation*… [*hegemony* does not, necessarily]"	(73).
"Hegemony is *not* a simple matter of *manipulation* or *indoctrination*... [It] does *not* imply a *conspiracy* theory…"	(74).
"…it is doubtless correct that *no blueprint* for the exercise [the British Council's mid-1960s teaching operations] as a whole was ever *explicitly formulated*…"	(301).
"…ELT has *not* been *promoted* globally as a result of a *master-minded plan*"	(307).

Excerpts from Phillipson, (1992).

Such conflicting representations may be the natural by-product of over 300 pages of theory, or they could be intended to reinforce Phillipson's ideological purposes (table 2.4) with *LI*. Digesting his lengthy argument I was left with the impression Phillipson yearns to uncover material evidence proving Centre malice, which would better persuade skeptics. Nonetheless, Phillipson surprisingly concludes the Centre did not premeditate ELI; rather, it naturally accompanies hegemony (ibid: 300-301, 307). Such possibly abnegating frankness indicates that, to Phillipson the purposes, as well as "…the motives of the donor governments are irrelevant, as they can scarcely be unaware of the outcomes…" (ibid: 72). This introduces chapter two's final subsection.

2.5.5 Centre motives for providing the Periphery with ELT aid

Phillipson (1992) then devotes *LI's* entire sixth chapter to describing these motives. Examining them and the resulting purposes may reveal why he considers them irrelevant. The following table summarizes several motives:

Table 2.9: Anglo-american organizations' motives for, and purposes with, establishing/promoting ELT

motives	resulting purposes	page
Confusion (caused by international linguistic misunderstanding.)	To "…devise simplified forms of English… to facilitate international understanding"	(137, 158).
Concern/Fear (of German/Italian propaganda influence.)	To reinforce/protect linguistic/political/cultural autonomy by promoting English	(138).
Pride (of cultural/political achievements.)	Diplomacy/ maximizing foreign appreciation of English culture	(138).
Obligation (to provide the World with what it wants.)	To strategically fulfill this demand with the invaluable and inexhaustible resource of English	(145).
Love of (all the world's people.)	To benevolently help others pursue moral principles such as "…freedom and self-determination, democracy, equality, and so on…"	(163).

Excerpted from Phillipson, (1992).

Cynically interpreted each motive reflects arrogance, or *anglocentricity*, which along with *professionalism* constitutes *ELI*'s two "…central ELT mechanisms (Phillipson, 1992: 54; readdressed in 3.4.2, 4.3.1.2). However, all of these undeniably could be—*are*— justified as humanitarian, "…positive participation in the world community" (NSC 68, 1950: VI. A.). This would reduce the sense of *Centre* wrongdoing, which may explain Phillipson's readiness to dismiss as irrelevant the motives for establishing ELT. More relevant, then, would be the (negative) *outcomes* of ELT-aid policies (ibid: 72). However, expecting Phillipson to demonstrate such outcomes in the *present-day-neo-colonial phase* (ibid: 52), such examples are disappointingly abstracted. Instead relied upon is the corollary, that *linguicist attitudes* internalized in the *colonial phase of imperialism* (ibid: 109-128) have been inherited and continue into the *neo-colonial phase* (ibid: 128). One such attitude is an understanding that English is "… the magic formula to colonial élitedom'" (Ngugi, 1985: 115; cited in Phillipson, 1992: 130). Unfortunately, while this attitude could indicate Centre negligence, it does not prove malice. Rather, it reinforces chapter two's contention that local *Periphery* elites may have more agency than the *Centre* in perpetuating English-related hegemony.

This also has implications for the ELF debate: Functionalists often dismiss Phillipson's (1992) *LI* as "…paranoid…" (Alatis & Straehle, 1997: 17) *conspiracy theory* (Brutt-Griffler, 2002: 29; Crystal, 1999: 416; Davies, 1996: 485-486; Widdowson, 1997: 136). Worse yet, according to Brutt-Griffler (2002), from CALP and FUNP alike, "…it has seemingly become customary to regard the conceptual framework that linguistic imperialism presents as the explanation for the development of World English…" (7). Indeed, Pennycook (2001) reflects this:

for showing how "…English has been deliberately spread…it [LI's framework] can be useful" (63). As does Canagarajah (1999): "The dominance of English is therefore not only a *result* of politico-economic inequalities between the center and periphery, it is also a *cause* of these inequalities" (41). This is certainly problematic because Phillipson (1992) explicitly reiterates *LI* is *not* globally applicable (303, 306, 314): only where "…English advances at the expense of local languages…", resulting in "…subtractive rather than additive bilingualism…" (ibid: 306), does *linguicism* apply. Implicitly excluded are certain EFL contexts. Furthermore, while both Pennycook (2001: 62, 1995: 84) and Canagarajah (1999: 40) regard Phillipson (1992) as having invaluably addressed language's political implications, neither is *LI*'s unconditional champion. Pennycook (2001) sees "…several problems…" (62) with *LI* (1992), most significant of which, as suggested previously, is Phillipson's failure to show "…the effects of that spread [of ELF]…" (62) in specific local contexts; as Canagarajah (1999) expresses it, examining "…how linguistic hegemony is experienced in the day-to-day life of the people and communities in the periphery" (41). This is ironic because as Pennycook (2001; cf. correspondence: appendix three) and Canagarajah (1999) both admit *LI's* (1992) basic premise (*Centre→Periphery unilateral hegemony*), they, too, (with all due respect) might heed their own criticism before advocating LI theory. In light of this, while both perspectives have significant strengths, because FUNP (Crystal, 2003; Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Kachru, 1986; Widdowson, 1997) *and* CALP (Pennycook, 2001, 1995, 1994; Canagarajah, 1999; Phillipson, 1992) problems may derive from neglecting local EFL contexts, the next chapter applies both perspectives' relevant features to one such locale: South Korea[11]. To conclude is a table summarizing Chapter two's significant points:

[11] Though many refer to *South Korea* as *Korea*, this disregards *North Korea*, which is a far different context. Thus, as a noun, *South Korea* is subsequently referred to as *SK*, and only when inflected as an adjective, as *Korean.*

Table 2.10: The key points from chapter two

Aspects	The author's evaluations
FUNP and CALP's common strengths:	1. The Centre gained an unfair political advantage through colonialism, imperialism, slavery, etc. 2. There is unfair class access to English (power). 3. Increasing L1-English speaker monolingualism is problematic. 4. Maintaining World-linguistic/cultural diversity is important. 5. Linguicism is problematic.
FUNP's central strength:	Common mutual linguistic intelligibility is good for all people. For the moment this presupposes an additive bilingualism in which one language is English.
CALP's central strength:	Hegemony is dependent on language. This must change. Conversely, language can be used to counteract hegemony and establish equal power for people.
FUNP and CALP's common weaknesses:	Decontextualised theoretical areas that derive from overlocalized, undertheorized examinations of EFL contexts; corollary applicability problems.
FUNP's significant weakness:	Disregarding socioeconomic classes' disparate access to ELF. (And, in the Centre, to education in general.)
CALP's significant weakness:	The uniformly inapplicable linguistic imperialism model in which English-related hegemony radiates unilaterally outward: (Centre→Periphery).

CHAPTER THREE: THE LOCAL CONTEXT: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF ELF IN ONE EFL CONTEXT: SOUTH KOREA

As previously suggested, macro-level FUNP and CALP theory may not apply uniformly to all English learning contexts. As Canagarajah (2012) and Pennycook (2012) confirm, to date "…countries like South Korea haven't featured too much in critical discussions" (Canagarajah, 2012: correspondence; appendix three), though many view SK as "…the epitome of how problematic ELT has become…" (Pennycook, 2012: correspondence; appendix three). This may be due to SK's relatively recent explosion of interest in English. Thus, the following is an attempt to supplement AL discourse by critically examining ELF's positive and negative aspects from within SK.

In this dissertation two key empirical questions are (1): how does ELF in SK fare against the ethical criterion (2.2), which can be answered through (2): does FUNP (ELF is democratizing/ aggrandizing) or CALP (ELF is hegemonic/imperialistic) better account for ELF in SK? Briefly addressing ELF's development and examining SK's purposes with ELF may provide answers to these questions.

3.1 The significant factors in South Korea's development of English as a *lingua franca*

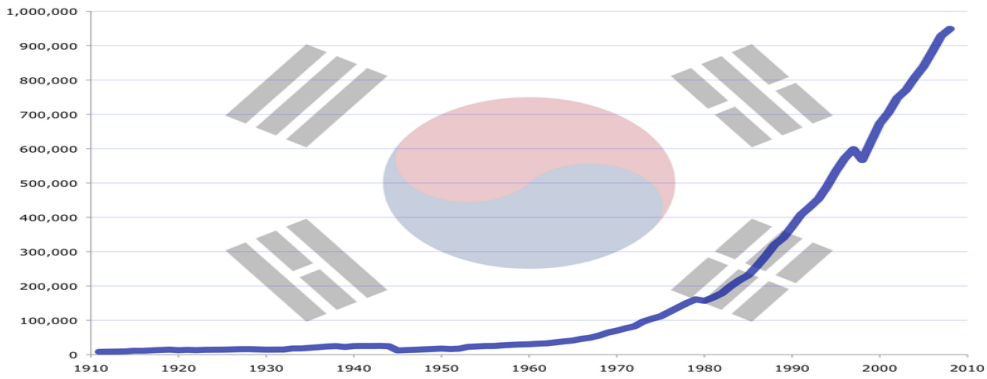
While English is recognized as having been officially taught in SK since 1883 (Shin, H., 2007: 77), not until the1990s did it become publicly salient. The basic factors in this recent development are conveyed here:

Table 3.1: the significant factors that led to ELF being publicly regarded as important

Year	Event	Effect	Source
Post-1945	Neocolonial Western exposure, particularly from the United States.	Some degree of assimilating Western ideologies: modernism, industrialization, capitalism, democracy, consumerism	(Shin, H., 2010: 12; Kim, 2000: 221).
1986	South Korea hosts the Asian Games.	Increased international exposure	(Jeon, 2009: 235).
1988	South Korea hosts the Olympics.	Further international exposure	(Yim, 2007: 37).
1995	English is represented as a significant component in *globalization* discourse.	The public begins to regard English acquisition as important	(Jeon, 2009: 235; Song, J., 2011: 38).
1995-1996	The South Korean Ministry of Education implements the sixth national curriculum.	People aim to increase their English competence, and hence *cultural capital*	(Shin, H., 2007: 77; Yim, 2007: 39).
1997	The Asian financial crisis occurs. (Known as the *IMF Crisis* in SK.)	English becomes a critical resource for SK to remain internationally competitive in the context of globalization	(Shin, H., 2007: 78, 2010: 66; Song, J., 2011: 39).

First, in the post-WWII period, led by President *Pŏk Jŭng-hē*[12] (박정희), SK successfully *exploited*—or *bowed* to, (depending on one's ideology) Western-originated industrialization, modernization, and then globalization (Kim, 2000: 78, 126). While close examination of this period is beyond our present scope, the following graph reflects SK's exponential economic progress during this process:

Table 3.2: South Korea's GDP (PPP) growth from 1911-2008



(Graph from en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:South_Korea%27s_GDP_(PPP)_growth_from_1911_to_2008.png)

But most significant in table 3.1, *globalization* (*sā-gā-hwŏ*: 세계화) discourse's emergence is recognized by local linguists (Jeon, 2009: 235; Shin, H., 2007: 77; Song, J., 2011: 38; Yim, 2007: 37) as the key factor conveying, from the social institutional level (SK state, education, mass media) to the public, the ideological importance of adopting ELF. Within macro-level AL discourse ELF is viewed as a characteristic of globalization (McKay, 2011: 123). But, in examining globalization, as Fairclough (2006) maintains, its actual processes and its discourses must be distinguished; while globalization processes exist objectively, representations of them invoke discourses arbitrarily chosen according to our ideological orientations (4). Thus, we have the macro-level CALP and FUNP discourses' counterpoised ideologies. To more accurately evaluate SK's ELF, local representations of SK's purpose with globalization and its presupposed ELF are examined.

[12] This paper's Korean transliteration follows the Soukhanov et al. (1988) *pronunciation system* (64; cf. appendix two); not the *Revised Romanization System*, which does not accurately reflect Korean pronunciation (*Seoul dialect*).

3.2 Local representations of South Korea's purpose with globalization and ELF

Political scientist Samuel Kim (2000) describes globalization as multilateral "…global interconnectedness and interdependence…" (257); a *need* or *opportunity* (244) for SK to respond to "…growing global interconnectedness in economics, politics, society, culture, and security…" resulting from global technology advances (257). And, in fueling these advances, "…the United States acts as globalization's principal agent and advocate…"; thus "… English has become the *lingua franca* of globalization…" (ibid). This version is reminiscent of Phillipson's (1992) LI framework, and consequently ELF is regarded by some local linguists as resulting from "…the hegemonic role of the U.S. in politic, economic, and cultural domains…" (Shin, H., 2007: 77). However, others utilize SK's dominant globalization discourse, which is recognized as having been introduced to the public by former President *Kēm Yŭng-sŏm* (김영삼) (Song, J., 2011: 38), and emphasizes Koreans' agency in adopting ELF. This discourse represents *globalization* as a means "…to enhance Korea's global competitiveness…" (Jeon, 2009: 235), and construct a Korea "…that will be the center of the world and [that] people all over the world will want to come [to], invest [in] and live in" (Kim, 2000: 244). Within this, *English* is "…a tool for Korea to survive in the international community" (Yim, 2007: 37). Consequently, many Koreans have come to regard English as representing significant *capital* (Shin, H., 2007: 77; cf. *cultural capital*, Bourdieu (1985: 242), or having "…high exchange value in the global market" (Yim, 2007: 38). English competence is understood as requisite to maintaining and increasing individual—hence national competitiveness (sovereignty) in this era of globalization. This is also reflected in the national education institution's statement on English:

Table 3.3: The South Korean Ministry of Education's stated purpose with English

Stated purpose	Source
"To contribute to the nation and society, to show leadership as a cosmopolitan citizen, and to enjoy a wide range of cultural activities, the ability to understand and use English is essential. The ability to communicate in English will act as an important bridge connecting different countries, and will be the driving force in developing our country, forming trust among various countries and cultures"	(MoE, 2008: 41; cited in Daily, 2010: 4).

To conclude this subsection, while SK's initial adoption of globalization is regarded as acquiescing to *neoliberal globalization's hegemonic wave* (Shin, H., 2010: 67-68), it was a wave

with a golden-lemonade lining: adopting globalization became a strategy to revitalize the economy after the IMF crisis. Thus, both FUNP (aggrandizing) and CALP (hegemonic) evaluations apply. However, our ethical criterion is not as concerned with the power of a homogenized, personified SK state as it is with that of its animate, sentient constituents. Therefore, the next subsection examines relevant effects of adopting globalization's ELF on the people.

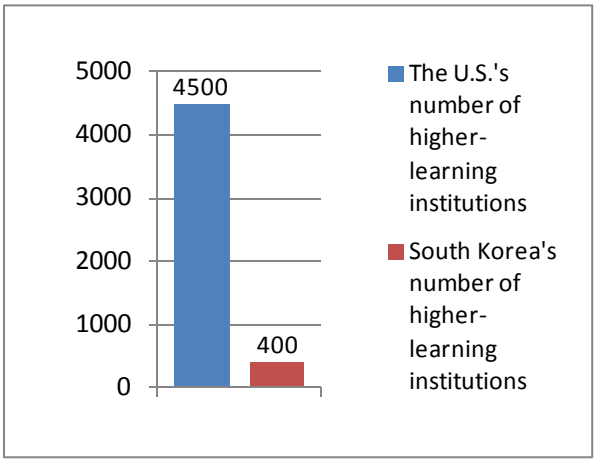
3.3 The emergence of South Korean *English fever*

In transitioning to the globalization ideology, a *human-resources-oriented* economy has replaced the industrialization period's *export-oriented economy* (Shin, H., 2010: 69-70). Consequently, the national qualification standard for prestigious white-collar jobs has shifted to a global standard that values English "…as an essential part of a skillset of a "global Korean"…" (ibid: 78; cf. Park, J.S.Y., 2011: 448). However, to qualify for an elite job, not just any English suffices. Shin, H., (2010) argues that as a carryover from neocolonial U.S. hegemony, *authentic English*, which equates with *standard (*L1*) American/British English* (12), represents the most lucrative skill (*cultural capital*) (56). Along with another relevant qualification, an undergraduate degree from one specific university, Seoul National University (SNU), or an *Anglosphere*[13] equivalent (i.e., Harvard), candidates qualify for elite jobs, which realize elite- socioeconomic status (ibid: 60-61). Just as elite status is valued in other societies, pursuing it has contributed to sustaining SK's historical *education fever* (Song, J., 2011: 49), the relevant contemporary element (symptom) of which is known as *English fever* (Jeon, M., 2009: 31), or critically, as a *malady* (Song, J., 2011: 36), or a *frenzy* (Park, J.S.Y., 2011: 446).

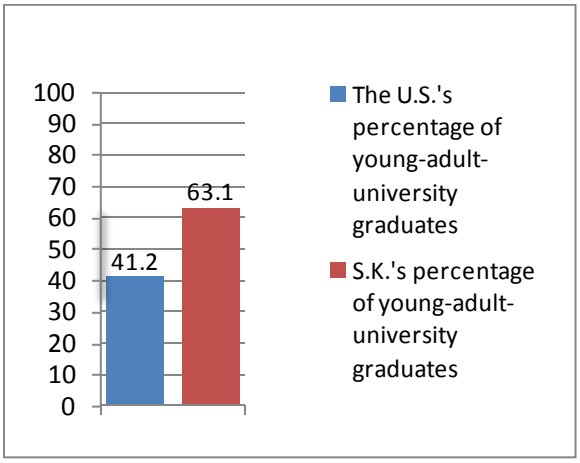
SK is commonly regarded as an East-Asian country with a Confucianist cultural heritage, which stemming from its *learned gentleman ideal* places extreme emphasis on education (Shin, H., 2010: 58; Song, J., 2011: 51). This could be viewed as *culturally reductionist* (Shin, H., 2010: 58) because several societies consider education important. However, the categorization may be warranted: SK's educational fervor appears anomalous. The following table illustrates this:

[13] *Anglosphere* refers to table one's *inner circle countries*, particularly the U.S. and Britain.

Table 3.4: Comparing the United States' and South Korea's educational competitiveness



U.S. and S.K. university quantification



Percentage of university graduates (aged 25-34)

Granted, the U.S.'s population is six times that of SK's, but according to these statistics (; webometrics.info), SK has a tenth (Webometrics.info) of the U.S.'s universities (nces.ed.gov) for more than 20% more would-be graduates (Yoon, G., 2012). (If every person in the U.S. graduated, there would be 67,000 graduates from each school, but in SK, roughly double: 125,000). Added to the notion that most Koreans wish to graduate from just one university (SNU), SK's educational competition can plausibly be seen as fiercer than at least the U.S.'s. This competitiveness has contributed to forming a U.S. $15.8 billion private-education industry, approximately half of which goes to English (Shin, H., 2010: 73). The following table illustrates Koreans' private-English expenditures:

Table 3.5: Characteristics of private English spending in South Korea

Statistic	Source
"…BIK Cheongdam offers the national curriculum of England and Wales to students aged four to seven at 1,490,000 won (US$1300) per month…"	(Jeon, 2012: 400).
From middle school to university, students study English an average 15,548 hours	(Choi, 2011: 7).
In 2005 1.68 million out of 4 million worldwide TOEIC takers were South Koreans	(Park, J.S.Y., 2011: 449).
Between 2004 and 2005, 102,340 Koreans took TOEFL	(Choi, 2011: 6).
There are estimated to be about 200,000 *goose daddies* (South Korean fathers supporting families studying English abroad)	(ibid: 40).
In 2010 there were more than 100,000 SK post-secondary exchange students in the U.S. studying at an average of more than $30,000 per year	(AIEF-usa.org).
As of 2012, SK's *per capita* GDP is much less than that: $25,948	(koreaherald.com).
Magnitude of SK's private English education spending in terms of the GDP: 1.9%	(Song, J., 2011: 51).
"…as a percentage of GDP, South Korean parents spend four times more on average on private education than their counterparts in any other major economy"	(Thatcher, 2008).

Such expenditures are popularly understood as being made predominately in the hope of initializing the following globalization success formula:

Table 3.6: South Korea's formula for social success in the era of globalization

Acquiring *authentic English* +
gaining admission to Seoul National University (or an Anglosphere-equivalent) +
graduating +
qualifying for an elite, white-collar job +
obtaining *elite status* =
realization of social success

(Formula constructed according to Park, J.S.Y., 2011; Shin, H., 2010; Song, J., 2011)

Such realization provides either upward social mobility, or elite-status fortification, contingent upon one's initial socioeconomic position.

Viewed from FUNP this may reflect the possibility of upward social mobility—ELF's democratizing, aggrandizing potential (cf. 2.1). However, there *are* significant problems associated with English fever. These are examined now.

3.4 South Korea's relevant ELF-related problems

Critically viewed, there are two specific problems with this system: (1): pedagogical efficiency (examined momentarily in 3.4.2), and (2): the ethicality of commodified merit (examined now).

3.4.1 Unfair private-education access: the *English Divide*

Local CALP representatives describe SK as a *meritocracy*, in which socioeconomic status tends to determine individuals' private-education access. Consequently for the poor, access to the cultural-capital components requisite for executing the social-success formula, (table 3.5), is also restricted. Within globalization the most relevant aspect of this is the *English Divide* (ED) (Jeon, 2012: 396; Lee, 2010: 252; Park, J.S.Y., 2011: 446; Shin, H., 2010: 76; Song, J., 2011: 35), which is characterized here:

Table 3.7: Local CALP characterizations of SK's English Divide

The essence of the *English-Divide*	Source
English Divide refers to "…social polarization based on English ability"	Shin, H., 2010: 76).
English divide describes "…the strong relationship between economic wealth and English proficiency"	(Lee, 2010: 252).
There is an *English divide* "…between children of wealthy parents and those from lower income families"	(Jeon, 2012: 407).

Essentially, ED is the result of the popular assumption that success equates with achieving elite status, which now largely presupposes authentic—*expensive*—English acquisition; and poorer socioeconomic classes cannot afford this. Some respond, "So what? Is it not to some extent the same anywhere?" (These questions are addressed in 3.4.1.3).

Regarding ED, the State paradoxically reflects both FUNP and CALP: current President Ē-Myŭng-Bŏk (이명박) stated that if only poor students learn English, they will not merely be receiving free handouts, but learning how to "…catch the fish…" for themselves (Lee, 2010: 252). Simultaneously, though, the government does reify ED, and attempted to eliminate it by prohibiting private education (Shin, H., 2010: 63) and more recently instituting *English-Only* (subsequently *EO*) classes to alleviate "…the financial burden related to private English…" (Jeon, 2012: 395). Nevertheless, prohibiting private education only forced it underground, while emphasizing English's importance in the media increased its circulation in public discourse, thus reinforcing its currency as symbolic capital (Lee, 2010: 258). Furthermore, as Shin, H., (2010) maintains, since the IMF crisis and SK's transition to conservative, neoliberal-globalization principles, "…reviving the economy…" has replaced "…social justice concerns…" in eminence (66-67). As previously mentioned, this also comprised the human-resources-oriented economy,

led by (elite) employees possessing global skillsets featuring *authentic English*. As it is exotic to SK, this further commodified English, consequently strengthening the private education market, as well as exacerbating English fever and ED (ibid: 54-56).

As politicians (Jeon, 2012: 395), the media (Lee, 2010: 257), and the public, alike, acknowledge ED's factuality, the validity of FUNP (2.1) when applied to SK appears jeopardized. However, though my critical discussion/ bilingual approach *SFG*[14] students unanimously recognize ED, some still have attitudes of, "So what?" "I can't do anything about it." "That's reality." "Life's unfair." (Such attitudes tacitly suggest an arrogant, better-me-than-them attitude, implications of which are addressed in chapter five). "You can't be lazy." "You have to work hard to beat the system…"—"True," I retort. "There are anomalies—but, the whole point of ED is that higher socioeconomic classes tend to succeed more easily." "So what? I, too, will succeed!" This appears to reflect Bourdieu's (1991) statement, "…the language of authority never governs without the collaboration of those it governs, without the help of the social mechanisms capable of producing this complicity, based on misrecognition…" (113). But while my students *do recognize* ED, either the hope of class *maintenance* or *mobility* (the respective interests of hegemony's *authorities* and *dominated*) (Gramsci, 1971: 373), or the *non*-recognition of a real alternative, compels the majority of us to perpetuate hegemony in some way or another.

Concluding this subsection, regarding this dilemma, local CALP proponents might proclaim, "You have to more convincingly demonstrate ED!" One such attempt at being more persuasive, which is the first of four subsequently examined local CALP representation problems—comprises ED-related agency representations. The others are (3.4.1.2): inexact demonstrations of ED's essential mechanisms, (3.4.1.3): cultural reductionism (not clearly distinguishing SK's meritocracy from other societies', and: (cf. ch. 5) suggesting a critical solution to the problem.

3.4.1.1 Consciousness/agency in representations of the English Divide

As advanced in 2.5.4, at times Phillipson (1992) problematically represents ELI agents as consciously malevolent. Local CALP adherents (Lee, 2010; Shin, H., 2010; Song, 2011), too,

[14] *SFG* refers to *systemic-functional grammar* (cf. Butt et al., 2000).

feature such representations. However, instead of Centre-originat*ing* imperialism, SK's hegemony is regarded as indigenous, and executed by local agents. Song, J. (2011) maintains, "…under *cover* of the ideology of merit…" education has *conserved* SK's "…hierarchy of power relations..." (35) for centuries (49). Only now, *English* has become a primary mechanism, "…*recruited,* in the *guise* of globalization, to *exploit* the *meretricious* ideology of merit to the advantage of the privileged classes…" (ibid: 35-36; emphasis). Lee (2010), too, in her CDA-based ED examination reflects this: it is "…hard to deny the fact that the new educational policy is *planned* to *deliberately ensure* that power remains in the hands of the few" (253; emphasis). As does Shin, H., (2010): through ideologies related to English and merit, elites "…*reproduce* their social positions by *creating* new "capital of distinction"…" (11; emphasis). These are audaciously affirmed accusations, carrying within the italicized words a conspicuous sense of deliberation. But who *masterminds* the meritocracy? *Privileged classes* (Song, 2011: 35) *benefit* from it, but the actual agents (eight pages in) are identified just once, implicitly: by adopting Myers-Scotton's (1990) argument. Appearing as a transitive-verb process's subject: [agent (subject) + material verb process (transitive verb) + patient (direct object)], in the sentence, "…the elite... (v) limit... (o) access..." (Song, 2011: 42), *elites* are identified as the agents of English-linguistic hegemony. Additionally, Song implicates *corporate executives* (45), *school administrators* (ibid), and *politicians* (46) as elite agents using, among other devices, an array of *agentless passives* (Fairclough, 1989: 125). Examples are construed here:

Table 3.8: Agentless passives attribute *SK elites* as English hegemony's agents

Excerpt	Page
"English is promoted and regarded…"	(35).
"… power relations already established in South Korean society…"	(35).
"English has been recruited…"	(35).
"English in South Korea… resorted to as a subterfuge to conceal…"	(35).
"English language education… has been… designed…"	(36).
English hegemony is "…established… protected… reproduced…"	(36-37).

(Excerpts from Song, J., 2011).

As stated previously (2.5.3), *obfuscation of agency and causality* can be "…ideologically motivated…" (Fairclough, 1989: 124). Song may use agentless passives to tacitly represent local elites—despite lacking definitive evidence—as malevolent designers of ELH . Song's (2011) stated purpose is to demonstrate previous "…accounts of English in South Korea... do not go

ideologically deep enough… : why and how has this "obsession" or "frenzy" come into existence?" (35-36). But later he adds that his purpose does not include showing "…how that [SK's] class structure is maintained" (Song, 2011: 43). This is doubly ironic as Song has just criticized previous accounts for "ironically…" (ibid: 36) not showing what he, too, intends not to show: maintenance of English fever is dependent on how it is formed. Furthermore, his central point, that SK's hegemony originates indigenously—rather than radiates unilaterally from the Centre—would support my (ch. 2) contention that the *Centre→Periphery-LI* model may not apply to SK. However, as suggested (2.5.4), untenable accusations of malice may be dismissed as conspiracy theory. This problematizes the possibility of uniting CALP and FUNP to more effectively pursue ethical ELF. Thus, while it may be indeterminable whether or not ED is the result of elite malevolence, it does seem corollary to SK's unique form of *hegemony* (following 2.4's definition). Therefore, attempting to substantiate ED, I will now attempt a concise demonstration of how English acts as a primary mechanism in SK's meritocracy and ED.

3.4.1.2 Characterizing Korean meritocracy's essential English-Divide mechanism

As advanced previously, ED essentially results from the popular assumption that success equals elite status, which is most effectively realized by acquiring *authentic English* and an elite undergraduate degree, then being able to perform the real, ELF-related job duties that globalization entails. But while several local CALP proponents do demonstrate aspects of English as a mechanism in SK's meritocracy, some characterizations are problematically redolent of conspiracy theory. Or, they merely fail to simply illustrate how education in general, but specifically English, functions as an elemental mechanism enabling wealthier socioeconomic classes to more consistently acquire the cultural capital that determines elite status. Shin, H., (2010), actually, *does* effectively demonstrate the second half of the ED mechanism. However, she disregards both the crucial elementary and preschool stages and SK's poorest socioeconomic classes, instead examining upper-middle-class exchange students' pursuit of class mobility (15). Acknowledging her invaluable contribution as one enabler of the present analysis, I attempt to supplement (ibid) by including the instrumental early education stages and poorer families' English education tendencies.

Table 3.9: Poor and wealthy families' largely dichotomous (English) education choices

Wealthier families	**Poorer families**
1. Private-English preschool/ kindergarten Average cost: $1000 per month (Nam, H., 2011: 39). Average attendance: three years (common knowledge).	**1. Tax-paid-public *children's houses*** Much less emphasis on English than at private schools (Nam, H., 2011: 39).
2a. Private-elementary/middle school Cost: $8,000-15,000 annually. English emphasis: Materials: Textbooks from the U.S. used by L1-English-speakers (E, D., 2012a; E, T., 2012: *Herald Economy Newspaper*).	**2a. Public-elementary school** Cost: negligible. Materials: Basic, Korean-design. English emphasis: From 3rd grade, two hours weekly (132 hours annually). From 5th/6th grade, 204 hours, annually (E, D., 2012b: *Pressian*; E, T., 2012: *Herald)*.
2b. International exchange (*yu-hŏk*: 유학) Cost: >30,000/year (AIEF-usa.org). Destination: >Half to North America (Shin, H., 2010: 8). Exposure: ~16 hours/day *comprehensible input* (cf. Krashen, 1985).	**2b. Private academy(*hŏg-wŭn*:**학원) Percentage who attend: 20% of those families who earn less than $1,000/month. Expenditure: ~$15 monthly (E, D., 2012a: *Pressian*; E, T., 2012: *Herald*).
2c. Private class at home (*gwŏ-wāy*: 과외) Cost: ~$40 per one-hour class. NESTs teach students 1:1 at home.	
2d. Private academy (*hŏg-wŭn*:학 원) Expenditure: ~$150/month (E, D., 2012a: *Presian*).	(This basic pattern continues steadily through high school.)
3. High-school Elite academies like Korean *Minjok* Leadership Academy (KMLA). English-Only-English classes. Cost: $19,000/year (Jeon, 2012: 403).	

University and beyond

At the end of high school, students take the U.S.'s SAT/ACT-equivalent *sōō-nŏŏng* (수능). English is one tested subject. However, while historically those with the best scores qualified for the best schools; (i.e., *SKY*[15]), a recently emerging *special screening category* featuring *quality/ability*-based criteria entails more than 1/3 of students gaining admission according to language (i.e., English) ability (Shin, H., 2010: 77).
Total possible cost of acquiring an elite education and *authentic English*: >$500,000 (Rader, 2010: 11, 20).

(Some statistics translated from Korean by the author.)

Because acquiring a second language is a lengthy, contiguous process, each construed step is significant—but three elements are salient: first, the beginning. Those families that can afford >$1,000 per month private English preschool/kindergarten conceivably have up to a six-year head start on those who cannot. Poor students are obliged to wait until third grade to access a mere two hours per week of free public-school English, (in which class sizes often exceed thirty members (witnessed personally). Second, those who can afford up to $30,000 annually for university exchange programs to the Anglosphere could possibly be exposed to comprehensible input all day. And finally, with universities' increased utilization of the (English ability indexed) special screening category, students possessing naturally acquired *authentic English* may constitute a third of currently admitted students. However, while this ED reality blatantly

[15] Three domestic universities form the acronym *SKY* are regarded as elite: *SNU, Korea,* and *Yonsei University*.

violates the ethical criterion, as demonstrated in the next subsection, language balance is essential: overemphasizing one language, thus neglecting the other, proves unscrupulous.

3.4.1.3 Distinguishing the South Korean version of meritocracy

The last ED-related problem addressed here involves cultural reductionism. Though some local-CALP proponents ephemerally imply that education is a central, meritocratic mechanism in other societies (Shin, H., 2010: 58; Song, J., 2011: 43), SK-centered examinations can lapse into bias: Song, J. (2011) declares, "South Korea's hierarchical structure of power relations is considerably more rigid and less mutable than those attested in most other developed countries" (43). This is a dangerous declaration: he should then examine *most other developed countries* to manifest this controvertible claim. ED accounts that predominantly examine societies' ubiquitous meritocratic features unsatisfactorily distinguish SK's meritocracy; because, SK's meritocracy, in fact, *does* have two such distinguishing characteristics.

First, as suggested in 3.3, possibly obtaining from its Confucian heritage, SK's competition for university education appears fiercer than at least the U.S.'s. Second, and contrasting SK with the entire Anglosphere, is English's role within that education. In the Anglosphere elite education takes for granted *authentic-English* acquisition. But in SK, not merely *authentic English—authentic Korean*, too, is presupposed. As Shin, H. (2010) forcefully affirms, domestically Korean-incompetent Koreans are disparaged as *immigrants* (*ē-mēn-jŏ*: 이민자) (Shin, H., 2010: 97) or *kyō-pōs* (교포); (cf. 3.4.2.2), whom, through "…the essentialist ideology of linguistic nationalism…" (Shin, H., 2010: 122; cf. 3.4.2.2), are reified "…as illegitimate speakers of authentic English as well as of Korean" (ibid: 128). Implicitly, then, only native-like *bilingual* Koreans can "…claim legitimate ownership of such Koreanness" (ibid: 121), and implicitly realize elite status, as well. (Interestingly, though, even Koreans who cannot speak any Korean are still *Koreans*—not *foreigners*—a point which is revisited momentarily (3.4.2.2). Therefore, in the Anglosphere, while universities do have foreign language requirements, (mine was two years —Harvard's, one year (Maccoby, 1971), advanced-level bilingualism is not requisite. Considering how much time and effort learning another language entails, especially a

superhard language[16], this implies Anglosphere students have more time to concentrate on other subjects. This is advanced as the essential distinguishing characteristic of SK's meritocracy, and also introduces another central claim of this dissertation:

This norm also represents the first of two primary forms of Korean *linguicism* (cf. 2.5.2). The ideologies of *globalization*, *authentic English*, *merit*, and their *related practices*—though they may not be "…*used*…" (Phillipson, 1992: 47; emphasis) malevolently—*conduce*, "…legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power…between groups…defined on the basis of language'…" (ibid). And because this lingucism is Anglosphere-originated, but SK-appropriat*ing*, it is subsequently referred to as ELI, and, again, counterpoises the second, SK-indigenous linguicism, ELH. Examination of ELH, which complements ELI, but pertains to NESTs in SK, commences in 3.4.2.2.

3.4. 2 Inefficiency: Problematic anglocentricity meets South Korea's version

3.4. 2.1 Inefficiency: adopting EO and the monolingual NEST as ideal teacher ideologies

Building upon tables 3.1 and 3.2, SK's basic and overarching purposes with ELF are reformulated here:

Table 3.10: SK's intended effects with English as a *lingua franca*

Order	Goal/intended effect	Source
1.	To increase citizens' individual communicative competence in order to: (2.)	(table 3.3).
2.	Speak with foreigners in English, in order to: (3.)	(Liu et al., 2004: 606).
3.	Aggrandize individuals, and by extension, the nation, in order to: (4.)	(table 3.1).
4.	Ultimately realize and represent the *Northeast-Asian countries' hub* to counter *white*, *Western imperialism*, *American unilateralism* and *hegemony*	Shin, G., 2006: 233; cf. 3.4.2.2).

Pursuing these effects has led to the formation of the public/private English-education system. However, as local CALP adherents (Jeon, 2009: 235; Lee, 2010: 247, 255; Shin, H., 2007: 77; Song, J., 2011: 35, 41) argue, Koreans are still highly monolingual, which indicates the system is ineffective. This is reflected in international criticism of Koreans' English proficiency:

[16] (Implicitly the converse for L1 Korean speakers, Korean is the hardest of five *superhard languages* for L1 English speakers to learn. (The others are Cantonese, Japanese, Mandarin Chinese, and Arabic (*Language Continuum*: 46).

Table 3.11: International criticisms of South Koreans' English proficiency

Criticism	Source
South Koreans ranked 110th on ETS's global TOEFL rankings	(Choi, 2011: 43).
In 2005 more than 1,000 expatriate managers of multinational companies polled evaluated South Koreans as the worst English speakers in Asia	(ibid).
According to the Korean International Trade Association SK is "…among the countries with the lowest English-language skills in the world"	(Plumlee, n.d.: 160).
"South Korean university education near the bottom of the class in world rankings for meeting the needs of a competitive economy"	(Thatcher, J.; Reuters).

This has led, as Jeon (2009) maintains, to parents' mistrusting the domestic English system. Consequently, many who can afford it invest heavily in private education, or send their children on international exchange (240), which, as shown post-secondarily, costs >$30,000 per year (table 3.5). So, in an attempt to regain parent trust (Jeon, 2009: 235), diminish ED (Jeon, 2012: 395; Lee, 2010: 247), and eradicate ineffectiveness, the SK government has increasingly implemented *English-Only English classes* (subsequently *EO*) (Shin, H., 2007: 77), which Jeon (2009) addresses implicitly in her examination of EPIK (English programme in Korea) (235). NEST EPIK teachers, Jeon affirms, are strategically chosen: "The rationale behind the policy of hiring native English speakers to teach English in Korea is that English should be taught monolingually by native speakers" (ibid: 237). To Jeon this indicates "…both the government and its citizens actively subscribe and contribute to… the circulation…" (ibid: 237) of the Centre's ELT doctrine, which Phillipson (1992) formulates as the *monolingual NEST as ideal teacher tenets/fallacies* (185-218):

Table 3.12: The Centre-ELT pedagogical doctrine's tenets and their resulting *fallacies*

	Formulated tenet	Redesignated fallacy
T1	English is best taught monolingually.	The monolingual fallacy
T2	The ideal teacher of English is a native speaker.	The native speaker fallacy
T3	The earlier English is taught, the better the results.	The early start fallacy
T4	The more English is taught, the better the results.	The maximum exposure fallacy
T5	If other languages are used much, standards of English will drop.	The subtractive fallacy

(Phillipson, 1992: 185).

Though extensive coverage of the tenets is beyond the present scope, Pennycook (1998) summarizes ELT's resulting fallacious doctrine as: "'English is best taught monolingually, by native speakers, as early as possible, and as much as possible, and preferably to the exclusion of

other languages'" (158; cited in Jeon, 2009: 237). Most relevant to Koreans' EO adoption is T4, which presupposes T1, and largely T2. Following Jeon (2009: 231) and Corcoran (2009: 15), the *tenets* are treated as *ideologies*, conflated as *ELT's monolingualism ideology*, which Phillipson regards as the essence of *anglocentric professionalism,* and, as stated (2.5.5), constitutes the central mechanisms of ELI linguicism: "When the professionalism of ELT is essentially anglocentric, which monolingualism is the clearest expression of, there is almost inevitably a linguicist devaluing of local languages and cultures" (Phillipson, 1992: 306). From this perspective SK's adoption of EO appears technically linguicist: "Linguicism is in operation if the Centre language is always used…" (ibid: 57). However, again, though he admits not having sufficiently examined them, Phillipson excepts EFL contexts (ibid: 303, 314), assuming there, "…there is no risk of subtractive bilingualism…" (ibid: 303), which linguicism presupposes (ibid: 306). Nonetheless, advanced here, *the professionalism of SK's ELT*, of which essentially *anglocentric monolingualism*, (as represented by EO) *is the clearest expression,* has been reappropriated *Koreacentrically (*cf. 3.4.2.2, ch. 5). Accordingly, Jeon (2009: 233-234) argues that the transition to EO and utilization of NESTs indicates SK's multilateral agency in postmodern linguistic globalization, which incidentally echoes Lee (2010) and Song, J.'s (2011) disclamation of macro-CALP's *unilateral Centre→Periphery LI model.* Hiring NESTs is "…a political tool for (re)gaining the trust of parents…" who invest heavily in private education (Jeon, 2009: 240). However, Jeon (2009) and Shin, H., (2007) imply NESTs, whom they represent tacitly as categorical monolinguals, exacerbate ELT ineffectiveness (Jeon, 2009: 237-238, 240; Shin, H., 2007: 79-80). Partially warranted, this is best reflected examining SK's pertinent E2 (NEST) visa requirements, which are conveyed here:

Table 3.13: SK's E2 visa requirements that may be conducive to ELT ineffectiveness

Basic requirements	Qualified requirements (http://www.goeastrecruiting.com)
English L1-speaker proficiency	"To qualify, you must have had your education taught, in English, from at least high school level and on through university/college."
Anglosphere passport	"All applicants must be citizens and hold a passport from a native English speaking country." "Canada, U.S.A., U.K., Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa."
Any undergraduate degree	"All applicants must have completed a 3 or 4 year degree from a recognised, accredited university/college in one of the countries listed above."

Most significant here is the undergraduate degree requirement: with no training, it is problematic to expect chemistry—even English literature—majors to effectively teach EFL speakers. But

because the demand for *authentic English* exceeds "…the supply of qualified candidates, hiring unqualified [NESTs] is unavoidable" (Jeon & Lee, 2006: 57; cf. *monolingual NEST inefficiency*, 4.5). On the other hand, KESTs[17], even pedagogically-sound, bilingual ones, are delegitimized through (1): the *self-deprecation ideology* (cf. Song, J., 2011: 41), in which (racial) Koreans can never become good speakers, nor, consequently, good teachers of English, and (2): through EO because KESTs cannot utilize their presupposed, extrinsic treasure: implementing bilingual approaches (Shin, H., 2007: 79-80; cf. 4.5.1). As a result, Koreans have come to regard both NESTs *and* KESTs as illegitimate teachers (Jeon, 2009: 240). However, while Jeon concludes Koreans subscribe "…to the legitimacy of English and native speakers of English in ELT" (ibid: 241), she never addresses how the mutually contradictory discourses can plausibly exist conjunctionally. Nevertheless, I can vouch that both do exist, epitomizing Orwellian *doublethink*. NESTs, even pedagogically-sound, bilingual ones, conjure up two seemingly contradictory, yet complementary, discourses: First, they represent interpretation-dependent, Korean-incompetent *foreigners* (cf. Joo, 2012: 67, 202; cf. 4.4). From this aspect, as Shin, H. (2007) maintains, NESTs represent *authentic English speakers*, not necessarily *authentic teachers* (80). However, even pedagogically-unsound, monolingual NESTs still represent *authentic English* (ibid: 79), which (in combination with *authentic Korean* (as advanced in 3.3) not only accesses, bestows, and indicates elite status; because it is scarce, and marketed as an exotic luxury, merely ingesting *authentic English* bestows upon the consumer an elite air—(like carrying an authentic Louis Vuitton handbag or driving a Rolls Royce). I argue that because NESTs are marketed as exotic—*a taste of the Occidental*, they become lucrative to the private education industry; not pedagogically efficient, but capitalistically profitable. Though not necessarily evidence of designed pedagogical inefficiency—disclaiming implications of conspiracy—this indicates Korean authorities regard pedagogically-unsound monolingual approaches taught by NESTs *or* KESTs as legitimate. Whereas linguicism traditionally presupposed subtractive bilingualism (Phillipson, 1992: 306), I suggest the converse also qualifies: the tendency toward absence of both additive and subtractive bilingualism in the poorer socioeconomic classes, too, results in a language-based, disparate power relationship between the classes. This is conducive to the *English Divide*. T*his* is how EO exacerbates SK's first form of linguicism, ELI (cf. 3.4.1.3).

[17] *KEST* refers to NESTs' counterparts: (native) *Korean English-speaking teacher*.

Simultaneously, though, this introduces SK's second form of linguicism, ELH. As noted before, this has a basis of *Koreacentricity*, which is conveyed by SK's indigenous *homogenous-ethnoracial*[18]*-nation* (단일민족국가) ideology. And though counterpoised to it, Koreacentricity complements *anglocentricity*. This is now characterized as the other key ideological factor in SK's English linguistic hegemony.

3.4.2.2 Globalization clashes with the Korean version of anglocentricity: the *homogenous ethnoracial nation* ideology

A common presupposition is that Koreans lack practical English access (Shin, H., 2007: 79). And, in a sense, this is true: virtually all *intra-ethnic* linguistic interaction is in Korean (Coulmas, 1998: 408; cited in Song, J., 2011: 37). But, what students do not seem to acknowledge is the possibility of deliberately speaking to each other in English to create practical access. Virtually everyone yearns for *authentic English*, and yet English is intended for use as a *lingua franca* when interacting with *foreigners*. This may be a manifestation of the *homogenous-ethnoracial-nation* (단일민족국가) ideology/identity.

Just as language has long played a key role in constructing national identities, (Shin, H., 2010: 20), especially since 1945 high Korean proficiency has been crucial to forming the Korean national identity (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003: 35; Shin, G., 2006: 37). Shin, G. (2006) addresses this at length, maintaining that the fervid national pride-conducive ideology presupposes an ethnoracially-distinct, homogeneous bloodline, language, and history (4; cf. Joo, 2012: 13-14; Song, J.Y., 2010: 28; Watson, 2012: 233). Accordingly, Koreans have distinct innate and immutable phenotypic and genotypic characteristics (Shin, G., 2006: 4), and belong to the *Hŏn race* (한민족) (ibid: 2). Also, Shin explains, to Koreans racial characteristics (blood) supersede ethnic characteristics in constituting *Korean* membership: while generally, ethnicity "…is based on a common language and history..." in Korea, "…race has served as a marker that strengthened ethnic identity..." (ibid: 4). Thus, if traditional ethnicity (common language and history) determined Korean membership, *Kyō-pōs* (교포: Korean-blooded, non-Korean

[18] *Ethnoracial* conflates *ethnic* and *racial*, which the Korean word *mēn-jōk*(민족) denotes.

nationality, language, residence, citizenship, etc.) would not qualify as Koreans. However, in a survey conducted by Shin in 2000, 83% of respondents felt that, regardless of language, citizenship, or residence, *Kyō-pōs* "…still belong to the Han race because of shared ancestry" (ibid: 2). This is significant in light of respondents' low 17% *attachment* to (racial-non-Korean) Americans living in SK (ibid: 2-3). (Interestingly, despite often having identical East-Asian racial characteristics (cf. appendix four) on my encounters with Japanese people in SK), *Japanese* (18%) are regarded only slightly more warmly than *Americans*. However, Japanese people with East-Asian racial characteristics only disqualify for Korean membership when Koreans can confirm they are Japanese, as with shibboleths, through linguistic interaction. However, non-Korean racial characteristics rule out Korean status on sight (cf. next chapter).

To resume the present discussion, as old as the Korean culture is (at least 5000 years (Yim, 2007: 37), according to Choe, (2006), the modern (*post-late Joseon Dynasty*) Korean national identity formed relatively recently in response to early modern international exposure in the late-nineteenth century (94). Although extensive discussion is beyond the present scope, the following table demonstrates the turbulent diachronic factors relevant to Korea's formation of the modern, *homogeneous-ethnoracial-nation* ideology/identity:

Table 3.14: Formation of SK's modern homogeneous-ethnoracial-ideology/identity

Period	Event/factor	page
<1876	State-centered homogeneous-culture-national identity	(94).
1876	The first modern diplomatic treaty with Japan	(94).
1882	Normalized diplomatic relations with the U.S., Britain, and Germany	(94).
1876-1910	Korean elites increasingly emphasize racial/ethnic homogeneity of Korea to counter the threat of Western and Japanese imperialism	(94).
1910	Annexation by Japan (start of Japanese colonization)	(94).
1910-1945	Japanese colonization: to resist cultural and linguistic genocide Korean nationalists increased nationalistic propaganda stressing racial uniqueness	(95).
1939-45	-World War Two-	
1945-1948	Liberation from Japan: three years of U.S. imposed military government; language becomes a symbol of Korean nationalism*	(95).
1950-53	-The Korean War-	
1953>	Division of Korea into North and South Korea. Readjusting after two wars, colonization by Japan, economic and political transition to industrialization, modernization, capitalism, democracy, and globalization.	

(Constructed according to Choe (2006) and *Kaplan & Baldauf (2003: 35).

Demonstrated in this table is nationalism's crucial role in resisting 20th century destruction of the Korean spirit, language, and culture. In light of the rapid, violent, and arguably involuntary

initiation into the modern global order, the resulting strong nationalism that still characterizes SK is understandable. However, as modernization has transitioned to globalization, SK nationalism may be outmoded for realizing globalization's anticipated economic, political, and cultural benefits (Shin, G. 2006: 221; cf. *cultural exclusivism*; Kim, 2000: 258). Shin affirms, "... the double-edged nature of nationalism…", especially combined with racist ideologies, can support "…domination and repression, intolerance, and persecution…" (Shin, G., 2006: 15). According to Shin, SK's overarching goal with globalization is to become the *hub* of a Northeast Asian countries' (China, Korea, Japan, etc.) regional alliance (217-219). The hub would resist "…white, Western imperialism…" (217, 224), "…U.S.-dominated globalization…" (217), and "…American unilateralism…and …American hegemony…" (218). But to realize this, SK "…must seriously consider the establishment of a democratic institution that can contain repressive, essentialist elements of nationalism", and "…address issues of discrimination against ethnic non-Koreans" (ibid: 233-234). If not, Shin concludes, "…it would be hard to expect Korea to become "Asia's hub"" (ibid: 235). Though close examination of this goal is beyond the present scope, there is a conspicuous sense of irony: if Korean becomes ancillary to English, the possibility of retaining sufficient volition to pursue this overarching goal's seemingly-*Asiacentric* rationale may dissipate.

Interestingly, though, Shin, G., (2006) never discusses English's role in SK's assimilation of globalization. As we have seen, though, English *has* a significant role. Shin states that SK can feasibly exploit globalization "…as a means to enhance... national interests... without substantially altering native culture and values" (211). Clearly, though, successful exploitation of globalization presupposes ELF, and because effectively acquiring a second language entails developing a *bilingual identity*, this includes some degree of *L1* (and implicitly *cultural*), *attrition* (Ellis, 2006: 14). In SK, then, where appropriating globalization requires developing a bilingual population, a significant alteration of traditional monolingual culture is requisite. Thus, SK's ELF problems may correlate strongly with the Koreacentric *ethnoracial nation ideology*.

In order to solve the ED and systemic ELT-inefficiency problems, proposals for instating EOL (English as an official language) occasionally resurface (McKay & Bokhorst-Heng, 2008: 113; Song, J., 2011: 28; Yoo, 2005: 7). To the present, though, EOL has received heated opposition for two reasons. First, it could threaten the Koreacentric monolingual identity (Song, J.Y., 2010: 26). Second, as Song, J., (2012) suggests, instead of affording equal access to English

education, EOL could result in *diglossia*, which would exacerbate ED (correspondence; appendix three). Unfortunately, there is no conspicuous AL discourse addressing *SK diglossia*. According to Fishman (1980), SK is "...one of the countries which can be characterized as lacking bilingualism or diglossia…" (9; cited in Song, J., 1998: 269). However, because it may be corollary to SK's ELF problems, I propose in the next chapter that SK may already be characterized by diglossia. In this vein the next chapter examines the extent to which diglossia relates to disparate power relationships between groups based on race (Korean/non-Korean) and language (Korean/English), which would constitute a second form of linguicism: ELH.

To conclude this chapter is a table summarizing Chapter Three's essential points:

Table 3.15: Chapter Three's significant points

Conspiratorial agency representations	Like macro-CALP, local CALP representations of ED, too, feature conspiracy theory-suggestive ED-agency representations. This may exacerbate the FUNP/CALP rift.
ED has verity	ED is real, and indicates ELI and ELH
Globalization	The actual globalization process, its discourses, and ideology were central to the introduction of ELI and ELH to South Korea.
Complementary ELI/ELH	SK's ELT-Inefficiency-related problems are corollary to anglocentricity (ELI) and koreacentricity (ELH)
Indeterminable agency	Whether ELI and ELH are designed is unclear; what is manifest is how they exacerbate unethical disempowerment of the lower socioeconomic classes, and non-preferred races.
Amidst ubiquitous meritocracy, uniqueness	SK, like many societies is characterized by meritocracy; however, the degree to which societal success presupposes native-level bilingualism distinguishes SK's meritocracy.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE IMMEDIATE CONTEXT: INTRODUCING SOUTH KOREAN DIGLOSSIA (FORMULATED ACCORDING TO PERSONAL EXPERIENCE)

4.1 Diglossia (background and disambiguation)

Although there is no vestigial, modern Korean version, perhaps due to English fever's novelty, in light of SK's purpose with additive bilingualism *diglossia* applies to the present discussion. Ferguson (1959) introduced the now "…widely accepted…" (Fishman, 1967: 29) concept to linguistics (Sebba, 2011: 450). *Diglossia* originally referred to "…one particular kind of standardization [of language] where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play" (Ferguson, 1959: 25). What is meant by *definite roles* is each variety has distinct, *compartmentalized* (Fishman, 1967: 32) *functions* (Ferguson, 1959: 27). The *H ('high')* (ibid: 26), or *superposed* (non-indigenous) variety (ibid: 25), is learned in addition to the indigenous *L ('low')* variety (ibid: 26).

Fishman (1967) supplemented Ferguson's original definition of diglossia (Martin-Jones, 2003: 436) by extending it to include societies that use "…two (or more) languages for internal (intra-society) communication" (Fishman, 1967: 29; cf. *diglossic specimens*, table 4.7). Invoking this extended concept, a central assertion here is that SK may be characterized by diglossia. This may be controversial because the (contemporary) variety of *SK diglossia* proposed here has no antecedent discourse. SK has been seen as a highly monolingual context (Song, J., 1998: 269) categorized according to Fishman's (1967: 30) framework as *neither bilingual nor diglossic* (Fishman, 1980: 9). However, as modernization, and by extension globalization, increasingly result in diglossia (Fishman, 1967: 32), I believe for two reasons: (1): his physical absence from SK, and: (2) his Korean racial characteristics, Song, J. (2012) seems to have disclaimed the unique type of diglossia proposed here (correspondence; appendix three). Nonetheless, as is implicit in Fishman's (1967) model, all language communities, to some extent, exhibit diglossic features (36). Thus, I now attempt to answer Ferguson's (1959: 26, 38; 1991: 49-50, 63-64) and Fishman's (1967: 32, 37) appeals to identify and characterize previously unrecognized diglossias.

4.2 Case study: SK diglossia

In the diglossia proposed here the *H* variety is English, and the *L* variety is Korean. While absolutely dichotomous language *functions* (cf. *function*; 4.3.1) are rare (Sebba, 2011: 451; McKay & Bokhorst-Heng, 2008: 60-61), it seems there is a significant tendency for (non-East-Asian) NESTs to speak to each other in English, and for (racially East-Asian) Koreans to speak to each other in Korean, but to (racially) non-Koreans (cf. 4.3.1.1, 4.4) in English. Thus, the essential feature of this *H/L* relationship is *racially-prompted, group membership qualifying codes-switching* (cf. Fishman, 1965: 90-91). *H* subsequently refers to English (foreign/outside/外:외:*wāy)*, and *L*, to Korean (inside/Korean/內/韓:내/한: *nāy/hŏn)*. In this context residents not exhibiting (East-Asian) Korean racial characteristics are commonly reified as *foreigners* or *outsiders* (외국인: 外國人: *wāy-go͞o͞k-ēn*). I suggest there is a strong correlation between the *monolingual NEST* and *racially/ethnically homogenous Korean* ideologies (cf. 2.5.5, 3.4.2, 4.3.1.2, 4.3.3) and SK diglossia formation. Because it has significant ethical and pedagogical implications for SK residents, I will attempt to characterize the diglossia.

4.2.1 Methodology

Relevant features from Ferguson's (1959) and Fishman's (1967) diglossia frameworks will serve as the primary theoretical basis. Below is Fishman's four-quadrant framework:

Table 4.1: The four possible relationships between bilingualism and diglossia

Q1. Both diglossia and bilingualism	Q2. Bilingualism without diglossia
Q3. Diglossia without bilingualism	Q4. Neither diglossia nor bilingualism

(Fishman, 1967: 30).

And Ferguson's (1959) relevant defining *domains* are construed here:

Table 4.2: Diglossia's original Fergusonian domains

1. Function	Addressed in 4.2, 4.3.1, 4.3.3, 4.4
2. Prestige	Addressed in 3.3, 3.4.1, 4.3.2
3. Literature	Relevant, though outside the present scope.
4. Acquisition	Addressed in 3.3, 3.4.1, 4.3.2, 4.3.3, 4.4
5. Standardization	Refer to *authentic English*: 3.3-3.4
6. Stability	Addressed in 5.0.
7. Grammar	Inapplicable to the present description.
8. Lexicon	Relevant, though beyond the present scope.
9. Phonology	Inapplicable to the present description.

(Ferguson, 1959: 25-34).

These will be applied to results from fieldwork conducted by myself in Seoul commencing in 2010. The following table presents relevant-data-collection methods:

Table 4.3: Outline of the author's field studies examining SK diglossia

Basic Description		Purpose of study	Participants	#
S1	I approached *foreigners* (cf. appendix one).	Can NESTs normally speak Korean; what are their attitudes about SK?	*foreigners* (cf. 4.3.1.1, 4.4)	100
S2	I asked 100 *Koreans* specific questions.	Can South Koreans speak English; what are their *foreigner* attitudes?	*Koreans* (cf. 4.3.1.1)	100
S3	I entered various social/ commercial/ settings.	How *situational* are H/L functional tendencies? (cf. 4.3.1.1)	Commercial employees/customers	50
S4	I asked Koreans why they responded in English.	Why do people speak to me in English, even in response to Korean?	Residents in SK. (cf. 4.3.1.1)	50
S5	I surveyed CELS students (cf. appendix one).	How many CELS graduate students based in SK speak Korean?	CELS graduate students	100*
S6	I surveyed my students (cf. tables 4.6, 4.8).	What are students' attitudes about English and *bilingual approaches*?	My adult critical BA students (cf. 4.5.1)	26

(For more detailed descriptions see appendices one, two, or otherwise indicated subsections).

4.3 Domain

Central to the diglossic view of bilingualism is the concept of *domain* (Sebba, 2011: 451), which Ferguson (1959) describes as *features* (27), and Fishman (1967), as *domains, roles*, or *situations* (32). For Ferguson there are nine domains (table 4.2) which describe the intrinsic characteristics of a given diglossia. As several domains, (*literature, grammar, lexicon, phonology*), are more relevant to characterizing bidialectical diglossias, they will receive less coverage here. One domain, however, *function* (Ferguson, 1959: 27), is integral to characterizing diglossia.

4.3.1 The first domain: *function*

The domain *function* refers to *H* and *L*'s tendencies toward specialization of function: As Ferguson (1959) explains, "In one set of situations only *H* is appropriate and in another only *L*...", with slight overlap (27-28). The following table shows characteristic variety tendencies in bidialectical diglossias:

Table 4.4: Diglossias' *H/L-functional specializations*

Situation	H	L
Sermon in church or mosque	X	
Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks		X
Personal letter	X	
Speech in parliament, political speech	X	
University lecture	X	
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		X
News broadcast	X	
Radio 'soap opera'	X	
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture	X	
Caption on political cartoon		X
Poetry	X	
Folk literature		X

(From Ferguson, 1959: 28)

Apparent here, *H* tends to be used in formal/prestigious situations, and *L*, in informal/low-prestige situations (Sebba, 2011: 450). Similarly, in bilingual diglossias (e.g., Spanish in Paraguay), *H* is used in "…education, religion, government, high culture and social distance or…status stressing spheres" (Fishman, 1967: 31). As Eckert (1980) maintains, *H* and *L* are kept separate so users can "...retain the structural integrity of each language" (1054). And, according to Fishman (1965), habitual choice between *H/L* is not "...a random matter of momentary inclination..." (89). *Proper*/*common* usage of "...only one of the theoretically co-available languages..." (ibid) is determined subjectively by various *environmental factors* (e.g., location, setting, situation), *reference group membership*, or objective physiological criteria-indicated *group membership* (ibid: 90). In SK the most relevant such criterion is *race*.

4.3.1.1 Diglossic function determined by race, realizing (ELH) linguicism

Traditionally *H/L* functions are determined by an environmental factor: *situational formality/prestige* (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1967). But in SK, language selection seems to be determined physiologically by race. Thus the functional dichotomy is *H* (interaction involving a *foreigner*)/*L* (interaction between two Koreans). In *non-bilingual diglossias* (table 4.1) at least one of two economically or politically-united speech communities is marked by impermeability of group boundaries: role and linguistic access are severely restricted for outsiders (Fishman, 1967: 33). This may describe the group boundaries between *Koreans* and *foreigners* in SK, which as subsequently demonstrated, results in a power imbalance. Thus, this form of diglossia seems characterized by (ELH) linguicism, (but is also attributable to ELI-anglocentricity). My public interactions with strangers often reflect this:

Table 4.5: Examples of how South Koreans[19] linguistically designate me as an English-speaking *foreigner*

Context	Linguistic confirmation that I am perceived as, not merely a person, but as an English-speaking *foreigner*
I was walking in the rain with no umbrella, and an elderly Korean man passed me.	As he passed he said, "You.. get.. wet!"
I entered a yoga store to get a yoga brochure. In Korean I asked the mid-30s male front-desk clerk for a brochure.	He replied, "We don't have any brochures in English."
I was at the grocery store and a Korean woman wanted me to step aside so she could reach a product.	She said to me, "Excuse me".
I went to get some sherbet at an ice cream store. In Korean I asked the teenage, male clerk for some sherbet.	He paused for a moment, and then in English asked, "What ice cream do you want?"
I entered a pharmacy and said "hello" to the pharmacist in Korean.	He answered, "Wow! You... Korean good! How long stay Korea?"

(For more examples see appendix four).

While anytime someone addresses me in English Korean access is restricted, it feels most restricted by people who answer Korean with English. With a limited number of *foreigners*, what prompts such code-switching? While approximately only 30,000 (Koreanherald.com) out of 1.2 million (kli.ybm.edu) *foreigners* in SK are NESTs, (2.4%), interaction with one normally represents an opportunity, even a necessity, to speak English. This is reflected in the following

[19] Not only *Koreans* address me in English: *foreigners* do, as well. However with foreigners it is so unquestionably presupposed that it seems to be absolutely naturalized. More studies certainly must be conducted on this, as well.

field results. I asked 100 randomly selected Koreans how they identify *foreigners*. 97% defined *foreigners* as people without *Korean* racial characteristics. This problematically contradicts the technical dictionary definition (cf. table 4.10). Another significant question was, "In which language should you speak to a *foreigner*?" Several respondents' smiles seemed to acknowledge the irony of my asking them in Korean, but nevertheless, 80% answered, "English."This is despite the fact that only 2.4% of *foreigners* in SK are NESTs. However, when asked how many foreigners they had met in SK, 88% answered, "Less than five", 6%, "Between five and ten", and 6%, "More than ten." If Koreans knew empirically that NESTs cannot speak Korean, this would indicate anglocentric ELI linguicism. But as the assumption is largely *a priori*, it reinforces the argument for koreacentric ELH linguicism.

Where, then, does the preconception that *foreigners* should be spoken to in English originate? On one hand, as Joo (2012) discovered, analyzing Korean television broadcasts, *Whites* are represented as *English speakers* **(**202-203; cf. 4.4). Accordingly, many people seem to assume *foreigners* cannot speak Korean, or that they typically speak English. However, on the other hand, *can foreigners* speak Korean? In another field experiment I asked fifty Koreans who had either approached me or responded to my Korean questions in English why they had done so. Forty respondents answered, "Because you're a foreigner.""So?" "Foreigners don't speak Korean.""And me?" "You're an exception." I needed to see for myself, though, to confirm these accounts purporting *foreigner* Korean inability.

4.3.1.2 Foreigner and NEST Korean ability

As I often go weeks without seeing another *foreigner* in my neighborhood, I went to *Ē-tā-wŭn*, a part of *Seoul* commonly known as the *foreigner* Mecca/oasis, to expediently substantiate Koreans' claims that *foreigners* cannot speak Korean. I asked 100 *foreigners* a question anyone bilingual should understand: "Do you know the time? (몇 시인지 아세요?)"Astoundingly, nobody understood! Relevant to the present discussion, switching into English, I also discovered eighty respondents were NESTs! (cf. appendix one). I know some *foreigners* who can speak Korean, so of course these figures need to be verified using more sophisticated research methods. However,

the preliminary suggestion that most NESTs cannot speak Korean may contribute to SK diglossia, and has significant ethical and pedagogical implications, which are subsequently addressed (4.4-4.5).

This may result from conjunctional NEST anglocentricity and Korean Koreacentricity: as Phillipson (1992) maintains, "...lack of insight into the cultural and linguistic background of the learners..." is anglocentricity's corollary (254). I know many expatriated NESTs who have no interest in Korean. However, I also know many who *did*, but fled Korean racism. They had wanted to learn Korean, but left because they felt many Koreans treated them like English-access machines: white face=English/*yellow*[20] face=Korean. Then again, because so many NESTs do not learn Korean, many—apparently most—Koreans assume no white face can speak Korean. What an ideological battlefield! (Implications: 5.0).

4.3.2 The second domain: *prestige*- 1. "Prominence or influential status gained through success, renown, or wealth" (Soukhanov et al, 1988: 932).

As the prestige (status) *authentic English* affords Koreans domestically was examined at length (3.3-3.4), here a feature that distinguishes SK prestige from Ferguson's (1959) *prestige* domain is addressed: whereas traditionally "…speakers regard H as superior to L in a number of respects" (Ferguson, 1959: 29), presupposed in SK prestige is English as a complement to Korean (cf. 3.4.1.3). By itself, English (H) is not superior to Korean (L): alone, monolingual English represents foreignness. However, while Korean functions in (political, commercial, legal, etc.) social institutions, it is also the language of "…intimacy and primary [Korean] group solidarity…" (Fishman, 1967: 31). Thus, while historically knowledge of *H* "...becomes requisite for access to power and mobility within the society" (Eckert, 1980: 1056), in SK English alone provides neither prestige nor power. Likewise, as students suffering from *English fever* attest, *Korean* monolingualism is debilitating. The following table illustrates my students', nearly all of whom are *office-workers* (*hwāy-sŏ-wŭn*: 회사원), awareness of English prestige:

[20] The Korean word for (racially) *Asian person* translates literally as *yellow person* (*hwŏng-ēn*: 황인). Correspondingly, the word for (Caucasian) *white person* translates literally as *white person* (*bāg-ēn*: 백인).

Table 4.6: Survey: I asked my students if English is important, and if so why they study it

Questions to my students	Most common answers	Frequency
Is it important to learn English?	Yes.	100%
Do you study English because you love English?	No.	90%
Why, then, do you pay to study with me?	"To go to a good university." "To get a good/better job." "To get a promotion."	90%

Evident here is the social-success-formula mentality (cf. 3.3) in which *white-collar* jobs signal higher status than *blue-collar* jobs (Song, 2011: 43).As stated (3.4.1.3), while a similar ideology exists in *Centre* countries, advanced level bilingualism is less a factor in qualifying candidates for such jobs. Thus, while *elite intragroup monolingualism* commonly characterizes *diglossias without bilingualism* (Fishman, 1967: 33), in SK, *bilingualism* is increasingly prerequisite to acquiring elite prestige (Shin, H., 2010: 11-12). Bilingual *acquisition* is the next relevant Fergusonian domain.

4.3.3 The third domain: *acquisition*

Acquisition can be understood as ensuing from *access* to the target language. In addition to *functional specialization* (4.3.1), Fishman (1967) stipulates *widespread access* to both *H* and *L* as essentially distinguishing *bilingualism and diglossia* (Q1) from *diglossia without bilingualism* (Q3) (32; cf. table 4.1). *Access* as a factor determining diglossic classification is demonstrated in the following Ferguson (1959) and Fishman (1967) examples:

Table 4.7: Access as the primary determining factor in diglossic classification

Context	*H* language	Degree of access	Type of diglossia	Source
German-speaking Switzerland	Standard German	*H* taught to everyone.	Diglossia and bilingualism (Q1)	(Ferguson, 1959: 26).
Botswana	English	H access restricted to the educated.	Diglossia without bilingualism (Q3)	(Bagwasi, 2003: 212).
Pre-WWI Europe	French	H for elites/L for the masses.	Diglossia without bilingualism (Q3)	(Fishman, 1967: 33).
Singapore	English	All children taught *H* and L1.	Bilingualism without diglossia (Q2)	(Vaish, 2007: 178).
Paraguay	Spanish	Nearly everyone speaks *H* and *L*.	Diglossia and bilingualism (Q1)	(Fishman, 1967: 31).

Apparent here, *access* is integral to determining diglossic variety: greater access results in wider bilingualism. Simultaneously, though, *access* is contingent upon *function*. If SK residents spoke

to each other in English *and* Korean, access to both languages would consequently increase (cf. Chapter Five). This would reclassify SK as either (Q1) or (Q2), depending, still, upon the extent of *H/L functional compartmentalization* (Fishman, 1967: 32). However, this might require, as Ferguson (1959) speculates, a radical change in acquisition pattern (30). Thus, due to the functional specialization tendency (English for *foreigners*/Korean for Koreans), and because Korean (conversely with English) is normally learned as the L1 while *H* is learned subsequently through formal education (Ferguson, 1959: 30), access to the L2s are restricted. The following table illustrates English accessibility according to my students' acquisition habits:

Table 4.8: Survey: How do my students access English?

Question to my students	Most common answers	Frequency
How do you learn English?	At school, or in a private class, like this one	100%
How much do you practice English outside of class?	Less than one hour per week. 1-3 hours per week.	80% 10%
How do you practice English outside of class?	"Study class notes." "Read books/watch movies."	80%
But how much do you *interactively* practice English outside of class?	Less than ten minutes (translate: *no practice*). 2-3 hours per week.	80% 20%
How do you interactively practice English?	"With foreigner friends." "At work with foreigners."	10% /10%
Do you know any other English students?	Of course.	100%
Why don't you practice with them?	"I'm too shy." "I tried, but couldn't understand." "Korean is appropriate." "My English is too bad."	80%
Whom should you practice with then?	Foreigners.	90%
Why don't you practice with a *foreigner*, then?	I don't know any foreigners. I'm scared to talk to a foreigner. My English is too bad.	80%

The above data suggests that although all my students know other English learners, inter-Korean English interaction is generally not regarded as a legitimate means of access. And because foreigners, particularly *Whites* (cf. Joo, 2012: 202-203), *do* represent legitimate English access, as evidenced by SK's goal with English (cf. table 3.10: 2; Liu et al., 2004: 606), this indicates the second type of effective linguicism that may be corollary to anglocentricity's monolingualism and Koreacentricity's homogeneous ethnoracial ideologies (cf. ch. five). Nevertheless, learner acquisition seems generally deterred by the apparent *H/L functional tendency*, which may support a claim for diglossia in SK. Nevertheless, whether or not the proposed SK diglossia is officially recognized, the related ethical, political, and pedagogical implications for SK residents are certainly real. These are now examined.

4.4 The ethical, political and pedagogical implications for NESTs in SK

Because the ethical and political implications of ELF for Koreans were covered at length in chapter three, those for NESTs, which nonetheless have consequences for Koreans, are addressed here. The main implications involve social identity and its relation to power and language. While *language and identity* as it pertains to EFL/ESL learners has become a prominent discourse in AL (Amin, 1997; Norton-Peirce, 1997, 1995; Thesen, 1997; Ochs, 1993), the concept as it relates to EFL teachers has not received substantial coverage (Duff and Uchida, 1997: 458). In SK the recognized advantages of learning English include:

Table 4.9: South Koreans' motivations for learning English

Motivation	Source
Accessing the 80% English-conveyed internet	(Crystal, 2003: 113).
Travelling and representing oneself independently in the world	(common knowledge).
Mobility within the global business network/ transnational corporations	(McKay & Bokhorst-Heng, 2008: 11).
Understanding other English-conveyed cultural products (movies, music, etc.)	(McKay & Bokhorst-Heng, 2008: 11).
The possibility of upward social mobility	(Kachru, 1986).
Increased individual/ national political, economic, and cultural power	(SK official Engish goals; table 3.3, 4.9).
Forming a bilingual/bicultural identity	(Ellis, 2006).
Getting a job promotion/more effective job execution	(cf. table thirty 4.9).

However, as reflected in almost absolute NEST Korean inability (4.3.1.2), the advantages of learning Korean for NESTs, though largely analogous—albeit locally, are not often reified. The concern is that without Korean it may be impossible, not merely to develop Korean (bilingual) identities, but to *linguistically ratify* (Ochs, 1993: 290-291) the claim to equal treatment as dignified humans by Koreans. This invokes the *ethical criterion* (2.2). Referring back to 4.3.1.1, SK residents' common criterion for *identifying foreigners* and *Koreans* is logically and ethically problematic. This becomes palpable comparing the words' Korean definitions:

Table 4.10: Korean language definitions: *foreigner* and *South Korean*

Term		Korean language dictionary denotation
D1	*Foreigner* *Wāy-go͞ok-ēn* (외국인)	A person who does not have our country's nationality "우리 나라의 국적을 갖지 않은 사람"
D2	*South Korean* *Hŏn-go͞ok-ēn* (한국인)	A person who has a South Korean nationality, or a person who has the Korean race's blood and mentality (spirit). "한국 국적을 가졌거나 한민족의 혈통과 정신을 가진 사람"

(krdic.naver.com; my translation)

Most significant here is the *or* in *D2*: clearly, most respondents in study (table 4.3: S2-S4; cf. 4.3.1.1) disregard *naturalized South Koreans* when they assume people not exhibiting *Korean* (East-Asian) racial characteristics are *foreigners*. So who is wrong, the dictionary or the people? As SK made *foreigners* (and biracial progeny of Korean males) eligible for naturalization in 1948 (Choe, 2006: 102), it is *technically* impossible to identify a *foreigner* without examining individuals' passports. However six decades has proved insufficient to dispel prejudice. In addition to more explicit examples than table 4.5's, I often overhear half-muffled whispers of, "Hey, it's a foreigner!" While such *othering* (cf. Van Dijk, 1993), or *identity constructing* (Ochs, 1993: 289), hardly compares to the treatment *Mzungus* in Tanzania receive (Christofferson, 2011: 78, 146), what *foreigner* (*Wāy-go͞ok-ēn* (외국인) presupposes may be untenable. Echoing Shin's (2006) criticism of SK nationalism (3.4.2.2), Joo (2012) maintains SK has "… an ideology of national superiority and an ideological system of stratified racial order" (16), which are represented in the following table:

Table 4.11: South Korea's racial hierarchy and these races' stereotyped characteristics

Hierarchy of *fixed racial identity categories* (Thesen, 1997: 488) in SK society in order of superiority (Joo, 2012: 42).	Homogeneous characteristics
1. *Whites*	Foreign, elite, tourists/visitors (ibid: 67-69, 133-134). Criminals, druggies, **Korean inability** (ibid: 126-129, 202).
2. *Koreans*	Inferior to Whites, but superior to non-Whites (ibid: 69). Pure, homogenous (ibid: 16, 63) (**presupposed Korean ability**).
3. *Blacks*, *South-East Asians*, and other *non-Whites racial minorities*	Visitors, migrant workers, athletes (blacks), criminals, in order to assimilate, **requisite Korean ability** (120, 203).

Most relevant here is *perceived language ability*. Joo (2012) asserts that although they *can* and *must* speak Korean, *non-White* ethnic minorities are regarded as racially inferior (203). *Whites*, though, superior even to Koreans, epitomize *foreigners, Americans* (ibid: 67-69), or *NESTs* (ibid: 229). That *non-White* minorities face substantial discrimination is a valid point: but attempting to manifest this Joo implies that because they are regarded as superior by Koreans, *Whites* are free from discrimination (ibid: 228-229). Yet, because the media represents them as elite, transient English speakers, the public assumes *Whites* never learn Korean (ibid: 202-203). Implicitly here, many assume it is requisite to speak English with *Whites*, which would reinforce the *H/L functional tendency* (4.2, 4.3.1.1). A significant query, then, is whether, because the media represents them as Korean speakers, *non-White* minorities— despite their perceived racial inferiority, have greater access to linguistically-derived power. Joo problematically concludes that SK's *multiculturalism* is more "…open-minded towards *White* Westerners…" than non-*Whites* (2012: 236). But this *multiculturalism national policy* (ibid: 158) is based on *assimilationism* (ibid: 236), an essential condition of which is learning Korean (ibid: 236). If *Whites* are regarded as non-Korean learners, they cannot meet this prerequisite. Therefore, more accurately, *all* non-Korean-speaking *foreigners* would be grouped collectively—not necessarily as *inferior*, but certainly factiously as *different*: incapable of gaining access to, and constructing identities as, equal members of society. This underscores the significance of *language* in identity formation.

4.4.1 Language and identity

Identity is "[t]he set of behavioral or personal characteristics by which an individual is recognizable as a member of a group" (Soukhanov et al, 1988: 607). Social psychologists, too, recognize the *extreme significance* of group membership to individual identity: "The human species is highly adapted to group living and not well equipped to survive outside a group context" (Brewer, 1991: 475). And linguist Norton-Peirce (1995) affirms that language is constitutive of both versions of identity (individual/individual within a group): "It is through language that a person negotiates a sense of *self*…" (13; my emphasis), or *identity* (Norton-Peirce, 1997, 1995; Duff and Uchida, 1997; Thesen, 1997; Ochs, 1993), and pursues access to *powerful social [group] networks* (Norton-Peirce, 1995: 13). Indeed, group access depends on

its interlocutors' possessing a common language. Ochs (1993) stipulates sharing linguistic conventions as one condition for effectively projecting a desired social identity (289-290). However, attaining the identity is not automatic: while second language discourse sometimes "…promises liberation…" upon acquisition of an L2 (Amin, 1997: 581), successful realization depends on accepted group members' *ratifying* the prospective member's claim to that identity, either willingly or grudgingly (Ochs, 1993: 290). As evidenced, for NESTSs in SK it tends toward the latter. This is because social groups attempt to position individuals according to *fixed identity categories*; e.g., race (Thesen, 1997: 488). But as Norton Peirce (1995) forcefully advances, language also *enables* individuals to resist automatic assignment to these fixed identity categories, even to "…set up a counterdiscourse which positions the person in a powerful rather than marginalized subject position" (16). This is reflected in personal experience: Whereas now I observe no difference in how neighborhood-store employees treat me and *Korean* patrons, once it was often, "Wow! Your Korean is so good!" Or, "Wow! A Korean-speaking foreigner!" But after consistently asserting my identity as an equal member of the Korean-speaking community, I usually only receive pleasantries and platitudes (in Korean); because many *Koreans* are inherently *jŭng-ē mŏn-ŏ͡ŏn* (정이 많은): *affectionate*. However, and it is one of the key contentions of this analysis, without Korean, *foreigners* may never effectively challenge *ignoring* or *ignorant Koreacentrists'* designations to one of the following dichotomies' second subsets:

Table 4.12: Various discriminatory SK fixed identity dichotomies for *Koreans*/*foreigners*

+ (Korean) Subset	— (Foreigner) Subset	Page
Our country person	*Outsider, other, foreigner*	68, 72, 118
Us	*Them*	157, 194
Normal	*Deviant, criminal, diseased*	22, 152, 126, 172
Upper-class	*Lower-class*	191
Permanent citizens	*Migrant workers*	68, 123

(According to Joo, 2012)

And, because NEST monolingualism is so prevalent, fighting NEST/Korean-attributable linguicism is problematized. As outlined previously, this is socially disempowering, and violates the ethical criterion. The following table represents additional practical situations in which Korean inability prevents residents from realizing autonomy within, and thus accessing, Norton-Peirce's (1995) *powerful social networks* (13):

Table 4.13: Other practical situations in which Korean inability can be disempowering

— Not being able to understand your students belittling you to your face in Korean.
— Not being able to dispute a contract inconsistency if your boss says, "Sorry, I don't understand!"
— Being taken advantage of by landlords who say "Sorry, you/I don't understand."
— Not being able to find where you're going in public without an interpreter.
— Always being socially dependent on interpretation in interactions with 98% of the population.
— Not being able to communicate with the +90% monolingual Korean population.
— Being disempowered when interlocutors cannot, or refuse, to speak (English).
— Depending on KEST team-teachers to plan teaching and administrative duties.

. (Examples compiled from interviews with *foreigners* and from personal experience.)

"So what!" exclaim anglocentric NESTs. "I came to SK to see the world and work, not become a Korean. I can go to *Ē-tā-wŭn* on the weekends to meet my expat friends"— (such behavior may typify *stigmatized individuals' coping behavior*: similarly stigmatized individuals are drawn together, and the stimgmatized-identity's, (*foreigner),* determining characteristic (*race/ethnicity*) within the dominant social group (*Koreans*) becomes prerequisite for membership in the new group (*expats*) (Brewer, 1991: 481). "Then I go back to my school to teach—I definitely don't need Korean for that!" (cf. appendix one). This comment introduces the next subsection.

4.5 Diglossia's pedagogical implications for NESTs in SK

While monolingual approaches are believed to have dominated *TESOL* for over a century because of, among other factors, *bilingual approaches'* (subsequently *BA*) impracticality in ESL contexts (Cook, 1999: 201), *BA* have seen no shortage of coverage in recent years (cf. Littlewood & Yu, 2011; Ellis, 2006, 2004; Liu et al, 2004; Cook, 2001, 1999; Swain & Lapkin, 2000; Antón & Dicamilla, 1999; Auerbach, 1993; Littlewood, 1981). *BA* advocacy has led to a debate regarding which approach is more effective. Historically, advocates of monolingual approaches cite the following advantages:

Table 4.14: The assumed advantages of monolingual approaches

Advantages of a monolingual approach	Source
Maximization of (incomprehensible/comprehensible) L2 input	(Krashen, 1985).
Students may learn to recognize the L2 as an "…effective means of satisfying their communicative needs"	(Littlewood, 1981: 45).
Classroom interaction may be the only "…true experience of the L2…" students ever encounter	(Cook, 2001; 402-423).
In ESL contexts sole use of the L2 is democratic, logical, and thus axiomatic	(Ellis, 2004: 93; Auerbach, 1993:23).

However, *BA* advocates claim *LI's monolingual tenet* legitimizes NESTS' not learning their students' L1s (Phillipson, 1992: 192; cf. 3.4.2.1), and likewise reinforces the *NEST=ideal teacher fallacy* (cf. Auerbach, 1993: 13-14; Cook, 1999: 188; Ellis, 2004: 42-43; Littlewood & Yu, 2011: 65). In actuality, we postulate, *judicious* L1 use, particularly in EFL contexts, has the following advantages:

Table 4.15: The assumed advantages of bilingual approaches

Advantages of a bilingual approach	Source
"…the use of L1 enables learners to work effectively in the zone of proximal development..."	(Antón & Dicamilla, 1999: 234).
"When students need the meaning of a new word or grammatical structure, they can access it through translation into their L1…"	(Cook, 1999: 201).
The L1 helps students "…to understand and make sense of the requirements and content of the task; to focus attention on language form, vocabulary use, and overall organization…"	(Swain & Lapkin, 2000: 268).
Classroom L1 use helps students who want to "…pursue interpreting as a profession or to perform it informally within their speech community..."	(Ellis, 2004: 98).
The L1helps when "… explaining difficult vocabulary and grammar… saving time, highlighting important information, and managing students' behavior"	(Liu et al., 2004: 616).

While strategic use of students' L1s is known to benefit lower proficiency EFL classes (Antón & Dicamilla, 1999: 234), problematically, *BA* advocates often represent *NNESTs*[21] as the only relevant *BA* practitioners. This would seem a form of linguistic *affirmative action* (*AA*) intended to aggrandize long-disregarded NNESTs. Sowell (2004) argues AA may entail "…preferences that benefit more fortunate members of less fortunate groups…" (13). Locally, KESTs are racially and linguistically dominant. Conversely, those not benefiting from AA are "…likely to

[21] *NNESTs* refers to *non-native-English-speaking-(English)-teachers*; as stated, these are *KESTs* in South Korea.

be the least advantaged of the non-preferred population, even if that population as a whole may be more fortunate than the group that has been given preferences" (168). In the context of ELI, monolingual NESTs historically have been globally dominant. However, bilingual NESTs seldom receive recognition in AL discourse. Rather, they are often represented as *less effective monolinguals*:

Table 4.16: Representations in which the *effective bilingual NNEST/ less effective monolingual NEST* dichotomy is explicitly or implicitly assumed

Representation	Source
"The native speaker teacher cannot appreciate their [NNESTs'] experiences and problems except at second hand"	(Cook, 2002: 10).
"…a teacher uses the TL all the time because he or she cannot speak the students' L1. The most familiar instance of this is when native-speaker teachers of English travel abroad to teach their own language"	(Littlewood & Yu, 2011: 64-65).
"The expertise of NNS teachers as bilinguals is not adequately acknowledged, given that many NS teachers are often monolinguals…"; Institutionalizing EO deprives NNESTs "...of one of their advantages of using a shared mother tongue with their students..."	(Shin, H., 2007: 79).
"The rationale behind the policy of hiring native English speakers to teach English in Korea is that English should be taught monolingually by native speakers"	(Jeon, 2009: 237).
"If familiarity with the language and culture of the learners was made a requirement for expert status, Centre inter-state actors would be immediately disqualified… It is therefore arguable, as a general principle, that [NNESTS] may in fact be better qualified than [NESTS]…"	(Phillipson, 1992: 193-195).
"*Only non-NESTs can benefit from sharing the learners' mother tongue"*	*(*Medgyes, 1992: 347).
"...English instructors must be 'native speakers', thus perpetuating the fallacy that the best way to ensure that only English is spoken in the classroom is to employ teachers who are monolingual...	(Canagarajah, 1999: 126).
"I will use the term 'bilingual users of English' here to describe individuals who use English as a second language…"	(McKay, 2003: 3).
NNESTs' "…familiarity with the local society thus promises them a unique identity as agents of change in language policy and facilitators of the administrative mechanism in the schools	(Tang, 1997: 579).
"…the nonnative-speaker teacher…is in a better position to know what is appropriate in the contexts of language learning…"	(Widdowson, 1994: 387).

Such neglect may not be deliberate: as Littlewood (2012) apologizes, "…there isn't any 'principled' reason for omitting bilingual NESTs - …it's simply that... there are not so many and no-one has got round to paying attention to them!" (correspondence; appendix three). Liu (2012) adds, "It thus doesn't make much sense nor does it seem really feasible to examine NEST

teachers' bilingual practice" (correspondence; appendix three). While field results do suggest almost absolute NEST Korean inability (4.3.1.2), recognizing only bilingual NNESTs reinforces the stereotype that NESTs are normally illegitimate monolinguals. Ignoring the *NESTs who do not know their students' L1 pandemic* also disregards developing bilingualism in this significant demographic (30,000 NESTs in SK). And this is just as authorities introduce 23,000 EO-teachers by the end of 2012 (Song, S., 2008) with various *side-effects* (Park, J.S.Y., 2009: 53). As now may be a *crisis* for bilingual classrooms, I attempt to demonstrate how a *judicious use* of students' L1 facilitates *SLA* in particular contexts.

4.5.1 Relevant features of a bilingual approach for low/intermediate fluency EFL classes in which teachers speak their students' L1

Commencing seven years ago monolingually, but transitioning to a bilingual approach as my Korean developed, abstemious Korean exploitation has proven to facilitate the following fundamental teacher/student purposes:

Table 4.17: Fundamental teacher/student purposes; juxtaposed with concepts from SLA theory

Term	Definition	Source	SLA conceptual comparison
teach	"1. To impart knowledge or skill to: INSTRUCT"	(Soukhanov et al, 1988: 1187).	*Scaffolding* (Vygotsky, 1978: 86).
knowledge	"1. The state or fact of *knowing*"	(ibid: 669; my emphasis).	
know	"2. To believe to be true with absolute certainty"	(ibid).	*Intersubjectivity (*Antón & Dicamilla, 1999: 236).
learn	"1. To gain knowledge, *comprehension*, or mastery of through study or experience. 2. To fix in the mind: MEMORIZE"	(ibid: 683; my emphasis).	*learning/ acquisition* Krashen (1982: 10). *Explicit/implicit* learning (Stern, 1983: 342-343).
comprehension	"The act or fact of comprehending: UNDERSTANDING"	(ibid: 292).	*Intrapsychological/cognitive* mediation *(*Antón & Dicamilla, 1999: 233*)*.

As stated in previously (3.4.2.2), SK students normally do not recognize practical access to English outside the classroom. Thus, efficiently using class time is essential to maximizing effective *teaching* and *learning*. Judging from its frequent appearance in the literature (Liu et al, 2004: 621; Cook, 2001: 418; Antón & Dicamilla, 1999: 234, 245; Swain & Lapkin, 2000: 268),

increased *efficiency/effectiveness* of *teaching/learning* may be regarded as *BA's* fundamental advantage. This invokes a *Vygotskian psycholinguistics* theoretical framework (Vygotsky, 1978): students' L1 has been found to enable more effective use of the *zone of proximal development* (ZPD) (Antón & Dicamilla, 1999: 234, 239), in which *scaffolding* (Wood et al., 1976: 90, 98) occurs. The *ZPD* is loosely defined as "…the area in which learning takes place" (Kinginger, 2002: 253). More specifically it is the distance between students' *actual* (independently achieved) developmental levels and their *potential* developmental levels, attainable with teacher assistance, or *scaffolding* (Vygotsky, 1978: 86). In *scaffolding* teachers remove the task elements which are too complex so that students can first process those understandable elements (Wood et al., 1976: 90). Successful scaffolding—the point at which potential development becomes actual, when students can independently complete tasks—presupposes the students *comprehend the task's solution* (ibid; cf. 4.5.1; *learn*: #1, table 4.21); that is, achieve *intersubjectivity:* "…construct with the expert a shared perspective…"(Antón & Dicamilla, 1999: 236). And when that task is SLA, Antón & Dicamilla (1999) maintain, the students' L1 becomes the critical device that enables *intersubjectivity*, and consequently, *scaffolding* (ibid: 235-236).

Here it is suggested that using the students' L1 not only enables scaffolding, but increases a greater number of students' ZPDs; that is, not only is intersubjectivity achieved more often, students' *potential* for comprehending abstracter concepts *intuitively* (Stern, 1983: 342-343) increases. This is illustrated by my adult students' acquisition of several Korean/English-*specific- grammatical properties' parameter variations* (Johnson and Newport, 1991: 218):

Table 4.18: Several complex, yet universal English/Korean-*specific*-grammatical properties

Table 4.18a: English: relative pronouns. Corresponding Korean feature: *ŭ-mē* (어ㅁ|)

English feature	Corresponding Korean feature	English example	Korean equivalent
The relative pronouns *that*/*who*.	the *ŭ-mēs* (어ㅁ|) *dŭn* (던) /ʊ̄ʊ̄n (은 3) (Sŭ et al., 2006: 200, 574)	The house **that** burned to the ground was the house **that** I'd been wanting to buy.	화재로 전부 타버렸**던** 집은 내가 사기를 원하고 있었**던** 집이였어.
(Corresponding inflections in bold).		Grandma's the one **who** drank all the *sō-jʊ̄ʊ̄*!	할머니는 소주를 다 드**신** 사람이야!

Table 4.18b: English: subordinate conjunctions. Corresponding Korean feature: *ŭ-mē* (어미)

English feature	Corresponding Korean feature	English example	Korean equivalent
The subordinate conjunctions *that/if* projecting mental verb processes' separate ranked clauses.	The *ŭ-mē* (어미) *nŏŏn-jē* (**는**지) Sŭ (서상규) et al., 2006: 164).	I know (**that**) you don't like *kēm-chē*, eh.	(내가) 너가 김치를 싫어하**는지** 알고 있지.
(Corresponding inflections in bold).		I didn't know **if** you liked *sō-jŏŏ*(**or not**).	내가) 사모님이 소주를 좋아하시**는지** 싫어하시**는지** 몰랐습니다.

Table 4.18c: Expressing modality of *ability, obligation*

Interpersonal-grammar function	English feature	Corresponding Korean feature	English example	Korean equivalent
Expressing modality (Butt et al., 2000: Ch. 5).	Interpersonal grammatical metaphor	verb stem(어간)+ *ŭ-mē* (어미) *ŭ-yŏ*(어야)+helping verb *hŏ-dŏ* (보조동사 *하다* 2) (Sŭ (서상규) et al., 2006: 507, 764).	You **gotta/have to** play basketball.	(니가) 농구**해야 돼**.
(Corresponding inflections in bold).	Modal finite together with a mood adjunct	mood adjunct *wŏn-jŭn* (완전)+ verb stem (어간)+ *ŭ-mē* (어미) *ŏŏl* (ㄹ/을 2)+dependent noun *sŏŏ-gĕt-dŏ* (의존명사 '수 3'가 있다) (ibid: 437, 577).	You **can totally** chug the whole bottle, in'it!	형은 병을 다 단숨에 **완전** 들이켜버리**실 수 있**네!

Table 4.18d: Conveying subjunctive/conditional moods

Interpersonal grammatical func.	English feature	Corresponding Korean feature	English example	Korean equivalent
Simple present/future aspect; predictive conditional	if +we'll	*ŭ-mē (*어미) *myŭn*(면 2)+ *ŭ-mē* **(**어미) *gĕt-dŏ* **(**겠다). (Sŭ (서상규) et al., 2006: 36, 289).	After class, **if** we have enough time, **we'll** play a game	수업을 끝난후에 시간이 충분히 있으**면**, 우리가 게임을 **하겠다**)
(Corresponding inflections in bold).	If+ past subjunctive aspect+ modal finite	Korean feature: *ŭ-mē* (어미)*dŏ-myŭn*(다면)+ verb stem+*ŭ-mē* (어미) *ŏŏl* (ㄹ/을 2)+ *gŭsh- ē -dŏ* (것이다) (ibid: 35, 577).	**If** I had enough money, **I'd** retire.	나 돈은 충분히 있**다면**, 은퇴**할 것이다**.

Normally we utilize *BA* when monolingual scaffolding proves ineffective, but to ascertain its feasibility, my *intermediate fluency* (Krashen and Terrell, 1983: 30) class voluntarily adopted EO

for one lesson. For a particular challenge we examined various subjunctive/conditional mood parameters, which for L1 Korean speakers are often not *acquirable* (see Krashen, 1982: 21) *through context* (McLaughlin, 1987; cited in Romeo, 2003):

Table 4.19: Using only EO to scaffold language-specific grammatical properties/marked critical features

General description of experiment:	(I wrote four sentences on the whiteboard; two demonstrating past subjunctive mood/ speculative conditional mood, and two demonstrating predictive conditional mood in the main clauses):
First grammatical construct's metalinguistic description:	Past subjunctive mood in the dependent clause/ speculative conditional mood in the main clause:
Demonstration of construct's marked critical features:	— **(**Motioning to a whale...) **If** *I* **was** that chubby, ***I'd*** go on a diet, eh? — **(If** I **had** enough money, **I' d** retire.
Second construct's metalinguistic description:	Simple present/future aspect in the dependent clause/ predictive conditional mood in the main clause:
Demonstration of construct's marked critical features:	— (Checking my wallet…) Hey ya'll! **If** I **got** 20,000 won, **I'll buy** you guys some beer! How's that sound! — At the end of class, **if** we have enough time, **we'll** play a game.

The experiments' results are significant: less than 25% of the students experienced intersubjectivity. Instead, many became frustrated or dejected at repeatedly misunderstanding. However, in the subsequent class, we reintroduced Korean to scaffold the same constructs:

Table 4.20: Using Korean to scaffold language-specific grammatical properties/ marked critical features

General description of experiment	This time with the addition of Korean translations, I wrote the same four sentences and their *marked critical features*' metalinguistic descriptions on the whiteboard:
First grammatical construct's metalinguistic description	Past subjunctive mood in the dependent clause/ speculative conditional mood in the main clause: 종의절에 과거가정법이 있고 주절에 추측에 근거한 조건법 나타낼 때:
Bilingual demonstration of the first construct's marked critical features	(Motioning to a whale...) If *I* was that chubby, *I'd* go on a diet, eh? (고래를 가리키면서) 내가 그렇게 엄청 살찐애라면, (난) 식이요법을 하겠지? If I had enough money, I'd retire. (저는) 돈은 충분히 있다면 은퇴할 거야.
Second grammatical construct's metalinguistic description	Simple present/future aspect in the dependent clause/ predictive conditional mood in the main clause: 종의절에 간단한 현재/미래 상과 주절에 가설의 추측에 근거한 조건법 있을 때:
Bilingual demonstration of the second construct's marked critical features	(Checking my wallet…) Hey ya'll! If I got 20,000 won, I'll buy you guys some beer! How's that sound! (지갑에 돈이 있는지 확인하면서…) 얘들아! 2 만원이 있으면 너희들에게 맥주를 사 줄께! 그게 어때! After class, if we have enough time, how's about us playin' a game? 수업이 끝난후에 시간이 충분히 있으면, 우리가 게임을 하는 게 어떨까?

The improvement was unequivocal: not only did everyone understand the constructs' *parametric variations* (Johnson and Newport, 1991: 218-219), with leftover time we had a chance to apply various *modal finites* (Butt et al., 2000: Ch. 4) within the constructs. The unique way Korean facilitates teachers' fourth and sixth *scaffolding functions (*Wood et al., 1976: 98) may explain our improvement:

Table 4.21: The relevant Wood et al., (1976) *teachers' scaffolding functions*

4th scaffolding function	"*Marking critical features.* A tutor by a variety of means marks or accentuates certain features of the task that are relevant. His marking provides information about the discrepancy between what the child has produced and what he would recognize as a correct production. His task is to interpret discrepancies."
6th scaffolding function	"*Demonstration*. Demonstrating or "modelling" solutions to a task... often involves an "idealization" of the act to be performed and it may involve completion or even explication of a solution... In this sense, the tutor is "imitating" in idealized form an attempted solution... in the expectation that the learner will then "imitate" it back in a more appropriate form."

(Table constructed according to (Wood et al., 1976: 98)

These two functions appear largely complementary, even synonymous, thus are combined into *demonstrating critical features*. Here this means comprehensibly modeling those *universal grammar properties' parameter settings* (Johnson and Newport, 1991: 218-219) that seem *language-specific* (table 4.18). And because L2s are learned "…on the basis of our experiences as first language users…" (Stern, 1983: 345), this entails using Korean. One of SK's purposes with EO is increasing (in)*comprehensible input* (Kang, 2008: 215), which invokes the *implicit acquisition/ explicit learning* dichotomy (Krashen, 1982: 10; Stern, 1983: 342). However, as DeKeyser (2000) affirms, implicit acquisition requires "…massive amounts of input…" (520), which is unavailable to my students. Instead, adults better exploit *explicit learning* (ibid), which, I suggest, can be made *implicit* using the students' L1. Because L1 speakers all "…arguably have similar competences…" (Cook, 1999: 190), that is, "…know their languages perfectly" (James, 1998: 2; cited in Cook, 1999: 189), they can apply their L1s' rules intuitively (Stern, 1983: 342). But, as Stern (ibid) maintains, this does not necessarily presuppose explicitly "…knowing *about* the language…"—about grammatical *metalanguage* (342). Thus, while Antón & Dicamilla's (1999) *low proficiency* (234) students' L1 has as a *metalinguistic function* (239), for my students, metalinguistic explanations in Korean can be confusing. However Korean, as a tool for

understanding meaning (ibid: 239-240), enables my students to grasp automatically and apply interlingually universal grammatical properties they have known implicitly their whole lives. Translation provides an analogy that concretely and directly answers students' underlying practical questions: e.g., "How do I say, *너라면 안 가겠다는 말이야*?" (*I'm tellin' you, I wouldn't go if I were you*); not "What metalinguistic function does this sentence perform?". Most of my students intend to become competent English speakers—not grammar teachers. So, while metalanguage *is* another tool that produces efficient scaffolding, intermediate learners can use English for this, simultaneously maximizing comprehensible input by reducing total L1 usage to a parsimonious ten to twenty percent.

I hope this section partially manifests, yet modifies, Skutnabb-Kangas's (1998) assertion that monolingual NESTs (all EO instructors) are "…per definition incompetent" (22), and adds credence to the proposition that monolingual-NEST efficiency is conducive to both ELI and ELH linguicism forms. One lingering question, though, is once classes achieve efficient scaffolding, how can students be enabled to retain (*actually acquire*) that knowledge through extracurricular practice? (cf. 5.3).

To conclude is a table summarizing chapter four's essential points:

Table 4.22: Chapter Four's significant points

diglossia	SK seems to be characterized by *diglossia without bilingualism*, in which the *H* variety is English, and is spoken by NESTs and elite Koreans, and the *L* variety is Korean, which is spoken as a language of Korean solidarity primarily between Koreans.
monolingualism	The high degree of NEST/Korean monolingualism seems attributable to ELI *and* ELH.
a priori assumption	Because most Koreans do not actually meet NESTS it is prejudiced to assume they are categorical monolinguals. This is attributable largely to koreacentric ELH, but also to actual, high-level NEST monolingualism for those Koreans who do know NESTs.
English access	Due primarily to ELH (Koreacentricity), Koreans do not recognize speaking inter-racially in English as legitimate access. This exacerbates ED and Korean linguicism, in general.
identity	Without Korean, it is largely impossible for monolingual NESTs to access powerful social networks, which presuppose Korean. This indicates effective ELI and ELH linguicism.
BA/ monolingual-ELT approaches	Especially for lower-proficiency classes, bilingual approaches seem far more effective and efficient than monolingual ones at scaffolding complicated universal grammar properties.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

5.1 Linguicism

In this dissertation I have drawn heavily on the concept of *linguicism*, defined (cf. 2.5.2), and attributed to Phillipson (1992). However, *linguicism* was originally defined by Skutnabb-Kangas (1988: 42). Attempting to substantiate the ELI/ELH linguicism varieties characterized and proposed here, I corresponded via email with both, asking if the following examples manifest linguicism:

Table 5.1: Excerpt from email correspondence with Skutnabb-Kangas

My questions: "1. Do you feel the following are clearly instances of linguicism? **a**. I go to the grocery store, ask where something is, in Korean, and the employee answers me in English. I then tell the employee…to speak to me in Korean, but she asks me why, in English.NO **b.** I'm sitting on the subway practising my Korean study cards, minding my own business, and a Korean comes up to me and says, "So, where are you from?" I say, "I'm from the world. I'm just a person, do you always ask everyone where they're from? (in Korean). This person answers, "No, but you're a foreigner, and I wanted to practice my English." (in English). Then walks away. NO **c.** There are countless others involving situations where I've tried to get a job teaching somewhere, but if I suggest my bilingualism is an advantage and insist we do an interview in Korean, I never get the job. But before I started representing myself in Korean in society, and only spoke English in the interview, I got the job basically every time.NO **d**. At several schools I've been told not to use Korean in the classroom. Meanwhile Korean teachers use more Korean than English in their English classes. NO **e.** (tricky one) I go to the pharmacy to get some medicine, and the pharmacist asks me where I'm from in Korean. I say from the U.S. He says, wow! Your Korean is so good! I say, not as good as yours. He says, yeah of course: I'm a Korean. Your Korean is good for a '외국인"way-gook-een' (foreigner). But anyone who doesn't look Korean/oriental will always have only the identity 'foreigner'." NO

(In addition to the highlighted no's, Skutnabb-Kangas responded**):**

" I think you are absolutely right in using Korean… My NO in your other cases has to do with people's ignorance (not their fault), curiosity, interest in other people and in a legitimate wish to practise their English. It is not really hierarchising people in a negative way, and especially not hierarchising them so that the people doing it see themselves as better"

(cf. appendix three: correspondence, 2012).

Skutnabb-Kangas plainly repudiated the (ELH) linguicism concerning NESTs, which both entails, and is corollary, to the second (ELI). However, she, herself, not being in SK, seems unaware of its consequences, apologizing that *the will to practice English* is motivated by *ignorance and curiosity, which is not people's fault*: I beg to differ: for example, DUI manslaughter, attributable to ignorance (unconsciousness + ignorance = negligence), is punishable up to +ten years in prison (DUI manslaughter, 2012). Ignorance-produced ELH

linguicism is attributable to ethnoracially-based discrimination, as well as to intrinsically anglocentristic ELI, as I hope to have shown (ch. 4), and both exacerbate NEST monolingualism. Often implicit is a "No, we speak English. Your purpose in Korea: speak English" assumption. Again, this has political, pedagogical, and thus ethical implications. They—*we*— cannot *ratify claims* (Ochs, 1993: 189) to *access powerful* Korean *social* networks (Norton-Peirce, 1995: 13), which presupposes Korean ability due to SK's own highly monolingual population. One can only go where interpretation is offered, and once there, is at the interpreter's mercy. The result is a society characterized by disparate power between Koreans and NESTs, and between socioeconomic classes, which seems to meet Skutnabb-Kangas's (1998) and Phillipson's (1992) conditions for constituting linguicism, as well as diglossia (Fishman, 1967, Q3: 30). Skutnabb-Kangas seems unaware of NESTs' and Koreans' pervasive monolingualism, which also may account for her and other linguists' oversight in not characterizing SK as diglossic.

Native-Korean, *ELI/ELH*-derivative *brain drain* (cf. Jambor, 2010; Phillipson, 2011) scholars employed at Anglosphere universities, too (Jeon, Lee, Shin, H., Shin, G., Song, J.), for the same reason, and another, seem unaware of ELH linguicism: as Shin H. 2007 advances, race and language's relationship "…is often unrecognized by the privileged, just as white privilege and male privilege are normally invisible to those who benefit from them" (80). Shin, H. *is* conscious of a race-language relationship. But, neither she, nor the others, once mentions the type of linguicism introduced here; it seems because they are racially Korean, and thus immune to this indigenous *lingua-racially*-indexed form. "Yes", one might counter: "However, they experience substantial racism in the Anglosphere" (cf. *FOB, racism*, Shin, H., 2010: 5, 108, 112). True! But this derives from anglocentric, ELI linguicism. Due to the Anglosphere's high degree of monolingualism, English's dominance, and Korean's relative enervation, I doubt many Anglosphere natives approach Koreans in Korean—however, as I am not racially Korean, this requires substantiating.

I hope also to have advanced a strong argument for ELI linguicism, which is indicated manifestly by ED, Koreans' adoption of EO, and the diglossic functional tendency, because of which, most Koreans do not reify inter-racial English access. (However, there may be a solution, which is advanced in 5.3.)

And finally, I hope to have made a strong case for bilingual approaches: in addition to not being able to realize social power, attempting to scaffold— particularly lower-proficiency

students—monolingual approaches seem much less effective. This leads to inefficiency, which exacerbates ED, thus doubly realizing ELI, and exacerbating ELH. The next questions are, *whose* fault is linguicism, and what punishment is appropriate?

5.2 Casting blame—*the first stone*—and administering appropriate punishments for executing, legitimating, and perpetuating linguicism

The primary agents of linguicism would seem to be those animate members of society who make the decisions that lead to tragic, historical phenomena such as colonialism, imperialism, slavery, nuclear and non-nuclear holocausts, wars, and hegemony. These agents should be punished severely. However, as their actual identities are veiled by the institutions they represent (i.e., governments, social institutions, and bureaucracies), as in 2.5.3, they realize, through tropes like metonymy and personification inanimate, abstract entities; inanimate agents. Abstract entities are immaterial, so the animate agents achieve impunity. Likewise, their motives are reified and legitimated as humanitarian, natural, unintentional, or *negligent* (cf. 5.1). Thus, I concur with Phillipson (1992: 72) in two respects: (1): although the agents' actual identities and intentions may be indeterminable, the *outcomes*, some of which I hope to have manifested, are conspicuous. These should be exposed, and eradicated (cf. 5.3). Because the resulting hegemony is perpetuated unconsciously by most members of society, this goal's first step should be achieving collective social conscious. (2): Thus, I hope to honor Phillipson's goal of contributing to "… 'rational, scientifically-based discourse' on…" linguicist hegemony (75). And like CALP's Fairclough (1989), while I, too, may be "…painting a somewhat depressing picture of language being increasingly caught up in domination and oppression…" (4), I intend to propose a solution to Korean linguicism. This invokes Crystal (2003) and Skutnabb-Kangas (1998).

5.3 A possible solution to EFL-context South Korea's linguicism?

It has been tacitly suggested throughout this dissertation (ch. 3-4): if Koreans, NESTs, and all other foreigners would speak to each other every-other-day in Korean, then English, all societal members could achieve additive bilingualism, thus realizing Crystal's (2003) *linguistic*

principles (xiii-xiv) and Skutnabb-Kangas's (1998) *linguistic human rights* of learning an L1 and an L2 (22). But in order to realize these, NESTs in SK must understand how important it is to learn Korean; to effectively teach, and realize social power. Thus we have to ask ourselves, "What is my purpose in SK? Is it merely working; earning money? Or is it ethically helping Koreans, myself, and world linguistic and cultural diversity to thrive?" And Koreans, too, must reify the advantage of sharing their culture and language with their English teachers; because not doing so eventually is self-abnegating. Preventing one's teachers from learning one's language also affects their teaching effectiveness. ED is exacerbated, and national sovereignty is negatively affected. This solution entails indiscriminately addressing racially-non-Korean strangers in Korean. If they cannot reciprocate in Korean, one should ask them how long they have been in SK. If the answer is more than… for example, three months, gently, though austerely remind them of their purposes in SK: aggrandizing all individuals and all nations. This is one possible way to realize the ethical criterion.

5.4 Limitations

The first constraint was the word limit, which, in my expatiation, I very well may be exceeding presently. However, this is finally near conclusion! And, as I understand, starting in 2012 CELS students will have 15,000 words for their dissertations. Of this, I am envious.

Second, many of the concepts I examined (particularly ELH linguicism, diglossia, and NEST BA approaches) have received limited, if any, coverage in AL. Thus, I was obligated to research extensively (150+ references) in order to defend my propositions as unprejudicially as possible. Many of the ideas contained herein, hence, if admitted, require extensive substantiation. I hope that my fellow linguists will aid me in this endeavor.

Finally, I was constrained—shackled—by my ideological intention of legitimating and realizing the ethical criterion (cf. 2.2). However, I attempted to be as objective as possible in my arguments. I hope the reader will take this into consideration. Last of all, thank you very much for affording me the knowledge to pursue this project!

APPENDIX ONE:

-Survey of SK-based NESTs' Demographics and Ethical, Pedagogical, and Political Principles-

I distributed the following questionnaire (in Korean and English) to CELS students via the CELS mailing list. This is the English version:

1.What's your nationality?
2. How long have you been in South Korea?
3. How much of your linguistic interaction is in English? And in Korean?
4. How many languages do you speak? Which ones, please?
5. If it's not too personal, could you please basically specify your job?
6. When you're at work, in what language/languages do you speak?
7. What's your basic purpose in South Korea?
8. If you teach (English) linguistics, what's your motive/purpose for that?
9. If you do teach, does it seem like your students' English ability is improving? If not, why do you think this is? If you speak only English when you teach, is this annoying?
10. Do you think that in South Korea you're a victim of racial discrimination? How so?
11. Are you trying hard to learn Korean? How so? If so, why is this? If not, why?
12. Have you experienced any social/power problems because of (low) Korean ability in South Korean society? For example, please?
13. If you ever speak Korean to people you don't know, do those people usually speak back to you in Korean?
14. When you're in South Korea, how do you feel when someone who seems to be South Korean speaks to you in English?
15. When you're in South Korea, how do you feel when someone who seems to not be a South Korean speaks to you in English?
16. Do you think South Koreans need or have to learn English? If so, why, please?
17. Do you basically like South Korea? Why?
18. Do you think racism is worse in South Korean than in other countries in which you've spent time?
19. Does it seem like South Koreans treat people they think are non-South Koreans differently from how they treat other South Koreans? How so?
20. When a South Korean you don't know speaks to you in Korean, how do you feel?
21. When a non-South Korean you don't know speaks to you in Korean, how do you feel?
22. Does it seem like South Koreans think they need to or have to learn English? If so, why?
23. When you're at work in which language do your South Korean co-workers speak to each other?
24. When you're at work in which language do your South Korean co-workers speak to other non-South Korean co-workers?

Unfortunately, out of approximately 100 students based in SK, only five responded, one in Korean. Independently this small sample does not provide unprejudiced results. However, I also talked to approximately eighty South Korea-based NESTs personally, so these and relevant CELS students' results are conflated in the following table; total sample size: eighty non-East-Asian race NESTs:

Q #	Result	%	Implication/corollary
11.	Only one non-East-Asian-race NEST (from CELS) could speak Korean.	1.2	This suggests few NESTs speak Korean; thus many Koreans may assume L1 English speakers or different races cannot speak Korean.
9.	Forty-seven NESTs implied having suggested to their students, who lack practical English access, that they should deliberately seek out foreigners to practice English.	59	These NESTs incidentally teach their students to discriminate according to race: how do you differentiate *foreigners* from *Koreans*? According to race. Violation of ethical criterion.
5., 8.	Sixty-one NESTs had solely an undergraduate degree in a non-English teaching related field.	76	Most NESTs are untrained to teach EFL speakers English. Their employers apparently assume L1-English speaker = qualified NEST.
2.	Sixty-nine NESTs had been in South Korea for less than one year.	86	Learning to teach EFL with no training requires extensive experience, which these NESTs lack.
10., 19.	Sixty NESTs answered, "Not really".	75	NESTs who do not speak Korean appear to be unaware that most Koreans think it is appropriate to speak to Koreans in Korean, and *foreigners* in English.
20.	Seventy-five NESTs answered, "Fine", or "Relieved".	94	Virtually all NESTs are unaware that Koreans approach them in English based on their race. Instead of feeling disempowered, this suggests they are dependent on interpretation.
12.	Fifty-nine NESTs implied that it is frustrating when Koreans do not interpret everything they want to understand. However, only thirteen explicitly stated they felt disempowered by their Korean inability.	74, 16	Many NESTs intuitively sense that not being able to speak Korean is socially disempowering, yet most have not reified this. (Personally, it took about three years of learning Korean for me to reify this disempowerment.)
11.	Seventy NESTs implied that they have no interest in learning Korean; either because they will 'leave within a year', 'it is too hard', or 'English is all one needs to get around.'	88	Because knowing Korean is socially empowering in SK, it for SK-based NESTs to know it. Thus, disregarding it indicates a tacit anglocentric rationale.

APPENDIX TWO:

-Pronunciation system for Korean transliteration-

Transliterated Korean vowel sound	Corresponding English vowel sound
ā	b***a***ke
ŭ	b***u***g
ŏ	b***o***g
ō	b***o***gey
o͞o	b***oo***t
o͝o	b***oo***gey
ĕ	b***e***t

(Soukhanov et al, 1988: 64).

APPENDIX THREE:

-Relevant Email Extracts from Applied Linguists-

Relevant excerpt from Doctor Canagarajah's email:

"Countries like South Korea haven't featured too much in critical discussions" (Date: Fri, 13 Jan 2012 22:17:35 -0500, To: **@**.com, From: ***@*su.edu, Subject: Re: 3 questions regarding my dissertation project).

Relevant excerpts from Doctor Pennycook's email:

Phillipson's "…work is useful for showing that English was deliberately spread and that it is intimately bound up with globalization…"; "A lot of people are now turning to look at Korea as the epitome of how problematic ELT has become…" (From: Alastair.Pennycook@***.***.au, To: ****@***.com, Date: Mon, 23 Jan 2012 12:43:55 +1100, Subject: Re: parker rader has shared a document with you).

Relevant excerpt from Doctor Littlewood's email:

"My guess is that there isn't any 'principled' reason for omitting bilingual NESTs - that it's simply that (compared to bilingual NNESTs and monolingual NESTs) there are not so many and no-one has got round to paying attention to them! And maybe the neglect (so far) is a natural hangover from the 'monolingual' tradition - if a monolingual approach is regarded as the right way (as it has been so far in many circles), then the NEST would appear to be the ideal practitioner of it!" (Date: Wed, 18 Jul 2012 17:41:36 +0900, Subject: Re: a question about bilingual approaches for NESTs, From: ***@***.com, To: ***@**.com).

Relevant excerpt from Doctor Liu's email:

"Concerning why we didn't examine bilingual NEST teachers, just as you said, very few NEST teachers were bilingual while all of the NNEST teachers are bilingual. It thus doesn't make much sense nor does it seem really feasible to examine NEST teachers' bilingual practice" (From: dliu@***a.edu, To: **@***.com, Date: Mon, 16 Jul 2012 20:01:26 -0500, Subject: RE: questions).

Relevant excerpt from Doctor Skutnabb-Kangas's email:

"

1. Do you feel the following are clearly instances of linguicism?
a. I go to the grocery store, ask where something is, in Korean, and the employee answers me in English. I then tell the employee Some short comments in your text, Toveto speak to me in Korean, but she asks me why, in English. NO
b. I'm sitting on the subway practising my Korean study cards, minding my own business, and a Korean comes up to me and says, "So, where are you from?" I say, "I'm from the world. I'm just a person, do you always ask everyone where they're from? (in Korean). This person answers, "No, but you're a foreigner, and I wanted to practice my English." (in English). Then walks away. NO
c. There are countless others involving situations where I've tried to get a job teaching somewhere, but if I suggest my bilingualism is an advantage and insist we do an interview in Korean, I never get the job. But before I started representing myself in Korean in society, and only spoke English in the interview, I got the job basically every time. NO
d. At several schools I've been told not to use Korean in the classroom. Meanwhile Korean teachers use more Korean than English in their English classes. NO
e. (tricky one) I go to the pharmacy to get some medicine, and the pharmacist asks me where I'm from in Korean. I say from the U.S. He says, wow! Your Korean is so good! I say, not as good as yours. He says, yeah of course: I'm a Korean. Your Korean is good for a '외국인''way-gook-een' (foreigner). But anyone who doesn't look Korean/oriental will always have only the identity 'foreigner'. NO

2. In lower proficiency level classes I feel it's virtually impossible to conduct an English class with any sense of efficiency without using a significant amount of Korean in order to give directions, explain complicated grammatical concepts, and to have fun and make the students laugh in a language they can understand. And even in higher level classes it's necessary to use Korean to clarify subtle differences in translations. But the bosses say no, you should only speak English! You are the 'native speaker teacher'. Following from the quote from you I sent in my first email, how is it that only you, I, and a few others see these obvious problems while the rest either seem to follow the tenets of the monolingual ELT ideology? I think you are absolutely right in using Korean. People who say you shouldn't, are simply ignorant. We would need LOTS of hard-core comparative studies where ideally the same teacher teaches English to two comparable classes, in one using only English, in the other using both in the way you describe you would want to do. Obviously the latter class would get better results in English. And if you think of the results in English in the Netherlands and in the Nordic countries where the materials are often contrastive and the teachers know both languages (and use them), that should be drawn in much more. Of course it is also a question of the training that the teachers have had. The case of Finland makes it clear that this works not only because the source language (the children's MT) is another Indo-European language (as it is in the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands, but not in Finland. One could also use some of the results in English in Estonia and Hungary in the argumentation. But all this should be systematised.

My NO in your other cases has to do with people's ignorance (not their fault), curiosity, interest in other people and in a legitimate wish to practise their English. It is not really hierarchising people in a negative way, and especially not hierarchising them so that the people doing it see themselves as better.
" (From: skutnabbkangas@**** Date: Thu, 19 Jan 2012 10:36:04 +0100, Subject: Re: Thanks, my questions, To: ***@***.com).

Relevant excerpts from Doctor Song's emails:

I am not sure whether this can be regarded as an instance of diglossia. Diglossia is a social phenomenon. What you have described seems to be more situational than social. The use of English in South Korea is not institutionalized, as it were" (From: jae****@o***.ac.nz To: *****@***.comSubject: Re: thanks, and another question Date: Thu, 12 Jan 2012 01:58:25 +0000).

"Dear Parker Rader,
Thank you for your email. I am writing this reply in English because it is technologically easier for me. I will try to answer your questions below…"
"…Should English become the official language of South Korea, replacing Korean (which I personally think would not happen), we would have a diglossic situation (in Fishman's extended sense of diglossia, not in Ferguson's original sense), i.e. English as the H variety and Korean as the L variety. Educated people would be able to use both the H and the L variety, whereas others may only be able to speak the L variety" (From: j*****song@****ac.nz To: ****@***.com Subject: Re: 제가 석사논문을 쓰고 있는데 송재정교수님께 중요한 질문을 물어보고 싶습니다 Date: Mon, 9 Jan 2012 22:31:22 +0000

APPENDIX FOUR:

-Journal: A week's typical linguicist interactions with strangers in South Korea-

Though the linguicism has driven me to largely becoming a hermit, I do still have to go out to do some things. This is a sample from a few linguicist public encounters in a week:

02/05/12: I had three significant encounters with strangers in public today:

-the first was at the post office where I went to send a letter to my sister in the U.S. The first employee I talked to was a woman in her 50s who answered all my questions in Korean with no sign of discrimination. I got an envelope and went to fill out the address, and when I turned around a teenage Korean boy had materialized. He said to me in English, "do you want to send your letter to another country?" I got mad and asked, "Why do you speak to me in English? Are you a racist? I just spoke to this other employee in Korean for two minutes, so why do you suddenly speak to me in English?" He was shocked, surprised, scared, confused, and hesitating, said, "Foreigners usually can't speak Korean." I said, "Well, you should confirm that by addressing them in Korean before you switch into English. It's discrimination." He apologized. (Teenage male Korean, 금호동].

-the second was a woman at Dunkin' Donuts to whom I asked, "where is the Baskin Robbins? She responded in Korean with no sign of discrimination. "yeah, it's moved down the street." very respectful. [Female Korean, 40s, 약수동].

-the third was a teenage boy at Baskin Robbins. I told him in Korean (Konglish) that I wanted a half-pint of sherbet to go. He paused for a moment and then said in English, "What ice cream do you want?" I fumed, "What?" in Korean. He switched back into Korean and finished taking my order. While another employee was scooping my sherbet, I had calmed down, also now thinking of myself as a professional researcher, and I told him, "Hey, I just wanted to know why you responded to me in English when I addressed you three times in Korean." He thought for a moment, and said, "I thought it would be more comfortable for you to speak in English." I asked, "Why? Because I'm a foreigner? Or because it seemed like I didn't understand?" He said, "Yes", more to the second question it seemed. (Interestingly, though I spoke to him three times in Korean, the first thing he said to me was in English, so how could he have assumed I couldn't understand what he had said?) I asked him, "So, do a lot of non-Koreans come in here speaking English?" He said yeah. I asked him, "Percentage-wise, how often does a non-Korean speak to you in English in here?" He said, "almost all the time."

-02/06/12: Today I had two significant encounters with strangers:

1. I went to get a birthday present for my wife: a brochure about yoga classes. I asked the male, early 30s, Korean worker for a pamphlet, and he got sort of vexed, and then said, "Sorry, I don't have anything in English!" I asked, "So what? Why should it be in English?" He replied, "Oh! Because in might be uncomfortable to read in Korean." I said, "Ah, that must be why we're speaking in Korean right now."
2. I was taking a bus to get some groceries, and I needed to make sure the bus was going where I was going - I asked the driver, mid-forties, male, Korean, if the bus stopped where I needed to get off. He said yeah, and then I asked how long it normally takes to get there: he suddenly switched into English, "15 minutes". I asked, "What?" in Korean. He said, "15-20 minutes" in English. I said, "What did you say?" in Korean. He confusedly answered, "15 minutes" in Korean.

-02/07/12: 1. I was picking up some meds at the pharmacy and I said to the chemist, "How's it going?" He smiled, and said, "Wow, your Korean is really good, eh?" This is in answer to one of the most common questions in Korean. I said, "hey, not as good as you- pretty good for a non-Korean, eh?"
2. A Korean woman check-out lady, late 40s/early 50s, at the grocery store, who I've talked to probably 20 times, suddenly says to me, "handsome boy!" with a heavy Korean accent. Because of this, I'm not sure if she was speaking Korean or English- that is, *Konglish* or English. I mean, the expression seems to have become pretty common in pop-culture Korean. You can write it in *Hangeul*. Anyway, I used to hear pretty often, not so much anymore, ha ha, just passing by a group of middle-school girl, or boy, students, "You handome!" or the equivalent in Korean, but

interviewing other Koreans I know, they say it's inappropriate/uncommon to tell a passer-by with whom you have no objective for linguistic interaction something like this. (Ha ha, maybe just that I'm so handsome.)

-02/08/12 1. Going to *Itaewon,* which is important to note*,* as this is the most 'appropriate' place to speak English in SK, to do field research, in *Hannam*, a male late 30s/early 40s convenient store worker started by speaking to me in Korean, but after about one minute in Korean, I asked him what time it was, and he suddenly switched into English "9:40". I forgot to ask him why he spoke English suddenly, so about ten minutes later I decided to go back to ask him. At first he didn't even remember having spoken English to me. Then I reminded him, asked why, and he answered, motioning to my face, "Ah, you understood? You could have not understood." I asked why? because I look different?" He said, adamently, "Oh, yeah, yeah. A lot of foreigners who come in don't speak Korean." (Because he was so embarrassed, I failed to press him further- so, even though we spoke for about a minute in Korean, why suddenly think I couldn't understand something as simple as the time in Korean?)
2. Five minutes later, immediately upon entering *Itaewon*, two guys passing by, East-Asian, thirties- one of them goes, "Hey, do you know where a good bar is around here? I thought they were messing with me because there are bars everywhere, but I said in Korean, anyway, "Don't you speak Korean?" Blank faces. Repeated the question, and the guy said, "No, we don't speak Korean. We're Japanese". (Which is interesting because sometimes Korean and Japanese are so similar (cognates from mutual Chinese origin) you can understand what the others are saying even though you don't even know the other language, as I would later find out the same night). I said, okay, walk with me and I'll show you. As I was alone, and didn't want to look like I was all alone, I invited them to go in the bar I showed them with me. talking inside I thought, hey how good of an opportunity to ask some East-Asian non-Koreans some related questions! One thing I quickly found out is how the bar workers also assumed they were Korean. The point is, the national language is Korean; regardless of race you should start out from this language. They came up and spoke to me in English, and to them in Korean. This happened three times in less than one hour. (These two also had distinctly Japanese fashion- American/Japanese ski hat, camo. retro jacket, and, well, maybe it's just because I knew they were Japanese I thought their style looked so Japanese, because it's true- at first I didn't even look at their clothes.) Ah, and one guy had extremely low English proficiency; so low his partner did all the talking and translating. They certainly had the functionalist perspective! "Hey, English, international *lingua franca*!" I asked if they ever talked to non-East-Asian people in Japan, and if so in what language. The translator, Yooki, said, "Always in Japanese first". But usually they can't speak Japanese, so they switch into English. Turns out Yooki is a bar owner from *Hiroshima*, ironically researching how to make Korean drinks like the Poktan Ju (bomb booze). I asked him how he learned English, and he said at his bar. These guys found it totally insignificant that Koreans assume they're Korean in public. They're only in the country for one day. They also said they hated American military: like in Itaewon, there's a big U.S. military base in Hiroshima. He said, yeah, there's the bad history with the U.S. and South Korea, but that's the past. No bad feelings now, except for American military. Ah, he also said the Japanese learn a Japanese version of 'ethnic/racial homogeneity' in school, and that they're also quite ethnocentric.

-2/09/12 1. I called to schedule an appointment at the clinic, and the nurse, who I'd talked with in Korean for at least five minutes the week before suddenly switched into English explaining to me the doctor was out of the office because his father-in-law had died and he had to go to the funeral. (I imagine because she thought the language was too complicated for an 'incompetent foreigner' to understand in Korean.) Anyway, she said I could still come and pick up my drugs, so I did, and after I had the drugs safely in hand, ha ha, asked her why she'd switched into English over the phone. She said, oh you couldn't imagine how many foreigners come in here who can't speak Korean. I said I would appreciate it if you speak to me in Korean, and if I don't understand something, I'll ask for clarification. She said, okay, no problem. I just wonder why she suddenly switched into English after we had spoken substantially in Korean.

-2/10/12 1. 10 junior high age girls on the street; one girl said, and waved, "Hi". Because there were ten of them, (strength in numbers) I just ignored them instead of explaining to them why they shouldn't discriminate with double linguistic standards just because someone doesn't look like an East-Asian.

2. Then, five minutes later, going to a different clinic, I had a problem with the nurse (40s, Korean) at a clinic. It was her first day on the job and I walk in to get some sleeping pills, and she goes, " (all super nervous and flustered) you.... write.... birtday, birtday, write, you" in English and I hadn't slept for like 15 hours so I was pretty short on patience. I asked her, 'why you talking to me in English, and why you askin' me to write my info down instead of just asking me to tell you in Korean?' She was like, 'nay? nay? totally oblivious of her problem.' I told her she was really ruining my mood patronizing me as a foreigner, but I wasn't too nice about it. I even let a few ban-mals slip in there. After my visit with the doctor I had to pay, came out, and she apologized for treating me like that- she didn't know any better because it was her first day- (what she was really meaning to say was) 'you're a foreigner so I thought I

had to speak in English to you because foreigners can't speak Korean!) This is the root of the problem with racism, I'm telling you.

-2/11/12 1. Going to see my sister-in-law's new baby at the hospital (In a very Korean part of the city (신대방 사거리), I stopped at the front desk to ask which room she was in. The worker (35, Korean man), got on his computer, scribbled a note, and then showed it to me: some unknown non-Korean woman's name written in English. Apparently he assumed since I wasn't Korean, I would be visiting a non-Korean. I was in a hurry so I didn't stop to find out his thought process. To my relief he didn't attempt to speak to me in English.

2. Then, after visiting the new beautiful baby in the nursery, I was on my way out of the nursery, and I suddenly heard a quiet, "Hello! Hello! Excuse me!" in English. Cuz it was the nursery, and I didn't want to affect the peaceful vibes, I attempted to ignore the speaker. But, she (Korean, nurse, late 30s) persisted, and so I had no choice but to acknowledge her. I turned, and said, "네?" (Yes?) in Korean. She got a perplexed look on her face, and then asked another nurse next to her in Korean if I could speak Korean! Ha! Preposterous! I got so pissed off because of her 'othering' attitude. Treating me like a total non-human. Then she turned back to me and asked me in Korean, "Can you speak Korean?" I said, in a not too friendly tone, "Try me". (Oh yeah, I had a mask on because it was nursery policy). Then she asked me if I was the baby's dad. I said, "ah, does the baby look biracial (혼열)?" More perplexed blushing. She asked me again. I repeated my previous reply, and added, "what does it matter to you?" But, because I was starting to get too pissed, I didn't wait for her response, and as I raged out the door said I'll get the dad, he's right here." I felt bad because then sitting there outside the door while my brother-in-law went in to see his new kid, I could hear everything these same nurses were saying about me. So, I conjectured he probably heard my interaction, too. They said, "Oh, I thought he was the Southeast-Asian guy that had the baby. I couldn't tell he wasn't the same guy because the mask." Still, though, I guess she could at least tell I wasn't Southast-Asian, and that it was then appropriate to approach me in English. This also could have been that mystery other fella's fault for talking to her in English! However, neither my eyes, eyebrows, nor eyelids are traditionally Southeast Asian.

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