SOUTH KOREA, ENGLISH, AND GLOBALISATION: INVESTIGATING YOUNG KOREAN ADULTS' ENGLISH REGARD

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Thesis summary

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The English language is an important part of South Korea's globalisation push. However, there is limited understanding of what English is and means to Korean layfolk due to the effects of intensifying global flows being insufficiently considered and a focus on language attitudes. Consequently, awareness of different Englishes and potential variety associations are not evident. The desirability of specific English user models and particularly the reasons why are also unclear. Additionally, despite the perceived importance of English, there appears to be a lack of empirical investigation. This limited insight has been further compounded by gender imbalance in most survey samples. To better understand the perceptions of English among young Korean adults this study adopted a pragmatic world view and used the more expansive concept of language regard. A sequential explanatory mixed methods study using online questionnaires was completed by a survey sample with a well-balanced gender distribution. The data from the first phase (n=233) were used to inform the questioning of the study's second phase (n=76). Summative content analysis was used to interpret the data.

The findings indicate a lack of awareness of different English varieties other than American and British Englishes. Also, most participants were only able to provide associations with American and British Englishes. These findings combined with non-evaluative comments suggest language attitudes are often absent. English was considered important for several reasons, but communication rather than the commonly cited idea of employment was found most prominent. Further investigation, however, revealed that these two themes are often interrelated. The data also indicate that American English was the most desired user model. The most prominent reasons were status and perceived communicative effectiveness. Furthermore, the findings throughout the study suggest gender may affect English regard. In sum, these results have theoretical, methodological and pedagogical implications in Korea, as well as the wider context.

Keywords: keyword analysis, Korean English, language attitudes, language regard, pragmatic world view

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List of abbreviations

EBS	Educational Broadcasting System
EC	Expanding circle
EE	Estuary English
EFL	English as a foreign language
ENL	English as native language
EPIK	The English Program in Korea
ESL	English as a second language
GA	General American
IC	Inner circle
IDLE	Informal digital learning
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MGT	Matched guise technique
MICE	Meetings, incentives, conferencing, and exhibitions sector
NNS	Non-native speaker
NS	Native speaker
OC	Outer circle
OEC	Outer and expanding circles
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
QCA	Qualitative content analysis
RP	Received Pronunciation
SD	Standard deviation
TaLK	Talk and Learn in Korea
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
TOEIC	Test of English for International Communication
VGT	Verbal guise technique
WE	World Englishes
WSA	World systems analysis
WTO	World Trade Organisation

List of English variety abbreviations

AfE	African English
AmE	American English
AuE	Australian English
BrE	British English
CaE	Canadian English
ChE	Chinese English
EuE	European English
GhE	Ghanaian English
HkE	Hong Kong English
InE	Indian English
IrE	Irish English
JaE	Japanese English
KoE	Korean English
NtE	Netherlands English
NzE	New Zealand English
OcE	Oceanian English
PhE	Philippine English
SaE	South American English
SeaE	South East Asian English
SgE	Singaporean English
SpE	Spanish English
VtE	Vietnamese English
WaE	Welsh English
ZaE	South African English

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The main objective of this research is to gain an improved understanding of the perceptions of English that young Korean adults in a globalised South Korea may have. The focus on young Korean adults is due to this age group likely being the most affected (both positively and negatively) by intensifying global flows (Section 2.1.1), as well as having been exposed to English from a relatively young age (Section 2.3.2). Furthermore, as an instructor in Korean higher education, the findings will potentially help me to improve my teaching practice, which in turn has the potential to directly benefit the students I work with.

This introductory chapter begins this process by first briefly discussing the importance of English in a globalised world and specifically in South Korea (henceforth South Korea and Korea are used interchangeably). Next, a short overview highlighting the limited understanding of English regard (Section 2.4) in Korea despite the importance of the language (Section 2.3) is presented. The research questions are then introduced. This is followed by an explanation of this study's significance and its original contribution to knowledge. Finally, the structure of the thesis is explained.

1.1 English in a globalised world

The English language, which had around 250 million speakers in 1952 (Crystal, 2003, p.30) may have grown to as many as two billion users of the language in total (Crystal, 2008). Such growth has resulted from internationalization, colonization, and more recently globalisation (Section 2.1.1). Colonialism and industrialization by the British led to the English language being exported to some extent around the globe to the Americas, Africa, Australasia, and Asia. More recently, globalisation and the emergence of the USA's economic, political, and cultural dominance in the latter half of the twentieth century has led to English becoming a global language (Crystal, 2003, p.120; Schneider, 2011, p.52).

As a result of globalisation, many societies are now changing rapidly. It is possible to travel vast distances in relatively short times, instantly contact people on the other side of the world, and access information from around the globe as soon as it happens. These circumstances likely affect our awareness, thinking, beliefs, and attitudes about the world, as well as the language we use and desire to use. The process of globalisation has led to the standardisation of many ideas, one of which is the extensive international use of English (Eriksen, 2007). This has led to the English language being used widely as a lingua franca in aviation, science, higher education, popular culture, diplomacy, and business (Leitner, 2012). The ongoing changes in the world and increasing use of English means it is important to understand the language regard of individuals and groups in different geographic locations towards English by investigating the "different values and degrees of usefulness" (Blommaert, 2010, p.28) attributed to the language and its varieties (Section 2.2.1). When such research is being undertaken, globalisation and issues of global importance should be considered as should the local context to better understand how it affects the globalisation process (Coupland, 2003; Grant & Lee, 2009).

Within South Korea, English is an important subject necessary for success on an individual and national level (Joseph Sung-Yul Park, 2009; Song, 2011) and has a prominent role in areas such as international trade, employment, and acceptance into leading Korean universities (Hu & McKay, 2012; Jeon, 2009) (Section 2.3.1). Yet despite such value attached to English, Korea is still regarded as overwhelmingly monolingual (Song, 2011) with limited opportunities to use English (Lee, 2018). However, as English "…has been thought of as revolutionary, accommodationist, nationalist, collusive, cosmopolitan and anti-Korean" (Collins, 2005, p.427) comprehending Korea's relationship with English is complex (Park, 2013, p.287).

1.2 English regard in South Korea

An important factor that has limited the understanding of layfolk perceptions of English in Korea is that most previous research has taken a positivist approach. These studies have generally focused on investigating language attitudes towards a small number of researcher selected Englishes (Section 2.6.3). This methodology has resulted in a very narrow focus of attitudinal traits, which has potentially also limited understanding of the small number of English varieties that have been investigated. As a result, it is unclear what Englishes participants are aware of. Furthermore, as much of this research has suggested that there is a limited awareness of different Englishes, it brings into question if attitudinal evaluations or in fact any evaluations are even present. Consequently, it is unclear what associations, if any, participants are able to make with the varieties they are aware of.

The use of positivist methods has also limited the understanding of what varieties of English are desired as user models. While studies have been undertaken, they have been limited to closed-ended questions in conjunction with researcher provided options. Consequently, it is not clear which Englishes Koreans wish to use as linguistic models and the reasons why. Another area of language regard that likely affects the choice of desired linguistic models is the importance of English. While the importance of the language in Korea is well-established, no in-depth empirical studies appear to have been undertaken. Instead, the literature has routinely stated that English is important due to employment (Section 2.3.1). This may be true, but it is possible the rapid effects of globalisation have brought about other reasons that English is deemed important by young Korean adults.

To address the weaknesses of previous research in the Korean context, this study investigates participants' language regard (Section 2.4.1) rather than language attitudes (Section 2.4.3). The study of language attitudes suggests that beliefs about language are evaluative, but this is not necessarily true (Preston, 2013). While ideas about language may

result from language attitudes, there are many other aspects and relationships (conscious and unconscious) that can affect language perceptions. As a result, Preston (2010) developed the concept of language regard. This concept, which includes language attitudes, reflects that a wide range of phenomena are used to form language perceptions and that a range of methodologies can be used to understand language regard (Evans et al., 2018) or more specifically in the context of this research - English regard.

Another important factor is the lack of attention language perception studies in Korea (Section 2.6.3) have given to globalisation and neoliberalism (Sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2). These concepts have been discussed in detail in the Korean context with regard to media discourse, but there is a lack of research focusing on the experiences of language learners (Cho, 2017). The neoliberal ideas adopted in Korea, either by choice or by force (Section 2.3.1), have greatly increased competition in many aspects of Korean society. While neoliberalist ideas have likely affected most people in Korea, the effects of neoliberal policies are particularly relevant to the young adults in this study who will be entering or have recently entered the increasingly highly competitive job market. In particular, neoliberalism has led to the commodification of knowledge and the continuous need to improve one's skillset (Section 2.1.2). In addition, the neoliberal commodification of English combined with global flows has further affected which Englishes are deemed correct and desirable (Section 2.1.4). With rapid changes associated with intensified global flows, these are concepts that are likely affecting language regard in Korea. Without properly considering globalisation and neoliberalism, the understanding of participants' English regard will continue to remain incomplete.

By taking into account the effects of globalisation (Section 2.1.1) and neoliberalism (Section 2.1.2), as well as adopting a pragmatic world view (Section 3.1), and employing a sequential explanatory mixed methods study (Section 3.3.1), it is hoped that using the concept of

language regard will result in a much deeper understanding of young Korean adults' English perceptions than would be possible by only focusing on language attitudes. A more detailed understanding of English regard has the potential to inform teaching practice (Section 8.2) and enhance theoretical and methodological understanding of non-linguists' beliefs about language (Section 8.3).

1.3 Research questions

To achieve the aims of the research, the following research questions were developed:

1. What varieties of English are known and acknowledged by young Korean adults?
2. What associations are made with the stated varieties?
3. What is the importance of English to young Korean adults?
4. Which variety or varieties of English, if any, do young Korean adults regard as the most suitable user model and why?

1.4 Significance of the study

This study appears to be the first in Korea to investigate what varieties of English participants are aware of and what associations, if any, are made with the elicited varieties. It also appears to be the first study to empirically investigate the reasons why participants deem English to be important. In addition, it also seems that the investigation of desired English user models by using quantitative and qualitative research questions does not appear to have been undertaken previously. Thus, to the best of my knowledge this is the first study to provide detailed understanding of why certain varieties are desired by these respondents in Korea. Finally, this study is one of the few language regard studies in Korea, and one of the few recent language perceptions in general, that has a well-balanced gender ratio. This is important as the overrepresentation of different genders has been a weakness in much of the recent language perception research (Sections 2.6.2 and 2.6.3). Furthermore, the results from these studies have often been presented as representing the samples as a whole with

little if any investigation into how language regard may potentially differ according to respondents' gender. As some older studies, although somewhat dated (Section 2.6.1), and a small number of studies from other parts of East Asia (Section 2.6.2) have found there to be some differences in usage and perceptions of language according to gender, this study's balanced gender ratio combined with a pragmatic world view and mixed methods has the potential to begin to explore if gender has any effect on English regard in the Korean context. Overall, a balanced gender ratio has the potential to provide a better understanding of participants' English regard.

An enhanced understanding of language regard in the Korean context has theoretical, methodological, and practical implications. With regard to theory, knowledge of limited awareness of varieties, as well as limited associations made with varieties combined with the presence of non-evaluative comments can highlight the limitations of previous positivist language attitude research, and consequently help inform future research methods in Korea (Section 8.3). Furthermore, a deeper understanding of why individuals deem English to be important and what varieties they wish to learn and use as we move into a posthumanist society (Pennycook, 2018) can highlight the disconnect between non-linguists and a growing group of researchers who are advocating multimodal translanguaging repertories (Section 2.2.4) rather than the learning of autonomous territorialized languages (Section 2.2).

A more detailed understanding of participants' English regard can also be used to enhance English as a foreign language (EFL) teaching in Korea by providing more awareness of what teaching content is needed to meet the desired needs of learners. Additionally, and perhaps more importantly, teachers can introduce and discuss varieties students may not be aware of. Not only will this increase familiarity, but will likely help improve the communicative ability of students. These ideas are discussed in detail in Section 8.2. The structure of the thesis is now presented.

1.5 Thesis structure

The second chapter presents the literature review. The first section provides definitions and overviews of globalisation and neoliberalism. Language and varieties of language are then discussed. Due to the spread of English, the difficulties of defining and categorizing languages, as well as the contentious terms of 'native' and 'non-native' speakers are highlighted. The chapter then moves on to discuss English in modern Korea. This is followed by the concept of language regard being defined. Language attitudes, which are part of the language regard concept, are also interpreted in the context of this study. Previous methods used to investigate language perception are then examined, and relevant research from East Asia and Korea is highlighted and critiqued.

Chapter three gives a detailed description of the research methods used in this study. The research process and aims of the study are presented first. This is followed by a restatement of the research questions. The research design is then explained in detail. Next, the research scope, which includes the research context and participants, is explained. The section then moves on to describe the research instrument and how it was administered. This is followed by a summary of the pilot study and its initial findings. The study's ethics are then briefly examined. Finally, an overview of the data analysis is presented.

Chapter four provides background information related to participants linguistic repertoire and use of English outside of the language classroom. This short chapter is included to understand the participants' relationship with English and other languages and to give better context to the overall findings.

Chapter five presents the findings of the first research question relating to variety awareness. This is then followed by the second research question, which investigated participants' associations with the elicited varieties. Data from the follow-up survey are then analysed to

determine reasons why certain varieties were more salient than others. The findings are critically discussed at the end of the chapter.

Chapter six investigates the importance English may have to the participants. The somewhat surprising finding that English was deemed more important for communication than employment is then investigated in the follow-up survey to better understand why respondents felt this way. The interrelated findings are then critically discussed.

Chapter seven explores which varieties of English are desired as user models. The first section analyses which varieties are preferred and the reasons why. The second section explains data from the follow-up survey to better understand why native speaker Englishes, but American English (AmE) in particular was most desired. The third section analyses why Korean English (KoE) was not chosen as a user model by any participant in the first survey. The findings from the three sections are then discussed.

Chapter eight is the concluding chapter. A recap of the study's rationale is presented first. A summary of the findings is then presented. This is followed by implications for English teaching in South Korea and the wider Asian context, language regard theory and methodology. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the study's limitations and areas for further research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter provides a theoretical overview of the relevant literature in order to situate the study in the broader context of language perception research. The chapter begins by defining globalisation and neoliberalism and introduces the concepts to help comprehend the effects that have and continue to occur. This is followed by the complex issues of defining language and varieties of language. The next sections discuss the global spread of English and the difficulty of categorizing speakers and varieties. Korea's modern history is then examined before English in the Korean context is explored. An overview of KoE with specific examples of the variety is then presented. The chapter moves on to define the important concept of language regard, as well as language attitudes and linguistic stereotypes. This is followed by an overview and critical analysis of previous methods used to investigate language attitudes. Relevant language perception research is then presented and critically evaluated.

2.1 Defining globalisation and neoliberal ideologies

This section begins by defining the important ideas of globalisation and neoliberalism. The reasons why inequalities arising from globalisation are legitimised are then explored through Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework. Then, the linguistic capital accorded to English as part of globalisation is presented.

2.1.1 Globalisation

The term globalisation was first coined in 1959 and has since spread into other languages around the world (Scholte, 2008, p.1472) including South Korea where globalisation is known as 'segyewha' (Section 2.3.1). Globalisation is a widely used word to describe trends in society, but the term is often used in different ways. While no definition of globalisation can be definitive (Scholte, 2008, p.1499), in the context of this research globalisation will be

used in two ways: integration and political buzzword. With regard to integration, this study will use Blommaert's (2010, p.13) definition, which describes globalisation as:

> "shorthand for the intensified flows of capital, goods, people, images and discourses around the globe driven by technological innovations mainly in the field of media and information technology resulting in new patterns of global activity, community organization and culture."

While this definition is suitable in describing the greater interconnectivity in our world, it does not specifically address the political use of the term. Consequently, globalisation is further defined as "…an instrumental term put to work in shaping as well as representing the growth of global interdependency" (Sparke, 2013, p.5). It is hoped that by addressing both the intensified interconnectivity and political use associated with globalisation that a better understanding of how these complex processes affect language regard will emerge.

Globalisation in the sense of flows of products, people, and ideas is not new as humans have long migrated and traded. What is new, however, is the dense trans-planetary networks and accelerated nature of communication that exist today in many parts of the world due to technological development (Appadurai, 1996; Eriksen, 2007; Scholte, 2008). Understanding how the world's global cultural economy is affected by these flows, however, is difficult due to their complex, overlapping and disjunctive nature (Appadurai, 1996, p.32). Nonetheless, using Appadurai's (1996) framework to better comprehend these flows, it can be posited that there are five fluid global cultural flows, which can be interpreted subjectively depending on the perspective of the individual. These are ethnoscapes (movement of people), technoscapes (rapidly improving technology), finanscapes (movement of capital), mediascapes (representation of media and images), and ideoscapes (ideologies). These cultural flows will be used in this study to aid the investigation into how globalisation has affected and continues to affect language and language regard.

Globalisation has changed our world by bringing people closer together through advanced technology and enabling people to understand that there are many possibilities in life, but it has also made individuals more aware of the differences in opportunities between different groups, countries, and continents (Eriksen, 2007, p.138; Shin, 2003, p.10). And despite the potential of these different flows to move around the world, globalisation is an uneven process (Appadurai, 1996; Scholte, 2008), which often reflects and replicates the uneven balance of power between nation states (Eriksen, 2007). A useful model, as used by Eriksen (2007) and Blommaert et al. (2005) is Wallerstein's (2004) world-systems analysis (WSA). In essence, this model refers to relatively stable transnational divisions of labour; core, semi-periphery, and periphery. In this capitalist system the semi-peripheries and peripheries are dependent on the core nations. The core nations accumulate wealth via higher skilled production and service economies, and products from the core are deemed to be of higher value. The periphery, which has mostly low skilled and labour intensive production such as the extraction of raw materials, supplies the core. The semi-periphery is similar to the periphery, but also has some higher skilled production. This model was originally used to signify economic dependence, but is now also thought to include cultural and linguistic goods (Blommaert et al., 2005). The WSA model along with the World Englishes model (Section 2.2.2) can help to explain the different levels of prestige given to different varieties of English depending on their placement in the system.

Globalisation has been driven predominantly by the USA and European nations westernizing peripheral countries, but the emergence of new regional cultural hubs such as South Korea, which has moved from the periphery towards the core, have added diversity and additional complexity to globalisation (Kim et al., 2009, p.153). Global flows are neither accepted nor resisted by different societies, but are accommodated (Catterall, 2011, p.337) based on local histories (Blommaert, 2010, p.25) and requirements (Appadurai, 1996, p.17).

It is this hybridized space that can lead to the emergence of new cultures and identities (Kim et al., 2009). A linguistic example is Korean English (Section 2.3.7).

2.1.2 Neoliberalism

The concurrent development of neoliberalism alongside globalisation is another important factor that must be considered to better understand modern society. Neoliberalism can be defined as:

> "[A] theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can be best advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills with an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade." (Harvey, 2005, p.2)

Such policies first emerged in the USA and UK in the 1980s and then spread to other nations around the world (Block, 2017, pp.37–38) including South Korea. The standardisation and growth of neoliberal ideals and their continued use can be related to the political use of globalisation as the free market ideals were presented as the only way to survive in the era of global interconnectedness (Sparke, 2013).

Neoliberal ideas have played a prominent role in globalisation by increasing competition and value of commodities (Sparke, 2013). As a result of commodification, which is the process of "…products, services, or any form of human activity…[being] transformed into commodities…[which] then acquire an exchange value" (Mooney & Evans, 2007, p.31), there have been societal changes. For instance, the weakening of job security combined with the commodification of knowledge (Urciuoli, 2012) has meant that individuals wishing to be employed have to enter a continual cycle of competition and self-improvement in order to develop their skillset, or 'human capital' (Kubota, 2016, p.469; Shin & Park, 2016, p.444).

The proponents of neoliberalism present the system as meritocratic, meaning that success is deemed to be the result of hard work and failure is solely the fault of the individual's lack of application. This pretence gives the impression that factors such as socio-economic and socio-geographic backgrounds do not play a role in one's success (Shin & Park, 2016, p.5; Park & Lo, 2012, p.145). How individuals gain and maintain power over others is now examined.

2.1.3 Habitus, capital, and field

To understand why a potentially unjust system continues to sustain itself, this study uses three of Pierre Bourdieu's key concepts: habitus, capital, and field. Bourdieu (1990) defined the habitus as "…systems of durable, transposable dispositions…principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing [consciousness]…" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.53). Put more simply the habitus predisposes individuals to behave in certain ways due to socialization over time rather than being a set of rules to be followed (Park & Wee, 2012, p.34). In particular, dispositions that are inculcated in early childhood experiences are considered very important (Bourdieu, 1991, p.12). However, while the habitus is relatively stable and may be strengthened and reinforced by acting in a predisposed manner, it is not permanent and individuals may try to act in different ways when necessary, which in turn may become long lasting (Park & Wee, 2012, p.34). For instance, young children in Korea may be socialized into the importance of English and the need to study the language (Section 2.3). However, the social position of the individual will likely affect the opportunities available to learn the language. Those with sufficient resources or capital (discussed below) will have more opportunities to acquire the language than someone with less means. However, should an individual who is born into a social group that places less value on education become aware of the importance of English, he or she will likely be able to change beliefs

and acquire the language. Such an endeavour, however, will likely be limited by the socioeconomic resources.

The concept of capital relates to valued resources, which people are motivated by (Bourdieu, 1986). Four main types of capital were identified by Bourdieu. Symbolic capital can be defined as people possessing specific attributes, which when perceived and recognised as legitimate through the possession of social capital, economic capital, and cultural capital, can then be exchanged for power (Bourdieu, 1989, p.17). Bourdieu (1986) defined social capital as relating to the social networks that an individual has, economic capital relates to monetary value, and cultural capital is knowledge or other attributes that are acquired as a result of an individual's social class. Looking at cultural capital specifically, Bourdieu believed it to exist in three states: embodied, objectified, and institutionalised. Embodied cultural capital refers to knowledge that may be acquired passively or actively. The variety of language or accent (Section 2.2.1) used by an individual is likely to be passively acquired from a young age via the individual's family or through other social interactions. With specific reference to Korea, the importance of the English language due to its association with future success may also be passively acquired from parents and government policy. The actual learning of English as a foreign language in Korea, however, is likely to be actively acquired in school (Section 2.3.2).). In addition, individuals with economic capital may actively acquire English private English academies (Section 2.3.2.2) or abroad (section 2.3.3). Objectified cultural capital is cultural goods that can be bought or sold. Institutionalized cultural capital is when an individual's embodied cultural capital is recognised formally, such as an academic diploma or certificate. As well as being converted for symbolic capital, social, economic, and cultural capital can be exchanged for another form of capital. In relation to learning English in Korea, a child born into a home that values education and the acquisition of foreign languages is more likely to develop a similar

understanding (embodied cultural capital). In addition, if the child's parents have an adequate amount of disposable income (economic capital), the child will be able to attend private English academies (Section 2.3.2.2) or even travel abroad for language studies (Section 2.3.3) (embodied cultural capital and potential social capital). A high level of English ability will assist the individual in being able to enter a prestigious university. While also gaining a high quality education, the person is likely to be able to form relationships with other students with similar socioeconomic status, which may enable future opportunities (social capital). The symbolic capital associated with a degree from a high level university and English ability certified via a recognized standardized test (institutionalized cultural capital), as well as the development of potential social networks are likely to help secure quality employment. Such employment is likely to be well remunerated, which in turn provides financial resources (economic capital). The financial resources can be invested to increase wealth (property ownership or company shares) but can also be used to purchase desirable goods such as a luxury car or art (objectified cultural capital). Furthermore, should the individual decide to have children, her or his children are also likely to benefit from the already acquired symbolic, cultural, and social capital.

The field can be thought of as "a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of…capital" (Bourdieu, 1991, p.14). The social world is divided into many autonomous fields, which each have their own rules and forms of capital. Using football as an analogy, Thomson (2012) notes that the social field consists of agents (people or institutions) and what happens on or in the field is restricted. This means there are limits to what can be achieved, and what can be achieved is also shaped by the habitus. Consequently, struggle always occurs in a field as individuals, who may have different aims and different chances of success still share common

preconceptions about the importance of their investments, endeavour to maintain or redistribute relevant forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1991, p.14).

Looking at the three concepts together, an individual's practice can be seen in relation to one's habitus and position via accumulated capital within a field (Maton, 2012, p.50). Therefore, when researching specific contexts, consideration of Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital, and field can help researchers understand what capital is valued and what limitations may exist to an individual's practice.

2.1.4 The linguistic capital of English

With a specific focus on knowledge, unequal access to learning and commodification has led to some knowledge being more valued than others, with communication skills having high cultural capital in neoliberal globalised society (Kubota, 2016). Through the standardisation processes of globalisation, English has become the world's lingua-franca, and is regarded as having linguistic capital, which as part of Bourdieu's cultural capital, and can be defined as "…a high-status, world-wide language which is used by groups who possess economic, social, cultural and political power and status in local and global society." (Morrison & Lui, 2000, p.473). Nonetheless, despite English being presented as a universal language with the purpose of connecting diverse groups of people (Kubota, 2016, p.3), some Englishes have more linguistic capital than others, and this leads those who possess the desired varieties being more able to enjoy the benefits of globalisation (Blommaert, 2010, p.49).

For individuals affected by globalised neoliberal society the increased movement of people, money, media, and ideologies combined with rapid technological advancement mean that very little is now rooted to a specific geographic area, and people around the world are now able to envisage themselves living "imagined lives", which was much less likely in the past

when social life was governed by traditions and social experiences in specific locales (Appadurai, 1996, p.54). In addition, with ever increasing global flows we are perhaps entering a posthumanist world that brings into question what it means to be human and affects the language we use. Rather than language competence being understood as the property of an individual, Pennycook (2018) states that it should be recognised as being distributed across people and places where communication is conducted using a practice of multimodal and multisensory repertoires. What language actually means, and the difficulty of defining language is discussed in the next section.

2.2 Defining language

Language has been traditionally thought of as either a system or practice – used to describe reality or to frame that reality. In the former, language is believed to exist apart from its speakers, while in the latter, language is viewed as an ongoing and continuously changing social activity (Wright, 2015, p.114). From a sociolinguistic approach to language, however, the primary concern is not with language in a general or abstract sense, but rather what a language is and what language is used for (Clark, 2007, p.4).

Languages and the names given to languages are inventions related to colonial and nationalistic efforts in various parts of the world (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007, p.1). Developing in relation to the invention of language, a linguistic metalanguage was also invented, which created an ideology of languages being separate and countable (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007, p.2). Despite language and its ideologies being socially constructed relatively recently, the idea of a strictly ordered autonomous system is deep-rooted (Wright, 2015). While these dominant approaches were intended to describe language as value-free, the simplified idea of context – a container of language – framed as areas such as speech communities or nation state, territorialized language and provided ownership to specific groups of speakers and places (Canagarajah, 2018, p.32), which in turn promoted the idea

of an ideal speaker (Wright, 2015, p.116). This is despite users only ever having partial competence, and the language each individual produces being an idiolect (Wei, 2018b, p.18). (The concept of the native speaker is discussed in Section 2.2.3.) Furthermore, structuralism encouraged linguistic structure to become spatiotemporally disconnected as space was viewed as passive and static rather than as active and agentive (Canagarajah, 2018, pp.32–33). This is an important distinction as space is organised and given meaning in interaction with humans, and it is in these constructed and interpreted spaces that our language is produced and understood (Pennycook, 2010) (Sections 2.1.3 and 2.2.6). As a result, language should not be viewed as a "monolithic autonomous system" (García & Wei, 2013, p.9) but the result of social, cultural, and historical contexts combined with the underlying ideological concepts (Clark, 2013, p.3). Although linguistics has been unable to satisfactorily define what a language is, it should not be denied that languages such as Korean and English exist. Using the idea of indexicality (Section 2.2.5) certain words become associated with different locations and communities, which then become regarded as territorialized languages (Canagarajah, 2018, p.37). A simple example is the Korean word for 'hello', which is '안녕하세요' (*annyeong-haseyo*). This greeting has become associated with speakers from the Korean peninsula, which has then become regarded as the Korean language.

2.2.1 Dialect, accent, and variety

Due to no universal agreement of what language is, another approach is defining a language as a group of dialects and accents that have certain forms and structures in common (Clark, 2007, p.7). A dialect denotes a language form associated with specific groups of people (regional dialect) but is usually associated with a specific region or social class or group (social dialect) (Schneider, 2011, p.16). Accent relates to the sounds speakers produce, as well as the intonations and pitches that appear with these sounds

(Clark, 2007, p.7). Dialect and accent are often associated with a person from a specific area whom will often speak with an accent particular to that area. While no language or dialect is better or worse than another in the sense of being an effective communicative linguistic system, dialects spoken by certain groups are given more or less prestige due to factors such as social and linguistic stereotypes (Section 2.4.4). Over time dialect has been used to signify a substandard deviation from the more prestigious 'standard' variety (Edwards, 2009, p.65). A more neutral term than dialect and accent, which avoids evaluative connotations, is 'variety'. Rather than being associated with a region or group of people, it can be described as "…a set of language habits that is shared by a certain group of speakers for use in certain contexts" (Schneider, 2011, p.16). Language varieties include national, standard, regional and social varieties.

Looking specifically at the standard variety of a language, which is controlled by powerful interrelated ideological notions of correctness, authority and legitimacy (Milroy, 2007), it is usually based on its written form and is used by those in power for purposes such as education and law. While Standard English can be spoken with any accent, in the case of the British Isles, Received Pronunciation (RP) has traditionally been closely associated with the standard variety. RP evolved from being used only by the upper classes into an accent that was deemed to allow the user to be upwardly mobile through its association with education and employability, while hiding the speaker's region of origin (Leitner, 2012, p.79). The social hierarchy associated with Received Pronunciation has since eroded and Estuary English (EE), which is a mix of RP and some cockney and southeastern variety features, is now often the preferred prestige form (Schneider, 2011, p.69). With regard to American English, the prestige variety that has emerged is known as General American (GA), which was thought to have originated in the Mid-West of the USA but is now spoken by the majority of Americans. Traditionally, Standard English and in particular British and

American varieties of English have been the dominant varieties in English language teaching (Clark, 2013).

It should be noted, however, that defining Standard English is very difficult and in fact may only exist as an abstract concept (Clark, 2013, p.19) as most native speakers do not conform to the rules of standard language by displaying many ways of talking depending on region, occupation, class, and age (Kramsch, 1997, p.251). However, most people in standard-language cultures subscribe to the idea of there being a 'correct' form of a language (Milroy, 2007, p.134) and appear quite comfortable with the idea of a standard language and are often willing to describe and define it (Lippi-Green, 2012, p.57). The global spread of English has led to the creation of many varieties. How these Englishes can be categorized is examined in the next section.

2.2.2 Categorizing Englishes – World Englishes

There are now multiple terminologies to refer to global Englishes; World Englishes (WE), English as an international language (EIL), English as a lingua franca (ELF), Global Englishes Research – all of which to some extent share similar theoretical assumptions and pedagogical implications (Lee & Lee, 2019). Following Baratta (2019), however, this research will use WE as an umbrella term as it recognises all three circles of English (explained below). Although several attempts have been made to categorize the different Englishes (Graddol, 2006; Schneider, 2007; Yano, 2001), Kachru's (1985) Concentric Circles model has become the standard framework in the study of WE (Yano, 2001, p.121). Based on historical, sociolinguistic, ideological, and pedagogic significance (Kachru, 2009, p.177), Kachru proposed three groups of countries; inner circle (IC), outer circle (OC), and expanding circle (EC). IC countries are nations where English is the native language (ENL) of the majority of the population such as Great Britain and USA. OC countries are often former colonies of English speaking nations, which have often retained the use of English

as an official language after independence for intra-national and international communication. Within OC countries such as India and Singapore, English is learned as a second or additional language (ESL). English in these countries has often become more endonormative in nature through the process of nativisation, meaning that through contact with the local culture, the language has developed characteristics specific to the locale. EC nations such as Korea and China have no historical relationship with English. Instead English is taught and used as a foreign language (EFL) for international communication. Nations in the EC are characterized as being exonormative as they have been generally thought to look to IC countries' Englishes as norm-providing.

The Concentric Circles model has been successful in pluralizing English, by highlighting that there are in fact many Englishes rather than just one (Kirkpatrick, 2007, p.28), and that all varieties are real and valid no matter which circle they originate from (Jenkins, 2009, p.200). Additionally, the model has provided important conceptual vocabulary for scholars to discuss the complex relationships between language and place (Park & Wee, 2009, p.390). Nonetheless, the model has received criticism from a number of scholars. These include the concentric circles no longer being applicable in the age of globalisation as the boundaries of the model are too rigid and too simple to sufficiently categorize the vast number of varieties of English that exist (Bruthiaux, 2003). An example of this is South Africa, which is thought to meet the conditions of being in the inner circle, but less than ten percent of the population speak English as a first language (Galloway & Rose, 2015, p.72). In addition, no country has moved between different circles (Leitner, 2012) despite countries classed as OC who speak English 'natively' rather than as an additional language (Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009, p.2). Furthermore, it has been stated that the inner circle countries being placed in the centre of the model maintains the linguistic hierarchy of native Englishes being viewed as superior and perpetuates the dichotomy of native and non-

native speakers of English (Section 2.2.3). However, similar to the WSA model (Section 2.1.1), it can also be argued that this placement signifies the continued ideological realities of the privileged status of 'native' speakers and how inner circle varieties influence situated English usages in different contexts (Park & Wee, 2009, p.393). Despite the acknowledged problems of this model and the reality of translanguaging (Section 2.2.4), the terminology associated with the Concentric Circles model will be employed in this study due to it being widely used and understood. Inner, outer, and expanding circles will be used to categorize the different Englishes through historical spread and use, but also take into account the ideological hierarchical realities attached to the varieties in each circle. The global spread of English and its international use also brings into question of what a native and non-native speaker of English is. This dichotomy is explored next.

2.2.3 Defining the native and non-native speaker

The terms of 'native speaker' (NS) and 'non-native speaker' (NNS) have been criticized by a number of scholars due to the difficulty in defining the terms and the different ways that they are understood (Davies, 2003; Kirkpatrick, 2007; McKay, 2002; Medgyes, 1992; Paikeday, 1985). Davies (2003) notes that due to the differing interpretations the concept of a native speaker is both a myth and reality. For instance, from a linguistic viewpoint the NS is often viewed as the custodian of correct language, and from a social viewpoint is often regarded as the standard that language learners should strive to achieve (Davies, 2004). While the implication is perhaps that standard IC English is viewed as the 'correct' form, there is evidence that the spread of English has led to the language being used as a native language by multilinguals in other parts of the world without reference to the IC. In Asia, Edwards's (2017) study found that individuals from Singapore, Malaysia, India, Taiwan, and the Philippines defined themselves as native speakers of English mostly without comparison to IC English speakers' norms and practices. Instead, their definitions were

based on language inheritance, age of learning English, use of English, and English expertise compared to other languages learned. Edwards concluded that participants identifying as native speakers of English was a self-reflexive practice based on local language use contexts. Consequently, associating the native speaker construct with the IC may be becoming less relevant. Furthermore, there are now more people learning English as a second or additional language rather than as a first language (Seargeant, 2013, p.235), and users of English in the outer and expanding circles (OEC) are more likely to only interact with NNSs (Jenkins, 2012). Thus, the concept of NS norms is now a contradiction as native speakers are no longer the norm (Cheng, 2012, p.328).

In order to understand the general consensus of what a native speaker is believed to be, Lee (2005) analysed the relevant literature in second language acquisition and language teaching. Six features were found to have general support. These are:

1. the individual acquired the language in early childhood and maintains the use of the language
2. the individual has intuitive knowledge of the language
3. the individual is able to produce fluent, spontaneous discourse
4. the individual is communicatively competent and able to communicate within different social settings
5. the individual identifies with or is identified by a language community
6. the individual does not have a foreign accent[1]

As Lee notes, all of these beliefs except acquiring the language in early childhood and continuing to use the language can quite easily be disproved. Regarding intuitive language

[1] The idea of an individual not having a foreign accent can be viewed as problematic in the sense that every individual has an accent. However, from a folk perspective the concept of a foreign accent may be viewed as a reality in the same way that language non-specialists believe there to be a standard variety of language.

knowledge, fluent and spontaneous discourse, and communicative competence, native speakers do not always speak the language well (Rampton, 1990, p.98). For example, individuals who may be viewed as being native speakers due to being born into a specific group may produce spoken or written discourse that is limited as a result of a lack of vocabulary or may even be incomprehensible due to incorrect use of grammar. In essence, being a native speaker of a language does not mean that an individual will necessarily have a detailed knowledge of the language or be able to produce clear and coherent discourse. Conversely, there is evidence that the non-native speaker can be indistinguishable from native speakers in terms of linguistic ability (Kirkpatrick, 2007 citing White and Genesee, 1996). Furthermore, transcultural global flows (Section 2.1.1) have resulted in individuals and languages not always being connected with specific language communities (Cogo, 2012; Yano, 2009, p.213). In addition, the issue of accent can also depend on individual identity. Some learners and users of English may have achieved a very advanced level but choose to maintain their accent from their first language so as to maintain their identity (Takeshita, 2012, p.278). This then only leaves the idea that those who acquired a language after early childhood, despite becoming highly proficient, cannot be a native speaker by definition because it was not the first language learned by the individuals (Cook, 1999). Thus, nativeness can be viewed as a "…non-elective socially constructed identity rather than a linguistic category (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001, p.100).

Even though the concepts of a native English speaker and non-native English speaker are difficult to define due to so many varieties of English being in existence (Clark & Paran, 2007, p.408) and the terms no longer being relevant in this era of globalisation, the idea of a native speaker remains an ideological construct (Seargeant, 2013, p.231) and many English language learners appear to have a static interpretation of what a native speaker is (Hodgson, 2014). Other alternative terms have been put forward to replace the NS/NNS

dichotomy. These include L1 and LX users (any foreign language acquired after the first languages) (Dewaele, 2018), multi-competent users (Cook, 1999), and intercultural speakers (Kramsch, 1998). However, the terms ‘native speaker’ and ‘non-native speaker’, while shown to be very problematic, are still widely used in the field of linguistics and have also been found to be commonly used by research participants, who were non-specialists in languages, in research in EC nations in East Asia (Galloway, 2011; White, 2013). The widespread use means that it is necessary to define the terms. Therefore, in the context of this research, a native speaker is defined as an “individual who learned a language in childhood and sustains the use of the language (Lee, 2005) and a non-native speaker is defined as a person who acquired a language after early childhood. While in disagreement with these terms and ideas, the terms ‘native speaker’ and non-native speaker’ will be used in this project as a folk concept rather than an analytical concept (Doerr, 2009).

2.2.4 Translanguaging

The World Englishes model (Section 2.2.2) has been credited with supporting the growth of new Englishes and acknowledging the sociolinguistic realities of English usage where the language has undergone structural nativisation of phonology, grammar and vocabulary. However, these varieties are connected with specific geographical regions, which due to the transcultural flows of globalisation (Section 2.1.1) may no longer best represent how English is now used on a global scale. Consequently, what is now considered a ‘language’ needs to be reconsidered. The nation state, in most cases, is not as isolated or as powerful as it may have been in the past. Technological advancements allow people, capital, and media to move around the world, as well as allowing instant communication at relatively low cost. Individuals are then likely to encounter new situations with differing rules for linguistic norms and underlying structures than they grew up with (Clark, 2013, p.6). Therefore, when communicating, interlocutors are unlikely to just use one autonomous language along with

its standardised rules, but rather use their language repertoire – metalinguistic and paralinguistic resources – to communicate. This use of a repertoire has led to many new terms being devised. Examples include metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010), translingual practice (Canagarajah, 2013), polylingual languaging (Jørgensen, 2008), and translanguaging (García, 2009; García & Wei, 2013). The latter of which has emerged as the term of choice to the extent that it has become a common term to refer to language mixing (Pennycook, 2016, p.202).

Translanguaging as a practical theory of language refers to "…the speakers' construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of a language…" (García & Wei, 2013, p.22). The 'trans' prefix is also used to identify that multilinguals do not think unilingually in one politically constructed language (Section 2.2) and that human thought moves beyond language to include various cognitive, semiotic, and modal resources (Wei, 2018b, p.22). Although related to translingual practice, Canagarajah (2018, p.32) states 'trans' also considers language practices to be "more mobile, expansive, situated, and holistic…". Consequently, the idea of translanguaging or translingual practice would appear to better represent how people communicate in a globalised world. As a result, translanguaging, when individuals use their "repertoire[s] without regard for socially or politically defined language labels or boundaries" (Otheguy et al., 2015, p.297), goes beyond code-switching, which assumes the existence of different languages as structural and cognitive entities (Wei, 2018b) and that alternating between languages is governed by grammatical and interactional rules (Wei, 2018a). Translanguaging is multicultural communication where individuals use a multimodal repertoire of different languages, body language and images to successfully communicate ideas. A personal example is when I have visited different countries. As I did not speak the languages, I translanguaged by using a few words of the

local languages I learned, some English, body language, and pictures. Another example may be signs, which mix words and characters from various languages without following grammatical rules and may use images to convey information.

2.2.5 Indexicality and enregisterment

As globalisation and mobility have affected the way we think about language (Johnstone, 2016; Blommaert, 2017), the related ideas of indexicality and enregisterment have become increasingly used to explain the complex relationship between linguistic variation and social and geographic mobility (Clark, 2019, p.26). A framework developed by Silverstein (1993, 2003) and Agha (2003, 2007) shows how social meanings and linguistic choices can be linked (Johnstone, 2016). Indexicality, using Blommaert et al.'s (2015, p.122) definition, is "… the dimension of meaning in which textual features "point to" (index) contextually retrievable meanings". Thus, every utterance carries denotational meanings as well as sociocultural meanings, which are derived from common beliefs about the meanings signalled by properties of the utterance." Indexical orders, as identified by Johnstone et al. (2006), help to explain this process. First-order indexicality occurs when a correlation is made between a form and sociodemographic identity or pragmatic function. This connection is observed by an outsider and the user is unaware of the connection. A simplified example is when a vowel sound is added to English words that end in consonants to match the syllable structure of Korean becomes associated with Korean English (KoE) (Section 2.3.7). At this stage only outsiders are aware of this function. Second-order indexicality happens when individuals use the first-order indexical interpretively or performatively. Thus, a specific form is used to make interpretations about the user or performed to enact a specific identity. At this stage, speakers are aware of the metapragmatics, but may not be able to talk about it. Thus, the speakers are now aware of the additional modified syllable and the social meaning that is attributed to it. The speakers

may seek to avoid using the additional syllable or actively use it to strengthen their local identity. Third-order indexicality is acquired when the most common specific (prototypical) features are linked with a geographic identity. Thus, 'insiders' and 'outsiders' can use regional forms of a codified list to claim a specific identity. Therefore, the additional syllable has become associated with Korea and Korean English. Korean users of English and non-Korean users of English may use this form to perform a local identity, which may also be done in a comic or semi-serious manner (Clark, 2013, p.96). Enregisterment then occurs, which Agha (2007, p.81) describes as the "processes and practices whereby performable signs become recognized (and regrouped) as belonging to distinct, differentially valorized registers by a population." At this point the use of an additional syllable along with other highly codified linguistic features are now associated with KoE. Furthermore, specific types of enregisterment happen at various stages in individuals' lives and communities' histories (Johnstone, 2016) and at a larger scale, mobility has the potential to enable new ways of speaking being enregistered in new contexts (Johnstone et al., 2006). How language may be understood and recognised in different contexts as a result of intensified global flows (Section 2.1.1) is explored in the next section.

2.2.6 Chronotope and scales

Varieties of language have previously been regarded as having fairly stable rules and conventions that can be mapped onto physical or social spaces (Johnstone, 2016) (Section 2.2.1). However, rather than being considered members of one closed community, many people now navigate multiple worlds as a result of physical and technological mobility. This results in these individuals being subjected to normative judgements by different people in different places (Blommaert, 2017, p.96). In an attempt to help understand what 'context' actually means, Bakhtin's (1981) concept of Chronotope has been put forward by (Blommaert, 2017, 2015; Blommaert & De Fina, 2017). Bakhtin defined chronotope as the

"…intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relations…" (Bakhtin & Holquist, 1981, p.84). Furthermore, Bahktin considered chronotopes to involve specific forms of agency and identity meaning that specific patterns of social behaviour can be seen as belonging or not belonging to a particular spacetime configuration (Blommaert & De Fina, 2017, p.3). As such, chronotopes invoke orders of indexicality valid in a specific timespace as;

> "Specific timespace configurations enable, allow, and sanction specific modes of behavior as positive, desired, or compulsory (and disqualify deviations from that order in negative terms), and this happens through the deployment and appraisal of chronotopically relevant indexicals—indexicals that acquire a certain recognizable value when deployed within a particular timespace configuration." (Blommaert & De Fina, 2017, p.3)

To help understand what semiotic signs (indexicals) are available or recognizable to individuals, Blommaert (2007, 2015, 2020) and Blommaert et al. (2005, 2015) use the concept of sociolinguistic 'scales'. Blommaert et al. (2005, p.202) originally introduced the concept as an extension of Appurdurai's (1996) global flows and Wallerstein's (2004) WSA (Section 2.1.1), but Blommaert (2020) has now repositioned the notion as an imaginative concept referring to 'scope of understandability' which encompasses horizontal spread (reach) while simultaneously referring to the vertical image of stratification (value). Thus, scales as a heuristic can be understood as specific forms of indexical order (Blommaert et al., 2015, pp.122–123) that analyse the reach of signs and metalinguistic evaluation with the understanding that differences in scope are likely to be associated with different values (Blommaert, 2020). As an example, different languages and varieties of language are likely to have differing scope in a chronotope and thus different values, which will likely differ again in both scope and value according to spatiotemporal context. The role of English as a global lingua franca and the power associated with 'Standard English', however, likely means the variety is more pre-supposable and operates at a higher scale than other

varieties in different space-times. This idea is looked at next in terms of English language teaching.

2.2.7 The reality of English language teaching

As part of globalisation, English has often become the necessary language for many people (Section 2.1.1). Instead of learning new languages to improve one's language repertoire and using the multilingual or translingual speaker (Section 2.2.4) as the model for teaching and learning, the focus is often to become monolingual in another language by using the monolingual speaker and the target-only language as the model to assess learning outcomes (Wei, 2018b, p.16). Highlighting these issues, Jenkins (2015, p.79) is concerned with higher education institutes claiming to be international but the language of instruction being inseparable from that of standard native English. In addition, Jenkins (2015) also notes the issue of language assessment. Rather than measuring students' English abilities against how closely they can mimic native English, it would be more appropriate to assess what students can actually do with the language (Jenkins, 2015, p.79 citing Hall, 2014). This focus on standard native Englishes, however, may not aid communication when using English in IC countries as research has shown that when individuals who have studied English in the EC visit IC countries, they are surprised and disappointed by the perceived use of non-standard English (Deterding, 2005; Marr, 2005; Seidlhofer, 2011). While standardised tests such as Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) are experimenting with adding more colloquial forms of English to reflect use on the Internet and in the workplace (K. Lee, 2015) and adding varieties of English, these varieties remain limited to the IC (Schedl, 2010). It would therefore appear that individuals considered to use varieties of English other than Standard English may be penalized in areas such as education and language assessment. This subsequent lack of institutionalised cultural capital (Section 2.1.3) is likely to affect employment opportunities (Section 6.1.1.2).

The issues stated above regarding language learning are well founded. However, the sociolinguistic realities need to be considered, as does how English learners would be affected by a change in teaching focus. Translanguaging (Section 2.2.4) describes how language is likely used when communicating interculturally, but much of the elite international communication in English is mostly conducted in BrE or AmE due to 'Standard' written English being used in formal publications and users, other than 'native speakers', who have acquired these varieties continue to use them due to the associated cultural capital (Section 2.1.3) (Wright, 2015, p.118). This is likely due to standard language varieties in general enabling individuals to access political, economic and educational opportunities unlike often stigmatized accents, and this pattern may be even more pronounced for non-native speakers (Giles & Rakić, 2014 citing Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010b). (Potential ideas for incorporating WE into the EFL classroom are discussed in Section 8.2.) The role English has in Korea is now explored.

2.3 English in Korea

To better grasp the concept of English and English regard in the Korean context, analysis of important social, economic, political, and geographic influences is required in the form of a societal treatment (Section 2.5.1). The section begins by giving a brief overview of Korea's recent history and embracement of globalisation and neoliberalism, and the effects they have had on Korean society. English education in Korea is then discussed. This is followed by considering the ideoscapes, finanscapes, ethnoscapes, mediascapes, and technoscapes (Appadurai, 1996) (Section 2.1.1) related to Korea. Finally, KoE as a variety is discussed and salient features are highlighted.

2.3.1 Korea's modern history, capital, and ideology

South Korea emerged as a nation when the Korean peninsula was partitioned by the USA and the USSR after the Second World War. The later invasion of South Korea by North

Korea led to the Korean War and resulted in American led NATO forces fighting to defend the South from the North and its Communist allies. After signing of an armistice in 1953 brought a truce, an American military government was formed to run the country until the time that South Korea was ready to govern itself. At this time, the English language gained a high status due to Koreans who knew the language being given positions of importance within the government (Grant & Lee, 2009, p.54). The status of English grew even after the formation of a Korean government as the country was dependent on the USA for economic and military support, who in return maintained influence in Korea due to its geographic strategic importance as part of the Cold War (Joseph Sung-Yul Park, 2009, p.37; Harvey, 2005, p.94). Thus, American hegemony gave the English language a high status that has continued and potentially even intensified as a result of globalisation (Section 2.1.1). It is also likely that the USA's dominance both globally and its continued role in South Korea enabled American English to have high linguistic capital (Section 2.1.4)

After the Korean War, South Korea was one of the poorest nations in the world. From the 1960's until the early 1990s, however, the Korean economy achieved significant annual growth as part of the government led development strategies, which incorporated protectionist policies (Park, 2015, p.7) and emphasised producing goods for export. From the 1990s, however, profitability and growth slowed due to competition from newly developing Asian nations, which led to the adoption of globalisation by large Korean companies (known as chaebol) in order to improve their image and restructure their organisations (Park, 2011, p.448). Also around this time period, the Korean government instituted its own policy for promoting globalisation (segyewha) with the primary aim to be recognised as a world-class nation by gaining the necessary social and economic capital (Grant & Lee, 2009, p.52). As part of this process, English was presented as an essential resource for citizens to communicate globally (Joseph Sung-Yul Park, 2009, p.39).

A major event in Korea's recent history, which also affected the significance of English, was the Asian financial crisis in 1997. The situation can be attributed, at least in part, to economic liberalisation from Korea's globalisation push (Kim et al., 2015, p.539), which was forced by neoliberal advocates such as the USA and World Bank. To overcome this crisis South Korea applied to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for loans. The IMF, another neoliberal organisation, agreed to offer loans on the condition that Korea further liberalised its markets and forced the restructure of the chaebol. The original conditions set out by the IMF caused the nation's economic situation to worsen due to large scale business failure, unemployment, and homelessness, as well as weakening of workers' rights (Koo, 2008). Part of the reason that Korea was subject to less than satisfactory terms has been attributed to a lack of command of English at important meetings (Park, 2015, p.7; Joseph Sung-Yul Park, 2009, p.76). Such a belief may result from a prevalent ideology that Koreans believe themselves to be bad speakers of English, which is often negatively commented on by citizens, politicians and the media (Lee, 2010; Park, 2010). This example of ingroup stereotyping of Korean users of English being enregistered (Section 2.2.5) as poor speakers of English has been labelled as 'self-deprecation' by J. S.-Y. Park (2009).

The resulting neoliberal policies put in place led to the culture of Korea, at individual and state level, becoming more competitive in many areas such as housing, education, and jobs (Piller & Cho, 2013, p.28). With regard to jobs, workers now find it much more difficult to obtain secure full-time employment and also receive less workplace protection (Abelmann et al., 2009, p.232). Jobs for life and pay increases based on seniority were replaced with a merit-based system (Koo, 2008, p.6). As Korea has moved towards the core of the WSA model (Section 2.1.1), the economy has become more financialised and many manufacturing jobs have been outsourced to developing nations, which has led to an insufficient number of new jobs for university graduates (Jang, 2015, p.60). This general

increase in competition for jobs has led to high youth unemployment in Korea, as well as an increase of irregular employment (Koo, 2014). The increasing competition and economic polarization have also caused widespread dissatisfaction, especially among young people. The pejorative term “Hell Joseon” is used to express the discontentment at the growing inequality in society and working conditions (Y. Kim, 2017). Young people’s reduction in or lack of prospects compared to their parents has led to the coining of “n-po”. (In English ‘po’ can be translated as ‘foregoing’). Originally beginning at 3-po (foregoing dating, love, and marriage) it has increased to include of factors such as employment, home ownership, and even hope (Cho & Stark, 2016).

A further result of greater competition for regular employment is that English ability is now considered an unavoidable requirement rather than an option (Abelmann et al., 2009, p.230; Piller & Cho, 2013, p.29). English is regarded as especially important for individuals seeking employment at Korean conglomerates and transnational companies (Joseph Sung-Yul Park, 2009, p.42), as well as in the increasingly competitive public sector (Koo, 2008, p.13). Even when English is not required as part of the job, English language ability has become regarded as an indicator of an individual’s competence in this globalised era (Koo, 2008, p.13). Such ideology also appears to be perpetuated by Korean conglomerates and their affiliates, which have produced reports stating that English ability can make individuals more competitive with regard to employment, promotion, and personal development (Park, 2011, pp.446–47).

One consequence of the reinforcement of the connection between English proficiency and employment has been the rise in the use of standardised tests, such as the Test of English as foreign language (TOEFL) and TOEIC, which are used in the employment application process and job promotion. These examinations, and their use of IC English (Section 2.2.2), act as a gatekeeper. These tests are now deemed an essential part of what is known in

Korea as ‘specs’ (shortened from the word ‘specifications’) (Section 2.3.7), which means the qualifications acquired to be competitive in the Korean job market (Park, 2015, p.6). As a result of the intense competition, Korean university students seeking employment aim to achieve increasingly higher test scores, while those already in employment often need to achieve the required minimum score in order to be eligible for annual promotion, overseas training, and additional monthly bonuses (Lee, 2006, p.68). More recently, however, these tests are no longer thought to accurately indicate communicative competence (Jang, 2015, p.58), and there has been an added emphasis on English conversational skills and conducting interviews, either partly or fully, in English (Lee, 2010, p.250; Shin, 2016, p.6). One reason this has occurred is due to an increased demand for oral English communication skills resulting from the aggressive global expansion of Korean companies (Joseph Sung-Yul Park, 2009, p.42). Another reason is the resulting emergence of a new ideal Korean citizen under the neoliberal framework of ‘global human talent’ (*injae*) or ‘global Korean’, which is a person with foreign language ability, intercultural knowledge and understanding, and specialist subject knowledge (Shin, 2016).

The increased competition in Korean society has caused English to become regarded as an important tool for maintaining social class, enabling social mobility and cosmopolitan striving (Park & Abelmann, 2004, p.646). English being positioned as vital to individual, national, and global competitiveness (Cho, 2017) combined with government revision of the national education curriculum (Section 2.3.2) led to such a frenzy about learning the language that it has commonly become known in Korea as “English Fever” (*yeongeo yeolpung*) (Jin-Kyu Park, 2009). English teaching in Korea is now discussed.

2.3.2 English education in Korea

As part of Korea’s globalisation policy (Section 2.3.1) as well as to further strengthen the domestic economy, the Korean government has reformed the English-language education

system a number of times (Jeon, 2009, p.235). Up until the introduction of the sixth national curriculum in 1995, foreign languages had been mainly taught using rote memorization and grammar translation method, with an emphasis on reading. Learning English in such a manner has resulted in an issue known in Korea as 'mute English' (*malmoshanun yenge*) (J. S. Lee, 2015, pp.240–241). After years of studying English, many learners were unable to use the language productively. In response, the government's globalisation push recognised the need for communication, and this resulted in a move towards fluency and communicative competence rather than grammatical accuracy (Shin, 2007, p.77; Song, 2012, p.35), as well as lowering the age students begin learning English from the sixth grade (11-12 years old) of elementary/primary school to the third grade (8-9 years old) in 1997 (Park & Abelmann, 2004). English remains a compulsory subject from the third grade of elementary school through to high school where it forms a large part of the Korean university entrance test (*Suneung*) that high school seniors sit if they wish to enter tertiary education. At the university level, English classes are often required to graduate.

To meet the needs of this more communicative teaching style, as well as a political response to address public awareness and criticism of the creation of an 'English Divide' (Song, 2012, p.36), meaning that those with sufficient purchasing power are able to acquire English skills (Shin, 2016, p.12) by means of private education (section 2.3.2.2) and studying abroad (Section 2.3.3), the government created two programmes to improve English language teaching in Korea: The English Program in Korea (EPIK) and Talk and Learn in Korea (TaLK). EPIK was created in 1995 to bring large numbers of native speakers (Section 2.2.3) of English to Korea. The current goals of the programme are "improving the English-speaking abilities of Korean students and teachers, developing cultural exchange between Korea and abroad, and introducing new teaching methods into the Korean education system" (EPIK, undated). The TaLK program was established in

Korea in 2008 and focused on placing English native speaking undergraduate students into rural elementary schools in Korea (Jeon, 2012). As a result of government visa regulations, only individuals from seven designated countries who have completed a university degree (EPIK) or are in the process of completing a degree (TaLK) are eligible. These countries are all IC nations: Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa, UK, and USA[2]. However, applicants from South Africa must now prove that their middle and high school education was conducted in English. In general, North American instructors are often preferred (Pollard, 2010) most probably due to America's continuous economic and cultural influence (Joseph Sung-Yul Park, 2009). Hiring individuals from inner circle nations mostly due to citizenship of an English speaking nation rather than due to teaching credentials (Joo-Kyung Park, 2009, p.126) can be regarded as evidence of 'native-speakerism' (Holliday, 2006). This policy presents native English speakers as ideal teachers due to their perceived ownership of Standard English and the target culture, while also suggesting that qualified Korean teachers of English are in need of support (Choi, 2016, p.74). In addition, instructors from the IC are commonly referred to as '원어민' (won-eomin) meaning 'native speaker'. This again suggests that the ownership of English belongs to a few English speaking nations.

Native-speakerism policies at the national level are likely to enforce native speaker norms and create a deficit model for Englishes from the OEC (Lindemann & Subtirelu, 2013). In the Korean context this means that there are often negative perceptions towards Korean

[2] There is some debate concerning South Africa's position as an inner circle English due to the relatively low percentage of South Africans who use English as a primary language (Section 2.2.2). In the context of this study, South African English will be classed as an IC English due to the status bestowed upon the variety by the Korean government, which enables South Africans to be conversation teachers in South Korea. Therefore, South Africa is grouped with other established IC nations such as the USA and UK.

teachers of English by the public, which consequently affects the confidence of these teachers (Joo-Kyung Park, 2009). Additionally, such prejudice may also extend to native English speaking teachers of Korean heritage. Jeon (2012, p.251) found evidence of overseas ethnic Koreans in the TaLK programme being "…perceived as less 'real' English teachers whose connections with Korea limit their ability to provide 'authentic' English teaching."

There are indications, however, that policies may be slowly changing. In the revision of the national English-language curriculum in 2007 (7th version), the aim of English education was altered from being based on achieving the competence levels of native speakers to those of 'intercultural' speakers due to the acknowledgement that Koreans are now much more likely to interact with individuals who do not use English as their first language (Song, 2012, p.36). The most recent English curriculum also aims to promote students' tolerance and respect for other speakers, as well as embrace differences (Joo et al., 2020).

2.3.2.1 Textbooks

The Korean government has control over the textbooks used in state schools as only locally produced texts are permitted to be used (Joo et al., 2020). Analysis of English textbooks has also highlighted apparent ideological beliefs. Lee (2009) surveyed three high school English language textbooks, which were mostly written by Korean professors at Korean universities and were used by over half of all high school students in Korea. Examining these texts in terms of how Western and non-Western cultures were portrayed, Lee found that Western artists and arts significantly outnumbered those from non-Western countries, and they were admired unlike the non-Western artists who were given factual explanations. In addition, non-Koreans were labelled as 'Westerners' rather than 'foreigners' indicating that the 'West' is deemed to represent the world outside of Korea. Furthermore, Western cultures and brands, particularly from the USA were included throughout the books.

Therefore, not only is there a state preference for Western teachers of English (Section 2.3.2), but this preference also appears to be incorporated into the textbooks used by a majority of students. In another study, Song (2013) analysed the reading section of four Korean EFL textbooks and found Korean and American characters to be most common, with white American males being the most common overall. Song notes that Korean and Western cultures were advocated over other cultures. In addition, despite the inclusion of different groups, only American orthography was used and most of the audio samples were American English.

A more recent multimodal study by Joo et al. (2020) analysed the images of five textbooks used for third grade elementary school students in Korea (8-9 years old). The researchers found that an attempt had been made to include a variety of nationalities in the textbooks rather than only using Standard American English and characters from the IC. However, characters from the OEC were rarely depicted in a learning environment with Korean characters. Furthermore, more than half the characters from the EC are not shown interacting with other textbook characters of other nationalities. Instead, they are used individually to introduce their own respective cultures. Another finding was that characters from the OEC were not depicted as having authoritative institutional roles. Korean or western looking characters were used instead. Characters from the IC were also depicted as being "valuable target-language interlocutors". The researchers conclude that the textbooks have a general Western bias and continue to implicitly support native-speakerism and thus do not reflect the role English now plays as a global language. It was also concluded these government approved books do not appear to match the government's aim of the new English curriculum fostering tolerance and embracing differences of other speakers of English (Section 2.3.2).

2.3.2.2 Private education

The importance of English combined with parent dissatisfaction with English teaching within the Korean education system has led parents to enrol their children in private education institutes. These institutes, known in Korea as *hagwons*, are believed to teach English better than the state system. Additionally, a more recent phenomenon is the popularity of private English kindergartens. In an effort to give an advantage to their children, many parents with sufficient economic capital (Section 2.1.3) want to send their children to English kindergartens to start acquiring English from as young as possible by receiving tuition from native English speakers (Song, 2012). Such ideals have created an atmosphere of intense competition and also created an economic burden for parents who desire their children to acquire English, and further widens the 'English Divide' as only parents with sufficient economic capital have the purchasing power to send their children to these institutions.

With regard to hiring practices, the vast majority of private education institutes recruit native-speaking teachers from the seven IC countries approved by the government (Section 2.3.2) to meet the demand of parents who want their children to study with native speakers whom are thought to possess authentic English and culture (Shin, 2007, p.79). Recruitment for these schools, most often by independent recruitment websites, further highlight the presence of native-speakerism. Ruecker and Ives's (2015) analysis of recruitment websites to teach English in Korea indicated applicants needed to be a native speaker of English, that most hagwons did not want teachers older than 35-40, and non-Caucasians were also advised that they would find it difficult to find employment. Similarly, analysis of randomly selected internet advertisements by Lee (2015) found evidence of native speakers being used as one of the main selling points of the institutes. All of the native speaker teachers

were Caucasian and mostly from North America, while it was implied that Korean teachers spoke ‘Konglish’ (Section 2.3.7) unless they had received education overseas.

2.3.3 Migration

The number of Koreans going abroad has grown massively since travel restrictions were removed in 1989 (Kim et al., 2015, p.539). One area of growth has been migrating for educational purposes. Due to dissatisfaction with English education in Korea and the belief that the appropriate level of valued language, especially native pronunciation, and social capital cannot be attained in Korea (Park & Lo, 2012, pp.148 and 157), a growing number of Koreans feel obliged to send their children and often themselves abroad. This is done in an effort to achieve a high level of communicative English and its associated symbolic capital (Shin & Lee, 2019) needed to attain the status of global injae (global Korean) (Section 2.3.1) and so improve their competiveness and relevance in the extremely competitive Korean labour market (Shin, 2016, p.4). Such ideology has led to the emergence of what is known in Korea as ‘jogi yuhak’ (early study abroad). Jogi yuhak is usually defined as adolescent students going abroad to study English (Jeon, 2012). More recently, university students are also going overseas often as part of university exchange programs (Shin & Choi, 2015, p.167). This short or long term migration has traditionally been the preserve of the privileged in Korean society, but the middle class is now able to take advantage of this opportunity (Park & Lo, 2012). Historically IC countries, and North America in particular, have been the favoured destinations, but more recently there has been a growth in jogi yuhak to Southeast Asian countries such as the Philippines and Singapore, as well as China and South Africa (Bae, 2013; Rooy, 2009) due to the lower costs and in many cases closer proximity to Korea (Bae, 2015). However, there still appears to be a hierarchy of destinations. Research by Lee (2016) undertaken in one of the most affluent districts in Korea revealed that parents ranked the destinations for English

language education into three tiers. The first tier comprised of the USA and UK, the second tier were the other IC countries of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, while the third tier was made up of outer and expanding nations including Singapore, India, and the Philippines. Reasons for preferring the first tier countries included self-satisfaction at being able to demonstrate superior socio-economic status compared to other parents and the prestige of their children distinguishing themselves by becoming native-like in a highly valued variety of English, and so more likely to achieve the desired 'injae' status (Section 2.3.1). Accordingly, these parents seem well aware that specific varieties of English have more linguistic capital than others and that such an investment would assist with realising their imagined selves and the elite status imagined for their children.

In addition to the minority who travel abroad for study, the annual number of Korean outbound travellers was 28.6 million in 2018 (Korean Tourism Organization, 2019) (Korea's population is about 51 million). With reference to tourism in Korea, inbound arrivals in 2018 were 12.6 million compared to around one million in the 1980s. It should be noted, however, that around 7 million inbound arrivals originated from China and Japan. The increase in Asian tourists may also be partly attributable to the growth in Korea's cultural exports (Section 2.3.5). In response to the increasing importance of tourism, the sector has been classified as a national strategic industry as part of the government's move to towards a more knowledge-based economy. Within this strategy, particular focus has been given to the meetings, incentives, conferencing, and exhibitions sector (MICE), and Korea has developed into a major convention destination (Pyo & Koo, 2014). Additionally, medical tourism has also been identified as a strategic area of growth (Lee, 2012, pp.165–166).

The percentage of immigrants living in Korea has increased in recent years but is still much lower than other Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) nations. The treatment a non-Korean receives differs due to factors such as race/ethnicity

and country of origin (Moon, 2016, p.102), as well as English fluency (Shin & Choi, 2015, p.45). Individuals associated with the West are often accorded a high status due to the belief that they possess the desired social capital compared to those from non-Western and other Asian countries (Grant & Lee, 2009, p.53). Such treatment indicates the presence of hierarchical racism in Korea (Shin, 2012), which may become a bigger issue in the future as immigration is expected to increase significantly to counteract South Korea's rapidly aging population (Park, 2014). As a result, the increasing movement of people may mean that more Koreans are now interacting with foreigners at home and abroad and are potentially being exposed to a much wider variety of Englishes due to the language often being used as a lingua franca.

2.3.4 Technology

South Korea is one of the most technologically advanced nations in the world. It has almost complete internet coverage, and internet speeds are among the fastest in the world. In addition, internet usage is thought to be 96% overall and 100% among 18 to 35 years old, while smart phone ownership is 88% (Pew Research Center, 2016). Although not stated, it is likely that the percentage of smartphone ownership among young Korean adults is even higher. It is likely that access to advanced information technologies has enabled cultural globalisation by allowing Koreans almost widespread access to foreign culture (Kim et al., 2015, p.539).

2.3.5 Media

Until 1988, Korea's entertainment industries were protected by the Korean government as there was concern that the importation of foreign culture would adversely affect the nation's cultural industries. The forced liberalisation of the Korean communications industry by the USA, as well as the World Trade Organisation (WTO) initially led to the weakening of the industry (Shim, 2006, p.31), but it has since strongly recovered. Korea is now one of the

few nations where the film industry has successfully challenged American films in the domestic market (Joo, 2011, p.491; Ryoo, 2009, p.141). The country has also become the leader of pop culture in Asia (Ryoo, 2009, p.139), and its cultural products are exported to many parts of the continent and to some extent Africa and Europe (Shim, 2008). This phenomenon has become known as the Korean Wave (*Hallyu* in Korean) (Lee et al., 2009, p.133). One of the main reasons for this success is thought to be the indigenization and hybridization of American popular culture (Joo, 2011, p.496). American popular music, film and soap operas have been adapted to the local Korean market, which also had the effect of making the content more accessible and accepted by other Asian nations (Ryoo, 2009, p.145). Such a process supports the idea that transcultural global flows are adapted to meet the needs of specific audiences rather than being consumed in their original forms (Section 2.1.1). Furthermore, The Korean wave has enabled Korea to move from the sub-periphery to the core as a cultural mediator (Ryoo, 2009, p.136) and has had the effect of enhancing Korea's image abroad, which in turn has resulted in boosting nationalistic pride in Korea (Joo, 2011, p.496).

Looking at the English content of the television shows, Korean cable television channels broadcast many American and increasingly more British films and television shows with subtitles. There are also television channels dedicated to teaching English, the largest of which, Korean Education Broadcasting System (EBS), sells accompanying workbooks for learners to use. Additionally, there is a government funded English language channel focusing on Korea (Arirang), but it is mostly aimed at expatriates living in Korea and international audiences (Joseph Sung-Yul Park, 2009).

Focusing on how English is used in Korean television programming, domestic comedy shows and talk shows often discuss Korean celebrities' English language experiences with the intention of it being humorous. These are planned, mostly embarrassing, anecdotes,

which recall situations where the speaker faced a challenging English situation, as well as unintentional misuse of English, usually influenced by the Korean language, which provokes laughter (Lee, 2014). This traditional self-deprecating portrayal of Koreans as inadequate speakers of English while still relevant (Section 2.3.1), has now been joined by the depiction of Koreans as elite global citizens or injae in soap operas, which Lo and Chi Kim (2012) term 'elite transnational returnee.' This is a Korean who has studied or lived overseas, is portrayed as being comfortable in multicultural situations, and able to use foreign languages (mostly English) to a very high standard evidenced by the use of idioms and translating specialist terms. These global elites are also depicted as having flawless pronunciation of foreign languages, even when not the case, and there is no indication of comprehension difficulties from any of the interlocutors. Similarly, Baratta (2014) notes that the use of English in Korean television dramas is a reflection of its high status in Korea, and the use of Korean-English code-switching and code-meshing can serve to reflect characters' modernity and power.

The three biggest newspapers, which are conservative leaning and account for 75% of the market share, have also been active in the promotion of English (Piller & Cho, 2013). Some of the campaigns these media groups have undertaken include supporting the neoliberal ideas of the Korean government and chaebols by launching a campaign to highlight the importance of English for Korea's survival in the world. These campaigns called for citizens to improve their English skills (Park, 2010, p.28), while also emphasising 'native-like English proficiency (Choi, 2016, p.75). Furthermore, news stories of success at learning English to a high standard are also of ideological significance. While media groups on both sides of the political spectrum share the same thoughts of English being an attractive resource and value the experience of learning English (Lee, 2010, p.258), the more widely read conservative press choose to highlight the English success stories of those with elite status

by focusing on the hard work these individuals undertook to learn the language, rather than the opportunities open to them as being part of privileged society (Park, 2010). As a result, the image of the neoliberal ideal is constructed as these individuals are presented as successful English language learners through their own hard work and perseverance (Park, 2010) rather than having access to the necessary social, cultural, and economic capital (Section 2.1.3).

2.3.6 Identity

Globalisation (Section 2.1.1) and neoliberal policies (Section 2.1.2) have greatly affected Korea and the status of the English language (Section 2.3.1) and has also affected Korean identity. Korea has historically been homogenous in terms of culture and ethnicity, which in turn have strengthened national identity (Kim et al., 2015, pp.536–537). Furthermore, Korea's globalisation policies, which have achieved the aims of becoming an advanced nation by accumulating economic, social, and cultural capital (Section 2.1.3), are also likely to have further affected identity of young Koreans who have always experienced Korea as a developed nation.

The ethno-cultural nationalism that has been prevalent in Korea, however, may also be evolving into a nationalism based on globalised cultural characteristics among the younger generations (Campbell, 2015). This new nationalism, which is based on modernity, cosmopolitanism, and status is hypothesized to have arisen due to the increased social and economic competition that young people are more likely to have experienced (Section 2.3.1). Campbell states that now Korea is a modern nation with both status and wealth, which offers its citizens opportunities combined with the decrease in ethno-cultural nationalism has led to the country being potentially more open and welcoming to immigrants as long as they are from nations which are of comparable or greater economic status. It is also possible due to Korea's advanced status and intensifying global flows that

young Korean adults may have a 'modified' international posture (Yashima, 2002, 2009). Yashima's (2002, p.57) concept of international posture includes an "interest in foreign or international affairs, willingness to go over-seas to stay or work, readiness to interact with intercultural partners", which appears in line with Korean travel trends (Section 2.3.3). However, Yashima also hoped that there is an "…openness or a non-ethnocentric attitude toward different cultures…" Based on Campbell's interpretation of a new modern and cosmopolitan nationalism, young adults may be more open to different cultures, but only if they have sufficient capital (Section 2.1.3).

2.3.7 Korean English

English has affected the Korean language while Korean culture and language has had a significant impact on the English used in Korea (Kyung-Ja Park, 2009, p.95). Defining what exactly KoE is, however, is not a simple process as there is no generally agreed definition (Hadikin, 2014, p.8) or even if it exists as a distinct variety. Researchers such as Yoo (2014) argue that there is no Korean variety of English because the language is not used intra-nationally on a regular basis and is in fact "…broken English used by Koreans without an consistent pattern distinct from other varieties of English" (2014, p.84). Song (2016) also argues that Korean English is not a variety of English, but rather a learner English, while Nam (2010, p.276) views Konglish as a "…unique interlanguage arising from an impoverished knowledge of English. Fayzrakhmanova (2016), although much more positive, views Korean English as a developing variety. Other scholars have stated that English in Korea has become nativized and codified to some extent (Hadikin, 2014; Kyung-Ja Park, 2009; Rüdiger, 2014; Shim, 1999; Takeshita, 2012).

When linguists discuss the variety of English used in Korea, Korean/Korea English or Konglish are most commonly used and often interchangeably. Despite such use, the terms although related, are thought to differ. Kyung-Ja Park (2009, p.94) uses the term 'Korea

English' and defines it as "…the spoken English used by the most educated Korean speakers when communicating internationally as well as intra-nationally." Defining Konglish, however, is more troublesome due to disagreement about what it is. Lawrence (2012, pp.72–73) notes that Konglish is a mixture of English and Korean, which initially was based on loanwords, but has now 'transmutated' beyond this. He further posits that Konglish is still not a variety of English and instead it might be viewed as a subset of Korean in the form of words and phrases.

Hadikin (2014, p.9) notes that the layperson's understanding of Konglish seems to range from all English used by Koreans to a set of lexical items that learners can become aware of and make conscious choices of whether to use them or not. Hadikin believes the latter to be the case and supports this argument by referring to Thorkleson's (2005) study of Korean university students whom edited English news articles differently depending on whether the intended audience was Korean or international. Hadikin thus states that with conscious choices being made it is difficult to argue that Korean English/Konglish is just bad or broken English but instead should be considered as a distinct separate variety of English. Therefore, KoE and Konglish can both be regarded as emerging varieties of English that are suitable for communicating in the Korean context, but Konglish is more likely to be used for intra-national purposes.

From a lay perspective however, the opinions of linguists are unlikely to be relevant. It is a reality that the term 'Konglish' and potentially 'Korean English' are used in reference to a type or types of English used in Korea, which reflects the sociolinguistic reality that speakers have a growing "…metalinguistic awareness that there are shared commonalities in their linguistic practices. Or at the very least, it is an indication of the speakers' expectations that such commonalities exist" (Park & Wee, 2009, p.394). Additionally, even if a Korean variety of English does not exist at present, it would seem certain to exist in the

near future due to the increasing number of Koreans who are learning English from an earlier age, travelling overseas to learn English, Korean universities offering or even requiring more content classes to be taught in English, and the necessity of English proficiency to secure a good job (Kyung-Ja Park, 2009, p.104). For the purposes of this study the term 'Korean English' (KoE) will be used rather than Konglish when referencing the English used in Korea, unless it is explicitly stated by research participants. This is due to Konglish often being thought of as a pejorative term and due to its ambiguity (Hadikin, 2014, p.9). Furthermore, in agreement with Baratta (2019), when referring to a codified variety of English as used by Koreans it is preferable to use the term 'Korean English' rather than 'Konglish' as it is possible that the continued use of combining a location with English means that these varieties of English will never be taken with appropriate seriousness.

KoE is influenced by the phonetics, semantics, grammar, and culture of Korean users (Takeshita, 2012, p.276). Specific examples of Korean English are briefly highlighted below:

- As Korean does not have 'friction' sounds that are found in English, pronunciation of some English words can often sound different. Therefore, pronunciation for 'film' may sound like '*p*ilm' and 'coffee' is often pronounced 'co*p*ee' (Takeshita, 2012, p.276).
- The pronunciation of some English words are modified to match the pronunciation structure of Korean. The Korean language is syllable timed, meaning word stress is not important. This difference in syllable structure can lead to a vowel sound being added to English words that end in a consonant, such as English-ee (English) and ju-su (juice) (Kent, 1999).
- Loan words from English, but also other languages, become part of Korean and are then used in KoE or the meaning of a word used in KoE may differ from its normal use in English. Some examples include 'eye-shopping' rather than window shopping,

‘cunning’ instead of cheating, and ‘hand phone’ for mobile phone. Additionally, the German verb ‘arbeit’, which means to work, has become part of the Korean language as a noun meaning ‘part-time job’ and is usually assumed to be an English word (Kyung-Ja Park, 2009, p.103). Many of these words, although English in origin, are uniquely Korean as they are created by Koreans for Korean communicative purposes (Fayzrakhmanova, 2016).

- Words are clipped, such as *spec* (specification) (Section 2.3.1). Words are also often clipped and blended. Recent examples are *sel-ka* (self-camera) meaning ‘selfie’ and *mae-seu keom* (mass-com), which is clipped from mass-communication and means ‘media’ (Rüdiger, 2018). Words may also be abbreviated; OST (original sound track) and CF (commercial film) meaning a television advertisement.
- The grammar of the Korean language may affect KoE. Some examples include lack of reduced redundancy, such as ‘I have a lot of friend’. A reason for this is that it is optional to add a plural marker in Korean if the context is already obvious. The irregular use of articles, especially the use of a definite article with a proper noun is also common. This use may be due to less familiarity with articles as the Korean language does not use them. Prepositions may also be added, deleted, or used incorrectly (Seong & Lee, 2008).
- Questions such as ‘Where are you going?” and ‘Have you eaten your meal?’, which are used as phatic communication to function as a greeting, may be translated literally into English and used without being aware that such questions may be viewed as inappropriate (Nam, 2010, p.287).

In the context of this research Korean English will be considered an emerging variety. However, in agreement with Ahn (2015) there is confusion between KoE and Konglish by

the public and academia, and more empirical rigor is needed to better understand the characteristics of KoE.

2.3.8 Section conclusion

Korea's use of globalisation, as well as the associated transcultural global flows have greatly affected the nation. Korea is now one of the most technologically advanced nations in the world and has accumulated economic, cultural and social capital (Section 2.1.3), which has enabled the country to become a developed core nation in many aspects (Section 2.1.1). Globalisation (Section 2.1.1) combined with neoliberal policies (Section 2.1.2) has led to the English language becoming a necessary tool in enabling Korea to achieve its aims and has become regarded by most Koreans to be a necessity in achieving the status of injae (global Korean). Thus, rather than just being used to promote cross-cultural communication, English has developed into a tool to index one's social standing (Section 2.2.5) in an increasingly competitive society.

With regard to competence, the NS has been presented as the ideal model and ideal teacher. This ideology has been perpetuated government policy as it has promoted native speakers as the ideal teachers of English through only granting teaching visas to individuals from a select group of IC countries. The desire to achieve such a native-like status has resulted in widespread use of private tuition, as well as individuals travelling abroad to acquire English. The portrayal of successful English learners in the print media and more recently characters in television shows being presented as having excellent language skills and elite status, may also affect language perceptions.

A possible emergence of a globalised cultural nationalism and potential openness to other nationalities among young Korean adults is juxtaposed with an increased dissatisfaction about an overly competitive and unfair society. These complex relationships likely affect the

English regard of individuals (Section 2.4). However, as the language learning experiences of Korean layfolk in relation to globalisation and neoliberalism has not received much attention (Cho, 2017, pp.17–18), it is the aim of this thesis to better understand what the effects have been (Chapters four to seven). The concept of language regard is now introduced.

2.4 Language regard

This section will first define the concept of language regard (Preston, 2010) that is used in this study. Then, due to a great deal of previous research having focused on language attitudes, the concept of attitude and language attitudes are defined in the context of this research. This is followed by an overview of linguistic stereotypes.

2.4.1 Defining language regard

Much of the work investigating nonlinguists' perceptions of language has focused on language attitudes (Section 2.5). While this has produced an interesting body of work, the scope of language attitudes is limited due to its focus on evaluation even though non-specialists' perceptions of language may not in fact be evaluative (Preston, 2018). As a result, this study will use Preston's (2010) more expansive concept of 'language regard', which can be defined as "…a term that refers to various methods and data types focused on nonlinguists' beliefs, evaluative or not, conscious or unconscious, about language" (Evans et al., 2018, p.xix). Language regard also refers to the organised structure of language beliefs and responses from cognitive, sociolinguist, and anthropological viewpoints (Preston, 2018, p.3). This inclusiveness is of importance as this study uses a pragmatic mixed-methods approach (Section 3.1) to better understand young Korean adults' English language regard. By using language regard to explore how language and society converge (Evans et al., 2018), this study aims to better understand young Korean adults'

beliefs about English perception and production in the contexts of an increasingly globalising South Korea and world.

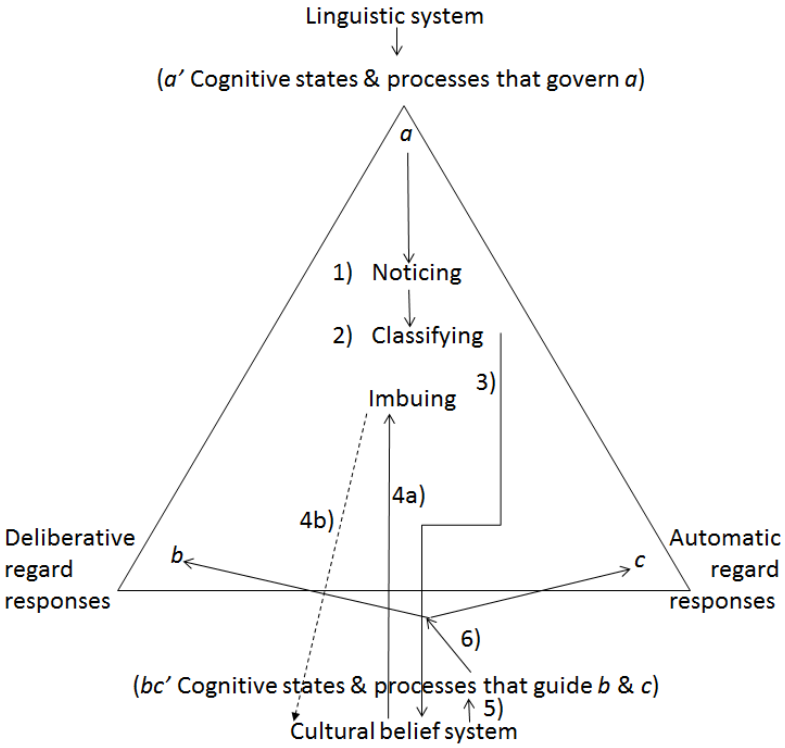

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Figure 2. 1: The relationship between language and language regard

The relationship between language and language regard (Figure 2.1) consists of three main parts; (*a*) language (broadly conceived) (Section 2.2), (*b*) deliberative regard responses, and (c) automatic regard responses. Preston views language as value free that needs to be noticed (1) and classified (2). The individual then searches their cultural belief system for characteristics (3). Steps (4a) and (4b) are optional. The individual may imbue (*a*) with those characteristics (4a). This may lead to reconfiguring as the imbuing may re-enter the individual's cultural belief system as fact (4b). Step (5) is processing; the selected characteristics are sent to the processing system. Lastly, a deliberative (*b*) or automatic (*c*) regard response emerges. Preston notes in some cases this regard process must be slightly modified when language (*a*) has been imbued so much that characteristics are

directly associated with it and no further reference to the group is needed. One of the main strengths of the language regard concept in the context of this study is it acknowledges that language must first be noticed, classified, and then imbued before a regard response is possible. This complete process will not always happen, however, due to unfamiliarity with different languages or varieties. Furthermore, even when a regard response is provided, it may not be evaluative. These are key points that have been largely ignored in language attitude studies (Section 2.5).

A great deal of work has focused on whether responses are conscious (b) (Section 2.5.2) or unconscious (c) (Section 2.5.3). However, this is not an important focus of this study. One reason for interest in implicit and explicit attitudinal expressions relates to 'true self'. Implicit attitudes are thought to expose an individual's true self while an explicit attitude expression is the result of cognitive processes that result in impression management, such as social bias or social desirability. However, there are contrasting and contradictory interpretations of what 'true self' actually means; it is related to unintentional (implicit) behaviour or it is revealed by a person's intentional (explicit) behaviour (Gawronski et al., 2008). As these interpretations are subject to definition and culture rather than empirical findings (Gawronski, 2009, p.145), the second interpretation will be used as participants' explicit cognition will be needed to explore language regard in more detail. Furthermore, it is questionable if studies conducted in experimental conditions can be truly implicit.

2.4.2 Defining attitude

As it is possible that language regard responses will contain evaluative comments, and much of the previous language perception work has focused on language attitudes (Section 2.5), it is necessary, although not easy, to provide a definition of attitude. There are a number of different definitions and models of attitudes depending on which theories researchers support (Baker, 1992; Erwin, 2001). Attitude stability and durability are

contested as there is disagreement over whether attitudes are stable and enduring entities or newly constructed each time. Attitudes are generally thought to be mentally stored entities of learned or innate responses, which are then activated with ease or difficulty by attitude objects (Bohner & Wanke, 2002, p.89; Petty et al., 2003). More recently constructivist researchers have theorized that attitudes are newly constructed depending on different variables in each context (Soukup, 2013). While attitudes are likely to be stored to some extent, for instance the Bourdieusian concept of habitus (Section 2.1.3), this research will take the position that spatiotemporal context (Section 2.2.6), affects attitudinal evaluations and language regard in general. In acknowledgment of these conflicts, an umbrella definition of attitude proposed by Eagly and Chaiken (1993) will be used due to the broadness of the definition transcending the differing theoretical beliefs of what an attitude is thought to be (Eagly & Chaiken, 2007). In the context of this research, an attitude is therefore defined as "…a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour" (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p.1). It should also be noted that when an attitude object is encountered for the first time it is also possible to have a non-attitude. Non-attitudes can include creating an evaluation at that moment if responding to a new topic for the first time, or if an attitude object is too complex to fully consider before being required to express a view (Garrett, 2010a, p.29). This is a further potential issue with the common use of semantic differential scales in language attitude studies. Participants are often required to respond to semantic items which may not be personally applicable (Section 2.5.3).

Attitudes have been posited to be unidimensional or bidimensional. The unidimensional attitude model hypothesizes that positive and negative elements are placed at opposite ends of a continuum, and that an individual's evaluation can be placed at some point on the continuum (Maio & Haddock, 2009, p.34). In short, if positive feelings are held about an

attitude object, it is considered unlikely that negative thoughts, feelings, or behaviours will also exist. Opposing this view is the bidimensional attitude model, which posits that attitudes have separate positive and negative evaluative tendencies (Olson & Maio, 2003, p.303). Therefore, in addition to an attitude being favourable or unfavourable, it can also be ambivalent, or both favourable and unfavourable. Following Preston's concept of language regard (Section 2.4.1) and its ability to capture potential contradictory regard responses, this study will view attitudes as bidimensional.

2.4.3 Language attitudes

The reasons as to why people have certain attitudes towards a language or language variety have been theorised into three main hypotheses; inherent value hypothesis and imposed norm hypothesis (Giles et al., 1974), and social connotations hypothesis (Trudgill & Giles, 1976). Inherent value hypothesis theorises that attitudes to language are activated by the intrinsic quality of a language (Garrett, 2010a)[3]. Imposed norm hypothesis suggests that attitudes towards a language are not based on a language's inherent qualities, instead they are the result of non-linguistic factors such as stereotypical ideas and cultural norms (van Bezooijen, 2002; Schüppert et al., 2015). Social connotations hypothesis, which is an extension of the imposed norm hypothesis, theorises that language attitudes can also be based on other social factors, such as an individual's experiences with a language variety (Schüppert et al., 2015).

These hypotheses have been reformulated by van Bezooijen (2002), who also added two more hypotheses. The sound driven hypothesis in based on inherent norms. However, van Bezooijen believes that the sound properties do not have to be universal and no causal

[3] It should be noted that from a linguistic perspective it is unlikely that any language or accent has any inherent properties. However, as this study is investigating layfolk perceptions of different Englishes, inherent value is included as it is possible the non-language specialist participants may have such a belief.

relationship is assumed between sound properties and the status of language varieties. Norm driven hypothesis is based on the imposed norm hypothesis, and is similar in that the culturally imposed positive views lead to certain varieties being deemed to have a positive aesthetic. Context driven hypothesis is based on the social connotations hypothesis. It is thought that attitudes towards varieties are related to context variables, such as knowledge of and stereotypes about the speaker, as well as sociogeographic variables. Van Bezooijen views the context driven hypothesis and norm driven hypothesis as being independent of each other. The additional hypotheses are intelligibility driven hypothesis and familiarity driven hypothesis. Intelligibility driven hypothesis predicts that intelligibility of a variety may affect attitude ratings. Familiarity driven hypothesis predicts that responses to a variety will be more positive if it is more familiar. There is no conclusive proof for any specific hypothesis (Schüppert et al., 2015), and sociolinguists now believe that language attitudes are more likely to be products of a wide variety of cultural, historical, and ideological reasons that are subject to transformation according to events and changes in our globalised world (Dragojevic & Giles, 2013, p.18). However these factors, using van Bezooijen's terminology, will be used in this study to ascertain how language attitudes may relate to the desirability of certain Englishes (Chapter 7). One theoretical point that should be noted is that in the concept of language regard (Section 2.4.1), Preston (2013) views language as having no inherent value. However, as this study is investigating lay beliefs, the sound driven hypothesis is included in the event participants do believe any Englishes have inherent qualities.

2.4.4 Linguistic stereotypes

Linguistic stereotypes, which can be defined as "popular and conscious but imprecise general characterizations of the speech forms of particular social groups" (Honey, 1998, p.99), have been theorized to be metonymically linked to social stereotypes. Thus, linguistic

stereotypes allow people to categorize the linguistic environment as well as the social environment and vice versa (Kristiansen, 2008, p.61). For instance, salient sounds that have become enregistered (Section 2.2.5) such as the pronunciation of /ɔː/ and /ɑː/ in the word ‘water’ are linked with BrE and AmE, while the lack of a friction sound when pronouncing ‘film’ or ‘coffee’ may be linked with KoE (Section 2.3.7). These sounds may then be associated with the specific social group. The associated group’s characteristics, ideological values, and hierarchical position may then be evoked in the mind of the hearer (Kristiansen, 2008, p.72). An illustration from the Korean context is hearing prototypical features of BrE, which is often perceived as being a prestigious variety, potentially leading to the stereotypical association in Korea of British people being ‘gentlemen’ (Section 5.2.2). However, it is also likely that individuals’ previous contacts with speakers from other groups or speakers of other languages will affect the associations made with the given group as familiarity has been shown to affect perceptions (Section 2.6). Linguistic stereotypes are thought to have significance as listeners make assumptions and judgements about language varieties that speakers use (Kang & Rubin, 2014, p.240). Linguistic stereotypes have been found to affect employment (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a, 2010b; Cargile, 2000), job promotion (Lippi-Green, 2012), legal cases (Dixon et al., 2002; Dixon & Mahoney, 2004), housing (Purnell et al., 1999), and threat of disease transfer (Reid et al., 2012).

The concept of language regard has been explained in this section along with language attitudes and linguistic stereotypes, which can be considered inclusive of language regard. The next section provides an overview and critique of the main methods that have been used to investigate language perceptions.

2.5 Previous language attitude measurement

The focus on investigating language attitudes rather than language regard has affected the type of approaches used. In general, three main approaches to studying people's language attitudes have been adopted. These are societal treatment, direct method, and indirect method (Garrett, 2010a). Each method will be explored below along with an analysis of the respective strengths and weaknesses.

2.5.1 Societal treatment method

The societal treatment approach is used to gain an understanding of the status of language varieties in a specific area. It is an important step in understanding the social meanings and stereotypical associations of language varieties (Galloway & Rose, 2015, p.178; Garrett, 2010a, p.51; McKenzie, 2010, p.142) by using observation or by examining sources that are available in the public domain, such as government education policies, media output, job advertisements and more recently the linguistic landscape.

Although the societal treatment method has tended to receive less attention in language attitudes research (Garrett, 2010a, p.142), it does have a number of advantages. One benefit is that it is observational and therefore unobtrusive. Consequently, it can be used in situations where participants cannot be accessed in natural conditions (McKenzie, 2010, p.41). Equally important is that this kind of study probes deeper into the socio-cultural and political environment (Garrett, 2007, p.116). Additionally, the approach can be used in conjunction with data collected by direct and indirect methods to add validity, or it can be used independently as a method (Garrett, 2005, p.1252). The societal treatment approach, however, has been criticized for being too informal and due to the researcher inferring the main points of the study (Garrett et al., 2003, pp.15–16). Despite this criticism, it is important to note that language attitudes are not only a product of the present situation but also due to historical circumstances. Therefore, to comprehend the often complex social

meaning of language, researchers need to understand the histories, relationships and ideologies in the specific research context (Dragojevic & Giles, 2013, p.20). (Section 2.3 provides a general societal treatment of English in Korea.)

2.5.2 Direct approach

The direct approach involves eliciting participant's attitudes by asking direct questions in the form of interviews or questionnaires. Individuals are therefore cognitively aware of what is being investigated. The direct method has been the most used method in language attitude research (Garrett, 2010a). This method can be fast, and there are many different techniques to collect information, which can be subjected to in-depth statistical analysis (McKenzie, 2010). The main constraint, however, is that respondents may not give truthful answers as they may adjust their answers due to impression management. Sudman et al. (1996, p.74), however, state that the effect of social desirability is usually modest and tends to only affect questions that respondents perceive as threatening.

A more recent development in direct methods has been perceptual dialectology (Preston, 1989), which is a sub branch of folklinguistics (Preston, 2011). Perceptual dialectology presents maps to participants, who are non-specialists in linguistics, to draw boundaries of different varieties of language that they are aware of and to also label the varieties as they perceive them. Directly evolving from this methodology is the keyword approach, which can be described as a free-response word association task (Garrett et al., 2006) and is 'a framework and method of comparative study of perceptions, attitudes, and cultural frames of reference shared by groups of people (Garrett, 2010b citing Szalay & Deese, 1978, p.vii). This methodology was previously only used in the preliminary stages of language attitude studies to create labels for the semantic differential scales for the guise technique (Section 2.5.3). The approach, however, generated salient and meaningful data, some of which had to be discarded due to some of the responses not being evaluative and thus could not be

converted into rating scales (Garrett et al., 2005b, pp.216–217). The keyword approach can be divided into three main task methodologies. These are discrete association (limited to one response), discrete response (specific number of responses are requested or a time limit is imposed), and continuous approach (as many responses as possible) (Garrett, 2010b). Discrete response has been found to be most advantageous as a wide range of responses are often collected, and the imposed limit helps to prevent respondent fatigue (Evans & Imai, 2011). The collected data is then subjected to content analysis to reveal any themes in responses.

The advantages of the keyword approach are that the methodology gives an important insight into social and cultural beliefs of respondents (Garrett et al., 2003) due to the open-ended conceptual nature of the approach enabling respondents to provide the concepts that are salient, as well as indicating how participants position themselves towards each concept (Evans & Imai, 2011, p.318). This methodology therefore has the potential to capture the local vernacular used to describe the different language varieties (Evans, 2010, p.271), as well as having the potential to draw attention to events or trends that are relevant at the time. In the context of this study, the keyword approach appears to be well suited to understand language regard (Section 2.4.1) rather than solely focusing on language attitudes as all participant responses, whether evaluative or non-evaluative, are considered relevant (Section 3.3.2).

Another advantage of the keyword approach is that it can be regarded as a ‘clean’ method as it avoids the problems associated with audio stimuli that is often used in language attitudes research (Bishop et al., 2005, p.131) (Section 2.5.3). Also, it does not prevent respondents who may lack exposure to different varieties of English from responding in a meaningful way (Evans & Imai, 2011, p.318). Additionally, the approach again matches well with the concept of language regard as it allows for bidimensional view of attitudes as

respondents, who may have both positive and negative, ambivalent, or even no views about a language variety, are not prevented from or forced to express their thoughts, which is not always the case with other research methodologies.

A possible disadvantage, however, is that it can sometimes be problematic grouping particular answers as they can be interpreted both positively and negatively. Though with careful analysis of the respondents' scripts it is usually possible to determine the underlying meaning (Garrett et al., 2005a). Furthermore, the keyword approach is not as statistically robust as other methods, but it can be argued that the underlying themes that are drawn out compensate for this (Garrett et al., 2005b, p.217).

2.5.3 Indirect approach

The indirect approach works on the premise that attitudes are subconsciously elicited from participants who are unaware of what exactly is being studied. This approach, which in essence deceives the respondent, was developed due to the issue of impression management associated with the direct approach (Section 2.5.2). Within the field of language attitudes, this method is associated with Lambert et al.'s (1960) matched guise technique (MGT) (Garrett, 2010a) who assumed that listeners would react to group identity arising from the language variety as well as idiosyncratic speech patterns (Kang & Rubin, 2014, p.241). MGT involves using one speaker to produce different language varieties. Participants are led to believe that they are listening to a number of different speakers, rather than one, and rate the samples accordingly. Due to all speech features except accent being controlled, any divergence in results is thought to be due to respondents rating the respective accents differently (Garrett, 2007, p.117).

The advantages of this method are that variables such as speech rate, voice quality, content, and hesitation can be controlled. Nonetheless, there are a number of issues. One

speaker mimicking different accents means that there may be authenticity problems such as exaggeration and inauthentic accents (Garrett, 2010a). There may also be concerns with style as the sample is often rehearsed and read from a script. As a result, this prepared speech may differ significantly from spontaneous natural speech (Garrett, 2010a).

The criticisms of the MGT led to the creation of the verbal guise technique (VGT). This method uses spontaneous speech samples provided by speakers of each variety. The speech is thought to be more authentic as it is unrehearsed, which can better represent natural discourse compared to reading from a script (McKenzie, 2010; Munro & Derwing, 1999). The selection of different speakers is also much more practical when numerous varieties are selected. With regard to drawbacks of the VGT, it is much harder to control variables such as rate of speech, volume, pitch and lexical diversity, (Garrett, 2010a, pp.88–95) meaning that idiosyncratic speech features are likely to affect listener evaluations. Other variables such as age and gender also need to be considered as evaluation of speech has been shown to differ according to speaker age and whether a male or female is speaking (Garrett, 2010a, pp.94–95). In addition, the content of the audio must also be closely monitored as it has been shown to affect evaluations (Cargile & Giles, 1997; Heaton & Nygaard, 2011).

In order for participants to evaluate speech samples, semantic differential scales have been widely used with the guise techniques (Garrett, 2010a, p.55). This method involves using bipolar adjective labels separated by a scale of equidistant numbers (usually 1-7). The idea is to explore the meanings that people attach to objects (Perloff, 2003, p.106). However, there has been much debate over which semantic labels should be employed. One method is using labels from previous studies. This can save time and enable better comparability, but it can lead to the same traits being used repeatedly and being overrepresented, while other traits that may have become pertinent since the construction of the previous scale are

not included (Garrett, 2010a, p.56). It is now considered standard to elicit items from a group comparable to that which will be surveyed. Finally, an important methodological point to note is that by using semantic differential scales, researchers have taken the position of an attitude being a unidimensional construct (Section 2.4.2), and that the result of the research can be an average or summated score (Samra, 2014, p.145). Consequently, it can be argued that the MGT and VGT provide a poor understanding of individuals' contextually situated evaluation practices (Soukup, 2013, p.252).

Due to the complex nature of studying language regard and the strengths and weaknesses of each individual research method, there have been calls for the use of mixed methodologies (Soukup, 2015), as well as incorporating a more qualitative element (Garrett, 2007, p.119) to provide data that is more insightful, contextualized, reliable and valid (Dragojevic & Giles, 2013; Garrett et al., 2003; Giles & Rakić, 2014; McKenzie, 2010). These suggestions have been incorporated into this study (Chapter 3).

2.5.4 Section conclusion

This section has provided a summary and critique of common methods used to investigate language attitudes. The societal treatment has been shown to be a useful secondary method to provide better context to language regard findings. It has also been demonstrated that the most common methods used in language attitudes research (MGT and VGT) do not consider respondents' non-evaluative comments and have other methodological weaknesses. The keyword approach, while still having some weaknesses, appears to be a very suitable method to investigate the English regard of the participants in this study as it does not inhibit responses nor require participants to have a high level of English ability or awareness of specific Englishes. The use of the keyword approach in this study is discussed further in Section 3.3.2.

2.6 Review of previous research

This section provides an overview of previous language perception research to position the study in the context of the existing literature. The chapter begins by highlighting relevant general language attitude findings from previous research. Studies from East Asia are then critically examined in terms of methods employed and results. The focus then switches to a more in-depth critical analysis of language attitude research undertaken in South Korea. The section concludes with a summary of the findings and identifies areas where additional research is required to better understand the English language regard among young Korean adult participants in this study.

2.6.1 Generalised findings of language attitude surveys

Previous research has indicated speakers are usually evaluated on a number of dimensions. A commonly cited study by Zahn and Hopper (1985), which combined semantic differential scales (Section 2.5.3) from a large number of studies and conducted factor analysis to determine dynamism (e.g., enthusiastic), superiority (e.g., educated), and attractiveness (e.g., friendly) were the most important dimensions. Other work has indicated that these factors can be reduced to status and social attractiveness (McKenzie, 2010, p.47), while Ladegaard (1998b) noted that linguistic quality may be a salient factor. In addition, the keyword approach used in Japan and China by Garrett (2009) and Evans and Imai (2011) (Section 2.6.2) produced additional categories of language learning, awareness of variation and culture. The possibility of additional dimensions is an important reminder that language perceptions can vary according to spatiotemporal context (Section 2.2.6). Consequently, the data collection methods used to understand language regard should be capable of capturing the dimensions presented by respondents at that particular time.

Looking at general findings, language attitude studies encompassing a wide range of communities and speaking situations globally, although dominated by Anglophone

countries, have produced a pattern of generally consistent social evaluation results concerning accents associated with more or less prestigious varieties of English (Giles & Billings, 2004, p.191)[4] (Section 2.2.1). It has been found that accents associated with more prestigious English varieties are often rated highly in terms of status but lower in terms of social attractiveness, while accents associated with less prestigious varieties are usually rated lower with regard to status but often have higher social attractiveness ratings. A meta-analysis by Fuertes et al. (2012), which evaluated 20 studies that directly compared different accents, also found this to be the case. Furthermore, in some contexts, regional standard varieties appear to be developing, which are often perceived positively in both power and social attractiveness (Garrett, 2007, p.117). There have also been studies investigating sociolinguistic differences according to gender. While care must be taken not to overgeneralise gender findings, there has been a pattern of females favouring standard language while males tend to favour non-standard varieties (Ladegaard, 1998a; Milroy, 1980; Trudgill, 1972). However, most recent language attitude research, including East Asia and South Korea (Sections 2.6.2 and 2.6.3), have tended not to investigate this variable. Relevant studies from these two areas are now critically examined.

2.6.2 East Asian language attitudes research

McKenzie (2006) conducted a large-scale quantitative study investigating the attitudes of Japanese university students (331 females and 227 males) towards five different Englishes. Using the VGT, the study included an open-ended variety recognition question. The heavily accented Japanese speaker was the most correctly identified (90%), followed by the

[4] Both Giles and Billings (2004) and Fuertes et al. (2012) refer to 'standard' and 'non-standard' accents. While Giles and Billings acknowledge the notion of standardness is problematic, they define a 'standard' accent as the accent most associated with the 'standard' variety of English, which is usually associated with high socio-economic status, such as RP and GA in the British and American contexts (Section 2.2.1). However, as a standard variety of English can be spoken with any accent, the terms 'prestigious' and 'less prestigious' are used as they relate to socio-cultural perceptions rather than 'standard' and 'non-standard' accents.

American speakers (59% & 54%) and then the Scottish speakers (32% and 31%). Overall, awareness was not particularly high for the IC Englishes. Though when looking at the responses according to native or non-native speakers, participants were able to more accurately distinguish the varieties. Looking at the associations with the different varieties, IC Englishes were viewed very positively in terms of competence, but the Japanese English (JaE) speaker was ranked the highest for social attractiveness. McKenzie posited that the negative attitudes towards the competence of the Japanese speaker was due to unfavourable portrayals of Japanese English by the Japanese media and EFL industry, but the high score for social attractiveness was due to solidarity. Additionally, females rated the IC English speakers significantly more positively than males. After conducting further analysis, identification of IC Englishes commonly led to more positive evaluations of competence traits. As a result, McKenzie hypothesized familiarity with the native speaker varieties may have positively affected perceptions, and that the participants looked to these Englishes for "notions of correctness" (2006, p.249). A major strength of McKenzie's study is its larger scale. However, the lack of a qualitative element limits understanding of participants' responses.

A more recent but smaller scale online mixed methods study (modified VGT and closed-response questionnaire) by Sasayama (2013) investigated 44 Japanese university students' attitudes to different Englishes (13 females and 31 males). The VGT had eight speakers (4 female Japanese and 4 female American speakers were recorded reading a text). Participants listened to the audio and rated the speakers on solidarity and power traits. The mean scores were very similar for both JaE and AmE overall, but when the results were analysed according to solidarity and status, JaE was preferred to AmE in terms of solidarity, while AmE was preferred in terms of power. However, some caution is needed when interpreting the results. As a dialect recognition question was not used, it is not possible to

know what Englishes participants thought they were listening to. In addition, solidarity traits were collected from only three Japanese speakers, and status traits were collected from other studies, including non-Japanese contexts. Consequently, the traits used may not have been applicable to the Japanese participants when the data was collected.

The second part of the study used a closed response questionnaire. Participants were asked if they would like to sound like an American person (77.27% agreed), as well as if individuals would like to be clearly identified as Japanese when speaking English (54.54% disagreed). However, 65.45% of respondents did want JaE, as long as it was intelligible, to be accepted in international communication. Sasayama speculates the latter finding may be the result of the younger generation now considering Japanese English as a legitimate variety rather than being incorrect English. However, the lack of a qualitative element means is not possible to know why these results were elicited.

In China, a large-scale study by He and Zhang (2010) investigated the attitudes of 795 university students (384 females and 411 males) and 189 teachers (112 females and 77 males) from four universities in four regions towards China English and the Standard British/American models. The study incorporated a questionnaire, MGT, and interviews. The MGT showed that participants were more positive towards Standard English but not particularly negative towards China English. It was also found that males were more positive than females about China English. In the questionnaire, participants were asked if it was preferable to sound like a foreigner or pronounce clearly but still have a Chinese accent. Fifty-five percent opted for maintaining a Chinese accent. Reasons for this included English just being a tool for communication and respondents having a strong Chinese language identity. The data from the interviews also found Standard English was regarded as the more suitable pedagogic model, but that it should be supplemented with traits of China English. This mixed method study has a number of strengths, in particular the use of

open-ended questions to help explain why particular choices were made. However, the use of MGT needs to be considered. As the researchers were investigating two different varieties rather than different accents, it would have been more appropriate to use the VGT (Hiraga, 2005). Also, the researchers did not mention the content of the paragraph used in the MGT. Therefore, it is not known if the content affected listener perceptions (Section 2.5.3).

Moving away from guise methods, research by Garrett (2009), Evans (2010) and Evans and Imai (2011) has used the keyword approach (Section 2.5.2) to investigate the language attitudes of students in both Japan and China (sample sizes ranged from 101 to 247). However, these studies were limited to investigating varieties of English used as a 'native language'. Participants were asked to name countries around the world where English is spoken as a native language and then to list any kind of impression felt about the stated varieties. All studies found American (AmE), British (BrE), Canadian (CaE), Australian (AuE), and New Zealand (NzE) Englishes to be the most commonly known, with the majority of comments being about AmE and BrE. The results from the studies in China and Japan regarding American and British Englishes differed though. In China, BrE was considered superior to AmE, and may be regarded as the standard model for world English, while results from Japan showed that respondents thought that BrE was socially attractive, but AmE was deemed to be the most correct variety. Other varieties, particularly NzE, had a larger proportion of no responses or respondents stating that they didn't know anything about the varieties. Garrett (2009) concluded that a lack of comments for some varieties, especially NzE, may relate to a lack of power and status, and the absence of a well-defined stereotype. Similarly, Evans (2010) posited the lack of responses regarding AuE and NzE may have been due to unfamiliarity but may also have been caused by satisficing. The main strengths of these studies are they provided an insight into participants' awareness of

Englishes used as a native language and what impressions, if any, were associated with the stated varieties. This is an area of research that has been lacking in language perception research. Unfortunately, likely due to an imbalance of females and males in all the survey samples, responses according to gender were not reported.

2.6.3 South Korean language attitudes research

Earlier language attitude studies in Korea, which tended to use small samples and a single phase of data collection, found that AmE was the preferred variety (Gibb, 1999, 1997). More recent studies have incorporated direct (Section 2.5.2) and indirect (Section 2.5.3) methods (Breaux & Brown, 2011; Kim, 2007; Pollard, 2010). These studies, however, continued to use small convenience samples. All the studies, except Kim (2007), used university students as participants and found a strong preference for IC Englishes, primarily AmE and to some extent BrE. Kim's study of 43 Korean professionals' attitudes towards six inner, outer and expanding circle Englishes indicated that AmE was viewed positively for competence and social attractiveness traits, but the difference between the varieties was small. The study also included a dialect recognition question. This revealed that the participants were not able to identify the varieties with a high degree of accuracy despite being provided the country options. However, when the results were analysed according to NS or NNS, correct identification increased considerably.

Based on Kim's (2007) research, Breaux and Brown (2011) adapted the research instrument to investigate 50 Korean university students' (17 females and 33 males) attitudes towards six varieties of English: Chinese English (ChE) Indian English (InE), Philippine English (PhE), KoE, BrE, AmE. The ability to identify the varieties and what varieties were considered suitable pedagogic and user models were also investigated. A modified VGT (native speakers reading the same passage) with semantic differentials was used. Results indicated that AmE was rated the highest followed by BrE. The lowest rated

variety was PhE. KoE was the second lowest rated closely followed by InE. A variety recognition question with the six varieties listed was included. The American speaker had the highest percentage of correct identification (89.9%). British English was next (59.2%) followed by the Korean speaker (49%). Correct identification of ChE, InE and PhE was much lower (16-18%). Therefore, with the exception of AmE and to a certain extent BrE, there was a lack of familiarity with other varieties.

Participants were then asked to choose a variety thought most suitable for English education and use. The researchers provided 14 options (12 varieties, other, and no preference). Participants were then asked to choose three varieties in order of preference. AmE was the most preferred (79.6%), BrE was second (57.1%) AuE (34.7%) was third, followed CaE (26.5%). KoE was only listed as a second preference by 2% and as third preference by 8.2%. These results suggest IC Englishes, and AmE in particular, were much preferred as ideal models of English, while KoE was mostly regarded as undesirable. However, a number of issues are present in this study. Similar to Kim (2007), the use of audio based on a contrived passage being read may have affected participant responses (Section 2.5.3). Furthermore, the lack of qualitative component means it is not possible to understand why such responses were elicited.

Ahn and Kang (2017) used a conceptual approach to investigate 101 (60% female and 40% male) first-year university students' perceptions of different English varieties. In the country rating task, adapted from Lindemann (2005), a list of 45 countries were presented to participants. Individuals were asked to rate the English of university students from these countries according to familiarity, correctness, pleasantness, and friendliness. Statistical analysis showed there were four clusters. The highest rated group contained five IC nations (Australia, Britain, Canada, New Zealand, and the USA) and South Korea. Looking at traits, the USA was top-rated in each of the four categories. The researchers were surprised that

Ireland, an IC nation, was in the third cluster and therefore did not appear to be classed as a native variety of English. Extralinguistic factors, such as lack of familiarity, global proximity, and global/local sociopolitics were used to explain this finding. This method of data collection, however, seems to have obvious weaknesses. Previous research has shown that young Korean adults are unfamiliar with a wide variety of Englishes and are often unable to correctly identify known varieties. Consequently, using a research instrument that was used in the USA and asking young Korean adults about 45 English varieties seems excessive. Furthermore, evaluating a variety according to correctness, pleasantness, and friendliness when not familiar with the variety seems questionable. Even if participants are very familiar with the varieties, these traits may not be of importance to individuals.

Larger scale studies, although lower in number, have been conducted in Korea. Jung (2005) investigated attitudes of pre-university and university students towards AmE and BrE using a modified MGT and a questionnaire (investigating familiarity and culture). AmE was the preferred target language as it was seen as advantageous in terms of ease, job seeking, language modelling, and effectiveness for learning compared to BrE. Familiarity was found to correlate with language attitudes but culture was not. Jung concluded that the American speaker was rated more favourably due to the prevalence of American teachers, teaching materials, political influence and media. The lower evaluations for BrE may have been due to a lack of familiarity. Since this study was published, however, familiarity with the variety may have changed due to increased presence of British media in Korean society through traditional media (Section 2.3.5) and new media (Section 7.2.1.4) via enhanced technologies (Section 2.3.4). Jung's results, however, need to be considered cautiously. While the study was relatively large in scale (211 students) and the pre-university students were selected from 78 high schools around Korea, the university students were all English majors from one university. In addition, the semantic differential scales were based on an

American study published 15 years before Jung's research. As a result, the semantic labels may not have been culturally specific or salient to the respondents (Garrett et al., 2003).

More recently Lee and Lee (2019) investigated Korean university students' perceptions of Englishes from the OEC (Hong Kong, Indian, Indonesian, and Japanese Englishes) and what influenced these perceptions. A total of 378 students (232 females and 146 males) from three different regions in Korea took part in the study. The participants were separated into English major students (206) and non-English major students (172). A survey with Likert scales was used to ascertain participants' perceptions of the Englishes. Overall, the results were positive, but when the data was analysed according to subjects studied, a significant statistical difference was found between the perceptions of English majors and non-English majors. The English majors were more positive towards EC Englishes and OC Englishes in particular. In follow-up interviews, it was found that English majors had been exposed to more varieties of English in class by their teachers and engaged in more informal digital learning (IDLE) such as social media, video calling, and online computer games than non-majors who tended to value 'Standard' IC English more. While non-majors also used IDLE, they were found more likely to only encounter Standard English or chose not to engage with other users. These results suggest that perceptions to different varieties of English can be affected by teacher pedagogy in a formal classroom setting, which in turn affects how student-driven IDLE is used to engage with OEC Englishes. The large-scale mixed-methods study is a strength, and follow-up interviews provide context to the initial results. In addition, the results highlight the role digital technology can have in language learning and contact with different Englishes. However, a possible weakness is the researchers providing specific varieties of English and asking participants if the Englishes are acceptable. While it can show linguistic stereotypes (Section 2.4.4), it is not clear what level of awareness students had of the varieties listed in the study.

Lee and Warren Green's (2016) study, although smaller in scale also investigated Korean university students' (27 females and 33 males) attitudes towards WE. The researchers used a questionnaire (in Korean) followed by focus group discussions (in English). When participants were asked about learning and understanding different varieties of English, 80% felt it was important to learn IC Englishes, while 72% thought it was important to learn varieties from the OEC. Although lower than the IC varieties, almost three-quarters of the sample believing that it is important learn varieties from the OEC suggests a potential change in attitudes towards learning English. Furthermore, 70% supported the incorporation of WE into their English language classes. Nonetheless, 65% continued to believe that it was more important to understand IC varieties than OEC varieties.

Participants were then asked reasons for learning OEC Englishes or for only learning IC Englishes. General results showed that participants who wanted to learn IC Englishes had plans to get a job in Korea, pass standardised English tests to help secure employment in the future (Section 2.3.1), or study abroad (Section 2.3.3). Those who favoured OEC Englishes generally did so because they wished to communicate with people in OEC nations due to medium-term emigration or working for trade companies in Korea that have clients in OEC countries. These findings led the researchers to believe that motivation to learn IC varieties appears to be external and related to economic and social gains (economic and social capital – Section 2.1.3), while motivation to learn OEC varieties was more internal and based on low-stakes inter-cultural experiences that are less likely to be judged by external forces. A strength of this study is the qualitative data showing that attitudes can differ according to context, and that as individuals we have multiple identities depending on the spatiotemporal context. This again suggests that attitudes are not unidimensional as much previous work has theorized (Section 2.4.2). It is also appears to be one of few studies to investigate why English, although separated into IC and OEC, is

important to Korean participants. Nonetheless, a potential issue is the focus group discussion being conducted in English. It is possible Korean students would be unable to fully express their ideas. Furthermore, despite having a relatively even gender ratio, no further analysis was reported. This may be due to the small survey sample.

To understand how course content may affect student perceptions, Tanghe (2014) created a course to integrate a WE focus into a required English conversation class at a university in South Korea. The course was taught to two classes (19 females / 10 males and 15 females / 5 males) with most students studying English language or literature. Discussions, blog postings, activity tasks, and a web posting project were used with the dual focus of enhancing English speaking skills and reflecting on the dominant ideologies of IC Englishes by raising awareness of WE. Tanghe acknowledged that her beliefs about WE had the potential to affect the research but was conscious not to push these beliefs during the course. Using an emergent data design, Tanghe focused on student resistance and long-term benefits. Although there was initial student resistance to the course content in a speaking class, the majority became more positive. Tanghe felt that the content challenged learners to think about new and old ideas in different ways. One common reflection was that students felt more confident after completing the course. This was not only due to potential English language improvement, but because students were more aware of Englishes other than IC varieties. With regard to long term benefits Tanghe was unsure, but felt that everyone, including herself, was challenged to consider the problematic English ideologies present in Korea.

Reasons as to why WE, and KoE in particular, are not more commonly taught in the classroom may be explained by research conducted by Ahn (2014, 2015). Investigating the attitudes of 204 Korean and native English speaking teachers (all from IC countries) towards KoE using questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, Ahn (2014) found that

some teachers viewed KoE negatively, but a large proportion believed that the variety had a number of benefits, such as effectively expressing Korean culture and it being a 'practical' and 'useful' language for communication (2014, p.214). These positive remarks however, did not translate into the behaviour of teaching it. This was mainly due to the belief that AmE needed to be taught so that students were able to achieve the highest scores possible on English language tests. The results of this study are of interest as they indicate that attitudes towards KoE may be becoming more positive. However, when investigating attitudes towards other Asian Englishes, Ahn (2015) found that the same group of teachers lacked awareness of these Englishes or misunderstood them. OC varieties (Singapore and India) were seen as legitimate but not competitive with American English, while EC Englishes (China & Japan) were believed to be full of mistakes and wrong. In general, the Asian Englishes were stigmatized compared to AmE, which was considered the standard. A strength of this study is that it was mixed-methods. Conducting semi-structured interviews post-questionnaire helps give further context to the quantitative survey. However, the varieties used in the study were preselected by the researcher. As a result, other varieties that may have been more salient could not be elicited. Also, no explanation was given as to why or how the specific personality traits were chosen for the semantic differential used in the research.

2.6.4 Section conclusion

This section has provided an overview of general findings associated with language attitude studies and critically analysed research from East Asia and South Korea. It has shown in most cases IC Englishes are evaluated most positively, with AmE almost always receiving the highest ratings. While OEC varieties are more likely to be stigmatized, there is evidence that these Englishes may be gaining some legitimacy. The data indicates that local varieties may be becoming more positively viewed in China, Japan, and Korea. However, much of

the research has relied on positivist quantitative methods such as the guise technique, which has provided interesting data, but has a number of methodological issues (Section 2.5.3). As a result, it is not clear what varieties of English individuals are aware of and what associations, if any, participants may have due to the focus on attitudinal responses at the expense of other potential associations. One exception, however, is the use of the keyword approach (Section 2.5.2). However, at present this conceptual method has only been used to elicit Englishes that are used as a native language rather than to understand awareness of WE in general.

The literature appears to have insufficiently addressed why English is important to young Korean adults. The general belief from non-empirical sources or being briefly mentioned in studies is English is needed to get a good job or for social advancement. However, globalisation continues to create rapid changes in society meaning factors that may have been relevant previously may now be less pertinent or obsolete. The use of the societal treatment method can help highlight how geopolitical, economic, and socio-political factors in Korea have affected individuals (Section 2.3). Looking specifically at desired user models of English in South Korea, IC varieties, and AmE in particular, were the most desired. There is evidence, however, of OEC varieties being desired depending on the goals of the individual. It was also shown that English instructors appear to have the ability to influence the perceptions learners have towards different Englishes through courses devised to increase familiarity with WE and the use of informal digital learning.

A final issue with much of the work undertaken in Korea is the survey sample. With some exceptions, most studies are small scale convenience samples from one institution. Such homogeneity has likely affected the elicited data. Furthermore, most of these survey samples suffer from gender imbalance. As language perceptions have been shown to

potentially differ according to gender (Section 2.6.1), it is important to further understand if English regard in the Korean context is affected by this variable.

2.7 Chapter summary

This literature review has drawn together key areas needed to understand the English regard of young adults in South Korea. The important ideas of globalisation and neoliberalism were introduced. The Bourdieusian concepts of habitus, capital, and field were also presented to help explain why the unfair capitalist system is legitimized. The difficultly of defining language was discussed, and Kachru's (1985) Concentric Circles model was presented as a suitable, but still incomplete, method of categorizing Englishes in the context of this study. As global flows have changed the way many people live and communicate, the concept of translanguaging was introduced. Despite the reality of using a translingual repertoire, this practice has not been generally adopted in English language teaching.

To help understand the current and historical context of Korea and the role English has in the nation, a societal treatment was undertaken. Language regard was then shown to be a more expansive concept to understand individuals' language beliefs. The concept appears to be particularly applicable to Korea, where variety awareness may be low. The common methods used to investigate language perceptions were explained and evaluated. Lastly, relevant research data in terms of general findings and studies undertaken in East Asia and South Korea were critically analysed. The findings from this chapter are used to inform this study's research methodology (Chapter 3), which is presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 3: Research methodology

This chapter provides explanation and justification of the data collection methods used in this study. The chapter begins by providing an overview of the research process and aims of the study. The research questions are then presented. The following sections introduce the research scope, design, and data collection instrument. The pilot study and how its findings informed the research process are then discussed as are the ethics of this study. An overview of the data analysis is then provided.

3.1 The research process and aims of the study

As part of the research process my ontological and epistemological beliefs changed. When commencing this project, I was most familiar with positivist research and the associated statistical analyses (Section 2.5.2 and 2.5.3). However, as I read more about attitude theory, I became dissatisfied with what I perceived as a disconnect between the theory of attitudes (Section 2.4.2) and how positivist research incorporated (or did not incorporate) these theories. Another point is that much of the research appears to be guided on the basis that attitudes are very stable entities, perhaps as justification for the positivist methods used. The use of semantic differentials (Section 2.5.3) indicate that language attitudes are viewed as unidimensional rather than bidimensional (Section 2.4.2), meaning that respondents have been prevented from expressing a range of beliefs. Furthermore, these methods, while highlighting interesting findings, have often lacked qualitative analysis to help understand the reasons why certain results were found. However, we are affected by the world around us, which is changing rapidly, and many people today, especially young adults, are exposed to vast flows of media, culture, and people (Section 2.1.1). These are factors that must be given serious consideration.

Consequently, while acknowledging the strengths of the positivist approach, I looked to other philosophical worldviews. Social constructionism and interpretivism offered the qualitative element I was looking for to better understand how attitudes and beliefs can change spatiotemporally. However, I do not wholly subscribe to social constructionist theories relating to multiple realities as there must be a certain amount of stability due to certain ideas and beliefs prevailing for extended periods of time (Section 2.1.3). Nonetheless, understanding the context of language use, as well as how lived experiences affect individuals in our ever faster-paced society are crucial when investigating language regard.

A middle ground for these two paradigms is the pragmatic world view, which "[r]ecognizes the existence and importance of the natural or physical world as well as the emergent social and psychological world that includes language, culture, human institutions, and subjective thoughts (Johnson et al., 2007, p.18). As a result, rather than focusing on the methods, pragmatic research prioritises answering the research question and uses all available approaches to understand the problem (Creswell, 2014, p.10). As pragmatism is closely associated with mixed methods research (Feilzer, 2010), I examined the related literature and determined that the use of mixed methods would be the most suitable way to answer the research questions of this study. These research questions are now restated.

3.2 Research questions

To better understand the awareness of English, its role in the lives of the young Korean adults in this study, and which varieties of English may be desirable user models, the following research questions were formulated:

1. What varieties of English are known and acknowledged by young Korean adults?
2. What associations are made with the stated varieties?

3. What is the importance of English to young Korean adults?
4. Which variety or varieties of English, if any, do young Korean adults regard as the most suitable user model and why?

The purpose of research question one is to identify which varieties of English, if any, participants are aware of and acknowledge. By using an open-ended format, rather than using researcher provided varieties (Sections 2.5.2 and 2.5.3), it is likely that a better understanding of the level of awareness of Englishes among young adults in the South Korean context will emerge. Research question two builds on the results of question one and asks participants to state any associations that they may have with elicited varieties. Again, by using an open-ended format, it is likely the results will give a clearer indication of what associations, if any, participants make with the varieties of Englishes they have stated. In particular, the data will better indicate the extent respondents make evaluative comments about different varieties as opposed to other general associations (Section 2.4.1). Positivist language attitude research has tended to use researcher provided traits, and it is questionable whether these traits are always applicable to all respondents, particularly when individuals may have little or no contact with researcher provided varieties. By considering only associations elicited from respondents, this will likely provide a better indication of what indexicals participants are aware of (Section 2.2.5). Research question three seeks to understand the importance of English to the young Korean adults in this survey. It has been commonly cited that the primary importance of English in Korea is to get a job (Section 2.3.1). However, despite the apparent widespread support of this idea among scholars, there appears to be a lack of empirical evidence to support such a claim. Furthermore, most citations supporting this idea appear to originate from work by Joseph Sung-Yul Park (2009). This citation is now dated, and while employment may have been, and may still be, an important, or the most important, reason to learn English, the

processes of globalisation have greatly affected Korea (Section 2.3.1). Thus, there may be new reasons as to why English might be important to participants. Research question four investigates which varieties of English, if any, participants regard as the most suitable user models and why such beliefs may be held. Previous research has shown AmE to be the desired variety in South Korea (Section 2.6.3), but due to a lack of qualitative investigation, it is not clear why the non-linguist participants desired American English. Furthermore, rapid societal changes associated with globalisation and South Korea's rise to an economic and soft power may mean that participants' English regard has altered.

3.3 Research Design

This section introduces the mixed methods design used in this study and the rationale for its use. The methods used for data collection are then introduced. The keyword approach is analysed first. The use of closed and open-ended questions is then explained.

3.3.1 Mixed methods

Mixed methods research can be defined as "an intellectual and practical synthesis based on qualitative and quantitative research; it is the third methodological or research paradigm" (Johnson et al., 2007, p.129). As a result, mixed methods research can often provide the "…most informative, complete, balanced, and useful research results (ibid, p.129). When using mixed methods it is important to explain the integration of the qualitative and quantitative data as it is the combination of these components that can enhance knowledge (O'Cathain et al., 2010). Integration can occur at three stages of the research: study design level, methods level, and interpretation and reporting level (Fetters et al., 2013).

Using Fetters et al.'s terminology, the integration of quantitative and qualitative components in this research project is now explained. At the study design stage an *explanatory sequential study* was chosen. In this type of study, a quantitative component is undertaken

first and a qualitative component follows in the next stage of data collection (Creswell, 2014, pp.15–16). This study, however, does not fit neatly into the traditional definition. First, explanatory studies are usually quantitatively driven and therefore deductive as there is usually a substantial literature and existing theoretical frameworks (Morse, 1991). While there is a vast amount of literature and theories relating to language attitudes in general, in the Korean context the methodological issues of previous studies requires an inductive approach to better understand current English regard. Furthermore, while the first component is quantitative in the sense that a larger survey sample was used and the survey included closed-ended questions, qualitative questions were used simultaneously, in the form of intramethod mixing (Tashakkori et al., 2003, p.298), to better understand the quantitative answers. Thus, the quantitative and qualitative elements in the first stage are equally important (QUAN+QUAL). The second stage also used quantitative and qualitative questions simultaneously in a number of questions. However, the qualitative component was the theoretical drive (quan+QUAL). In addition, relevant personal experiences and observations gained while living and teaching in Korea are used to give further context to the findings.

At the methods level, the quantitative and qualitative components were intended to be *connected* as participants who completed the first survey were asked to participate in the more qualitative focused second phase of data collection. However, this was only partially successful due to low response rates to participate in the second phase of data collection (Section 3.4.2). In addition, through the use of a sequential study, the methods are intended to *build* on each other. The quantitative findings inform the areas of investigation for the qualitative phase with the aim of explaining why specific results were found (QUAN→QUAL).

At the interpretation level of integration, *data transformation* is used to convert qualitative data to quantitative data by conducting a content analysis (Section 3.9). The data are then interpreted by *narrative*. In the results section the data are presented using the *contiguous approach* for clarity (quan and qual are presented in separate sections). However, in the discussion section the *weaving approach* is used to discuss the data as a whole (quan and qual findings are presented together according to the research question). A visual representation of the study, including the data collection timeline, is presented in Figure 3.1. This is followed by an overview of the data collection methods used in the study.

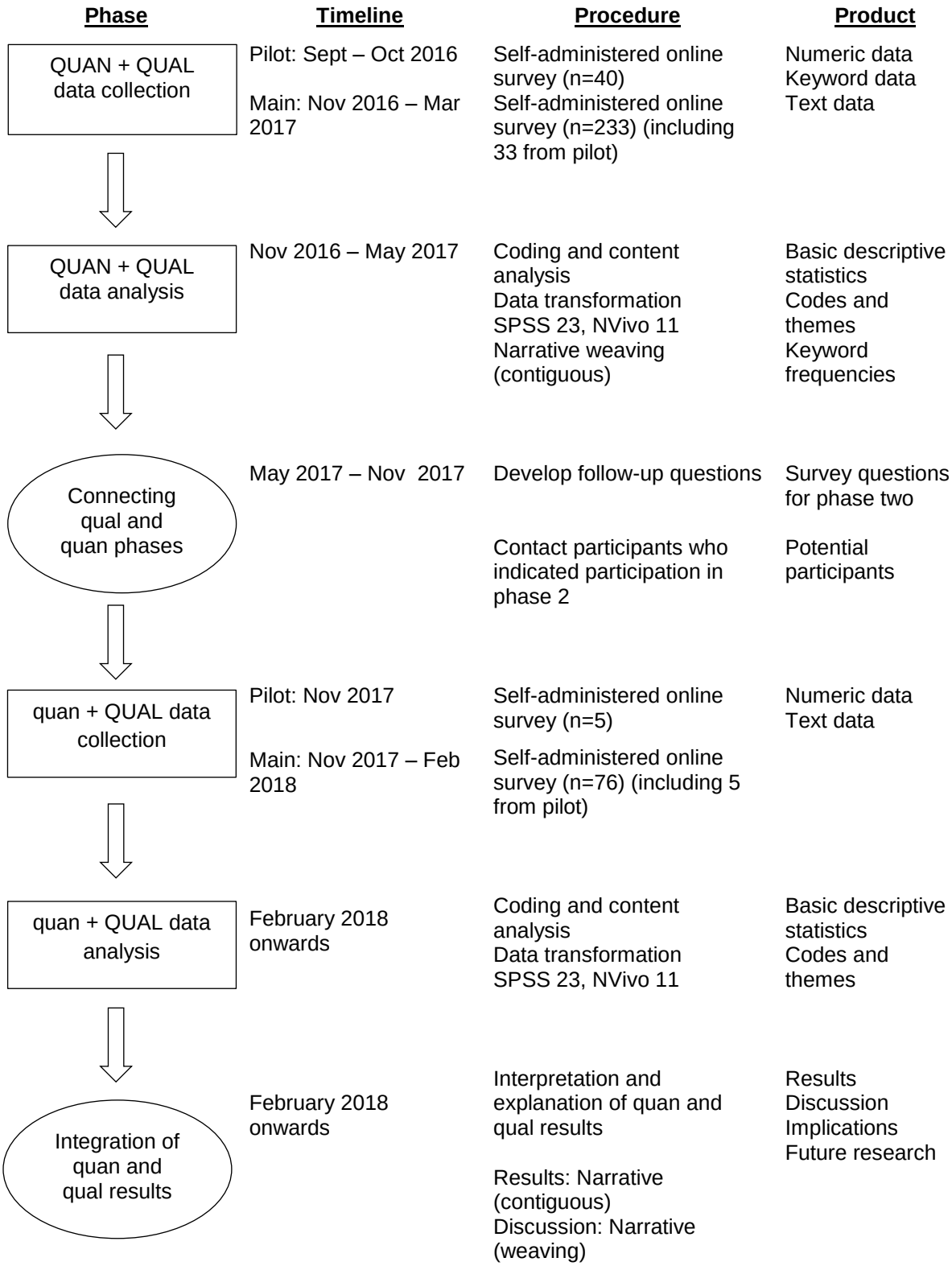

Figure 3. 1: Visual representation of the study

3.3.2 The keyword approach

The majority of language attitude work in South Korea has used the matched or verbal guise techniques (Section 2.6.3). It has also been shown how the issues associated with these techniques have prevented a detailed understanding of what Englishes participants are aware of, as well as any associations they may have (Section 2.5.3). To counter these weaknesses, the keyword approach was selected as a research method. This approach has been successfully used to understand participants' English variety awareness and what associations individuals have with stated Englishes (Section 2.5.2). As far as I am aware, the keyword approach has not previously been used in South Korea. This also appears to be the first time that the keyword approach has been used to investigate awareness of World Englishes (Section 2.2.2) rather than Englishes used as a primary language.

The most common keyword approach method is to use discrete responses (Section 2.5.2) (usually between three to five responses). Participants are asked to name different varieties of English and then quickly write down a limited number of items they associate with each variety. Each individual (keyword) answer is treated as a separate entity. If different ideas were contained in the same sentence, each idea is separated. For example, 'intelligent and sophisticated' would be treated as two separate answers. An advantage of this approach is that it is very quick and therefore limits fatigue. In addition, the self-provided data is also thought to give a much deeper understanding of stereotypes held about speakers of different Englishes, and the language used to characterize these varieties (Evans, 2010; Garrett et al., 2005b) as participants select varieties of English and associations which are most salient to them (Garrett et al., 2005a). In previous research, respondents have been encouraged to complete the questionnaire in a swift manner as it is thought to help "…capture spontaneous emotional and cognitive responses." (Evans & Imai, 2011, p.317). However, this approach was altered for this study. It has been argued that the capturing of

‘spontaneous’ responses is thought to reduce the possibility of impression management as the individual shows her or his true self. What ‘true self’ actually means, however, is open to interpretation (Gawronski et al., 2008) (Section 2.4.1). In the context of this study, ‘true-self’ is defined as participants using explicit cognition when engaging with the questions. This interpretation has been adopted due to methodological and practical reasons. First, it is not possible to know if the responses were actually implicit as has been previously claimed. Second, the use of a self-reported online questionnaire (Section 3.5) makes it more challenging and most likely unwise to manage the completion speed of the questions.

As initially stated in Section 2.5.2, the keyword method does have some weaknesses that need to be considered. Garrett et al. (2005a) state that one of the strengths of keywords – conciseness – can also be a disadvantage. The limited number of response items means that respondents may not be able to provide all the keywords which are of importance to them. Therefore, the researcher needs to bear in mind that just because certain keywords only appeared a few times, it does not mean that these items are unimportant. To limit this issue, no response limit was set in this study. Instead, the instructions only asked participants to write down any associations they had. However, a single line text box was used to encourage shorter responses (Section 3.5.2). In addition, further careful interpretation is also required when particular keywords feature repeatedly. One reason may be that frequently encountered words are easier to mentally access. Instances of media representation or current events may influence which keywords are accessed. Garrett et al. (2005a, p.49) also highlight that the semantics of different cultures may vary. Thus, further examination of elicited words needs to be undertaken in such circumstances. However, by being embedded in South Korea, I hope to be more aware of any circumstances that may affect responses, as well as cultural dissimilarities. Also, any words that do seem semantically different can be discussed with the translator to confirm the

meaning (Section 3.9). Another issue is the ambiguity of some keywords. Garrett et al. (2005a, p.47) give the example of 'posh'. In different contexts this word can be positive or negative. Without close examination it is difficult to know the intended meaning. A suggested solution is looking at the original questionnaire responses to see if other keywords are distinctly positive or negative. A final possible weakness of this method is that it cannot be used for robust statistical analysis (Garrett et al., 2005a, p.50). This is not a concern though as no other statistical analysis beyond basic descriptive statistics will be undertaken. The goal of this explanatory sequential study is to use basic descriptive statistics in combination with the rich detail of qualitative responses to better understand the English regard of the young Korean adult participants.

3.3.3 Closed and open-ended questions

Both closed and open-ended items were used in both questionnaires (Section 3.5). Some questions used intramethod mixing, while other questions were open-ended only. Closed items were used when it was necessary to determine awareness or use of specific items. Closed items were also used when it was thought that respondents might not have carefully considered the question before or potentially lack awareness of specific varieties of English, such as asking which variety of English was deemed most suitable as a user model (Research Question Four). Open items were then provided to offer the respondents the opportunity to provide more details. The second phase of the study used mostly open-ended questions to provide a more detailed understanding of why specific results in the first phase were elicited. By using a combination of the keyword approach and closed and open-ended responses, a good mix of quantitative and qualitative data is likely to be attained.

3.4 Research scope

This section explains the choice of the research site and informants. Information about participant recruitment, final sample size, and biodata are then presented. Finally, the strengths and weaknesses of the survey sample are analysed.

3.4.1 Research site and choice of informants

South Korea was chosen as the context for this research for several reasons. Even though the country is thought to be in the expanding circle (Section 2.2.2) and English is not considered part of everyday life, the language has become very important since the government's globalisation push in the 1990s (Section 2.3.1). Despite this importance, English regard has been an under-researched area (Section 2.6.3). Another reason is that I have lived and taught in South Korea for an extended period. As a result, I am very familiar with the research context. Most importantly, however, gaining a greater understanding of the perceptions young Korean adults have towards English as a language and different English varieties will better equip me in my teaching practices and aid the students I work with. The desire to achieve useful results with potentially better transferability was one of the major considerations that led me to adopt the pragmatic approach and mixed methods research (Section 3.1).

As a result of my work at the university level, young adults in South Korea are the focus of this research. For the purpose of this study a young adult will be defined as someone aged from 18 to 35. This age range has been selected as 18 (19 in Korean age) is the legal age of becoming an adult and 35 is generally considered the upper limit of being a young adult. Furthermore, this age group will have grown up in South Korea since globalisation, or at least since its Korean form 'segyehwa' was embraced, and it is probable this group has had greater exposure than older Korean citizens to English due to school lessons, private academy lessons (Section 2.3.2), travel (Section 2.3.3), the media (Section 2.3.5), and new

technologies (Section 2.3.4). Finally, most previous research has focused on young adults and university students in particular. While the general focus on this age group can be criticized (Section 3.4.2), the continued focus does allow for greater comparison with previous studies (Section 2.6). While this research also focuses on young Korean adults, this sample includes current university students and young adult workers. The purpose of including university students and young professionals was to investigate if any similarities or differences existed between the two groups. Unfortunately, the low number of employees that completed both surveys (Section 3.4.2) prevented any detailed comparison.

3.4.2 Participants

Recruitment of participants for the first survey was done in two ways: convenience and snowball sampling. I asked a number of current and former students if they would be willing to participate in the survey. These individuals were also asked if they would be willing to send the link to the online survey (Section 3.5) to friends that may consider taking part in the research. Furthermore, a number of professors and instructors based in South Korea who interacted with current and former students online were also asked if they would be willing to share the survey link via instant message or social media. This resulted in 233 usable surveys (118 females and 115 males). In order to recruit participants for the second stage of data collection, the final section of the questionnaire asked if participants would be willing to take part in the next phase of the survey via questionnaire (Section 3.5) or interview (Section 3.7.2) to *connect* the two phases (Section 3.3.1). Of the 233 individuals who completed the survey, 85 stated that they would be willing to take part in the next stage (60 questionnaire, 10 interview, 15 questionnaire and interview).

After the decision was made to only use an online questionnaire in the second phase (Section 3.7.2), two contact emails requesting participation were sent (initial and follow-up emails) (Appendix 5). However, the response rate was low. Consequently, the processes of

convenience and snowball sampling were undertaken again via the same channels explained above. The second survey was then closed with 76 useable surveys (38 females and 38 males). It was decided to close the survey at this point due to the balanced gender ratio, and preliminary analysis suggesting that the sample size was large enough to provide detailed data but still be manageable.

The general biodata of the 233 respondents in the first stage of the study are presented in Table 3.1. The mean age was 23.5 years (SD = 3.2 years). There were 118 females (50.64%) and 115 males (49.35%). With regard to occupation, there were 210 university students (90.13%) and 23 employees (09.87%). In the context of this study, employee refers to participants who were working rather than in full-time education. However, further information related to employees' type of work, as well students' degree subjects was not collected. This was done to reduce the number of questions in the online survey (Section 3.5), with the aim of increasing the number of responses. The nationalities of the participants comprised of 228 Koreans, 3 dual nationals (Korea/Australia, Korea/USA, and Korea/Japan), and 2 Canadians. The two Canadians were formerly South Korean citizens.

Table 3. 1: Biodata of participants in the first phase of data collection

Total	Mean age	Standard Deviation	Females	Males	Students	Employees
233	23.5 years	3.2 years	118 (50.64%)	115 (49.36%)	210 (90.13%)	23 (09.87%)

To aid analysis the biodata of students and employees has been further categorized (Table 3.2). The data show that the mean age between employees and students differed, with employees being an average of six years older. This is an area of potential importance as age may affect language regard (Section 8.4). A further age difference not presented in Table 3.2 concerns male and female students. Male students' average age was almost two

years older than female students. While such a difference may be due to the non-systematic sample, the difference almost aligns with the two-year national military service that all able-bodied Korean males are required to undertake. Looking at gender, the ratio of male and female university students is still well-balanced, although there are more males overall. The gender ratio between employees lacks balance as females accounted for almost three-quarters of employee respondents. Such a difference in an already small employee sample limits generalisability. This issue is discussed further below.

Table 3. 2: Biodata of students and employees in the first phase of data collection

	Total (233)	Mean age	Standard Deviation	Females (118)	Males (115)
Students	210 (90.13%)	22.7 years	2.5 years	101 (48.10%)	109 (51.90%)
Employees	23 (09.87%)	28.9 years	2.8 years	17 (73.91%)	06 (26.09%)

The biodata of 76 participants from the second stage of the study are presented in Table 3.3. The mean age was 23.8 years (SD = 3.05 years). The gender ratio was equal with 38 females and 38 males. Similar to the study's first phase, students constituted the vast majority of the survey sample. There were 69 students (90.79%) and 7 employees (09.21%).

Table 3. 3: Biodata of participants in the second phase of data collection

Total	Mean age	Standard Deviation	Females	Males	Students	Employees
76	23.8 years	3.05 years	38 (50.00%)	38 (50.00%)	69 (90.79%)	07 (09.21%)

The biodata of students and employees from the study's second phase is shown in Table 3.4. The mean age of students and employees differed by 6.6 years. The gender ratio of students was again almost equal with 34 females (49.28%) and 35 males (50.72%). The

employee gender ratio was very similar in number - four females and three males, but due to this low number, the percentages are significantly affected. The four female employees accounted for 57.14% while the three male employees accounted for 42.86%.

Table 3. 4: Biodata of students and employees in the second phase of data collection

	Total (76)	Mean age	Standard Deviation	Females (38)	Males (38)
Students	69 (90.79%)	23.2 years	2.2 years	34 (49.28%)	35 (50.72%)
Employees	07 (09.21%)	29.8 years	3.9 years	04 (57.14%)	03 (42.86%)

Comparing the biodata of the participants across the two phases, the well-balanced gender ratios in both stages of data collection are a strength. This is of importance as gender ratios in the majority of more recent language regard research have been unbalanced and in some cases considerably so (Sections 2.6.2 and 2.6.3). Findings have often been presented as general results without considering how perceptions may differ according to gender and unequal gender ratios in language perception studies have been listed as a limitation (Buckingham, 2015). The balanced gender ratios across both phases of this study allows for greater comparison, and the study as a whole has the potential to develop theoretical understanding of how language regard may differ according to gender.

Furthermore, the mean ages are very similar in both stages of data collection. This may allow greater comparison between the two phases. One area where ratios are unbalanced is employee and university student participants. When designing the study, I had hoped to recruit an equal number of employees and university students. Unfortunately, this did not materialize, and employees formed about 10% of the survey sample. Furthermore, it is unfortunate to have a lower number of male employees than female employees. Such a small number of employees combined with male employees being underrepresented prevent worthwhile comparison. Consequently, this study will only focus on comparing the

data according to respondent gender. However, reference will be made to employee data when there are points of interest. Another potential weakness is university students forming the majority of the survey sample. However, as 70% of young adults in Korea enter tertiary education (OECD, 2018), it is probable the survey sample still includes a wide variety of participants. In addition, as the research was conducted online (Section 3.5), although via a combination of convenience and snowball sampling, the survey sample is still likely more varied than most previous language regard research in Korea, which has mostly been conducted at a single research site (Section 2.6.3). The research design is now explained.

3.5 The research instrument – online questionnaire

The method of data collection was two self-reported online bilingual questionnaires. (Appendices 1 to 4). Online surveys have the potential to reach a larger and more geographically diverse population than traditional self-administered questionnaires. Furthermore, data can be collected even faster than traditional pencil and paper questionnaires (Couper & Miller, 2008) and has greater anonymity. Also, participants being able to complete the questionnaire at their own convenience is beneficial as it may help to encourage participation (Sax et al., 2003). The results of online surveys may also be superior to paper questionnaires that have been mostly used in previous language attitudes research. Work by Rada and Dominguez-Alvarez (2014) indicated that internet surveys resulted in a lower number of unanswered questions, and more detailed and longer answers than those given in paper questionnaires, while Kreuter et al. (2008, pp.862–3) found that reporting of sensitive information increased compared to other methods of self-administration. Thus, self-administered online questionnaires may help to gain a better and more accurate understanding of participants' English regard. Additionally, online questionnaires are particularly suitable as the method of data collection for this study as South Korea has almost complete internet coverage and usage, very fast internet speeds

and high levels of smartphone ownership (Section 2.3.4). Therefore, accessing and completing an online questionnaire is likely to be a simple process for potential respondents.

Another benefit is that skip logic questioning and question piping can be used. Skip logic means that the questionnaire can be streamlined for participants as irrelevant questions are not shown, Question piping means that data inputted from previous questions can be automatically inserted into following questions. Consequently, less time will be needed to complete the survey, thereby reducing fatigue, which can affect answers, and hopefully reduce frustration as respondents do not waste time reading irrelevant material or struggle to recall information inputted in previous questions. Furthermore, question piping allows multi-part questions to be separated. By splitting each section of the question and the related instructions, the first stage can be completed with a reduced chance of the subsequent stage affecting the initial response. This is particularly relevant in this study as respondents were asked to list varieties of English they were aware of and then list any associations they had (Research Questions One and Two). As a result, participants could initially focus on listing different Englishes without being distracted by other information. In the next part of the question, instructions were then introduced asking participants to list any associations they had with the listed varieties, which were displayed via question piping (Section 3.5.2). Finally, the skip logic questions may also help to create a more attractive questionnaire with less clutter as unnecessary translations were not visible. This more aesthetic layout may help to make the questionnaire more engaging (Dornyei, 2003, p.68).

Online questionnaires, however, have several potential disadvantages. One concern may be that potential respondents are suspicious about using online surveys as they worry about the security and confidentiality of their responses (Sax et al., 2003). Such feelings may be countered by a clear explanation of the purpose of the survey, how the data will be

used and stored, as well as providing the option to not give any identifying information (Section 3.8). Another possible issue is self-administration as nobody will be present to immediately answer any questions that respondents have. This may result in participants abandoning the questionnaire. However, by piloting the questionnaire, it is likely that any potential issues will be minimalised (Section 3.7). A final point to consider is satisficing. It is possible that respondents completing internet questionnaires may give less effort answering the survey by choosing easy answers due to reasons such as multi-tasking and only skimming the questions (Rada & Dominguez-Alvarez, 2014). However, it can be argued that paper questionnaires also suffer from respondents' satisficing, and as stated above it has been shown online questionnaires are more likely to be completed in greater detail than paper-based surveys. The different sections used in the questionnaires are now introduced. The questions used in the second survey are also shown to further demonstrate the study integration.

3.5.1 Background information

Questionnaire 1: This section of the study collected participants' personal information. Participants were asked to state their nationality, age, gender and occupation. To learn more about the participants' linguistic repertoires, individuals were asked to list languages they spoke. The term 'language' is used despite the difficulty of defining the term (Section 2.2). However, the non-linguist participants in this study are likely comfortable with the term. Furthermore, participants were asked if they had used English outside the classroom setting. This latter question was collected separately from the other biodata at the end of the questionnaire to reduce the chance of prior questioning influencing the responses to other research questions, particularly awareness of varieties of English.

Questionnaire 2: Only age, gender, and occupation were collected. The purpose of the second questionnaire was qualitative rather than quantitative. The collection of the biodata will aid comparison between different sub-groups of the sample.

Gaining an awareness of linguistic knowledge and usage of English among the survey population will help to better understand the role of language and more specifically English in the lives of these young Korean adults, which will likely aid interpretation of the data from the four research questions.

3.5.2 Research Questions 1 & 2: Varieties of English – awareness and associations

Questionnaire 1: The keyword approach (Section 3.3.2) was used to understand awareness of English varieties among the participants and what associations, if any, were made with the stated Englishes. Participants were first asked to list any varieties of English they were aware of. In the following section, using question piping (Section 3.5), respondents were asked to list any associations they had with the stated varieties in a single line text box situated next to each variety.

Questionnaire 2: A combination of closed and open-ended items were used to better understand the reasons why AmE and BrE were most elicited.

3.5.3 Research Question 3: The importance of English

Questionnaire 1: Respondents were asked to list any reasons that English may have importance to them as individuals. This was an open-ended question, and a multiline textbox was provided to allow detailed responses.

Questionnaire 2: The first questionnaire produced some interesting findings as communication appeared to be viewed as more important than employment. The follow-up questionnaire used an open-ended question to understand this result in more detail.

3.5.4 Research Question 4: Desired English user model

Questionnaire 1: A closed-ended question was first used to understand which variety of English, if any, participants wished to acquire. This question was closed-ended as this may not have been a topic respondents had previously considered carefully or have sufficient awareness of the different varieties. The options were: native speaker, clear English but maintain Korean accent, Korean English (Konglish), other, or variety does not matter. If 'native speaker' or 'other' were selected, an additional textbox appeared to enable the respondents to list their favoured variety. An open-ended question then asked participants to explain their choice.

Questionnaire 2: The first study highlighted a contrast between English being desired for communication purposes yet most participants wanted to speak a 'native' variety of English. This finding was further investigated by using an open-ended question.

Questionnaire 2: Respondents were asked why they thought nobody in the first survey wished to speak KoE. This was an open-ended question.

This section has explained why online questionnaires were chosen as the research instrument and demonstrated how the explanatory sequential study used the more qualitative driven second questionnaire to build on the first larger scale questionnaire. Details of how the two online questionnaires were administered are now explained.

3.6 Administering the survey

To administer the first online questionnaire, the online survey company Survey Gizmo was used. The primary reason was the company's software included the ability to use question piping (Section 3.5). The second survey was less complex and did not require any specialist software tools. As a result of this and to reduce expenses, Online Surveys (previously Bristol Online Surveys) was used. A useful feature of both software companies,

however, was the questionnaire layouts automatically adjusted according to whether respondents were completing the questionnaire using a computer or smartphone/tablet. Consequently, the usability of the questionnaire was optimized regardless of input method. This was important as smartphones were presumed to be the most common method of completing the survey due to high rate of ownership in Korea (Section 2.3.4).

3.7 Pilot Study

Pilot studies were completed for both phases of the study. As part of this process, the potential methods of data collection – online questionnaire and semi-structured interview were tested. This section provides an overview of both pilot studies and the reasons interviews were subsequently dropped as a method of data collection.

3.7.1 Piloting of the online questionnaires

The pilot study for the first phase of data collection was conducted in order to assess the online survey. This proved to be a valuable exercise. After ethical approval was granted (Section 3.8) by both Aston University (Appendix 6) and from my workplace (Appendix 7), the pilot study was conducted. The English Café, which is an area used for extra-curricular English classes that tend to be more fun and relaxed than regular credit classes, was used for the pilot study. In order to recruit participants, I asked students either before or after classes if they would be willing to take part in the pilot study. I explained I was undertaking research and that I wanted to test the survey. I made sure that students were aware that participation was completely optional. Also, being aware of the potential power imbalance of instructor and student, and the possibility of the students losing face if they did not understand the survey and not raising any problems, I emphasized that any issues were almost certainly my fault. Participants were then asked to post-evaluate the survey in terms of ease, length, and user-friendliness, as well as any other factors they wished to highlight.

I began the pilot study with the aim of initially collecting around ten responses to begin to understand if the survey performed as expected. However, data collection was halted after seven responses due to Research Question One (Awareness of different varieties of English) (Section 3.5.2). While the participants were completing the survey, I was called into the room several times and asked for clarification. I asked participants to continue as they thought correct and then discussed the problem after. The issue was that either the question was deemed ambiguous but still answered as I intended or was interpreted as asking for national languages rather than English varieties. Some example answers among the initial responses were Japanese, Portuguese and Russian.

The issue was the question becoming unclear once translated into Korean. In post-evaluation, several participants suggested including an example of a variety of English as a way to resolve the issue. However, as the purpose of this research question was to learn which varieties of English participants were aware of, it was not possible to include a variety. I then consulted two Korean professors of English, and they suggested some alternative phrasing. However, participants thought the rephrased questions were still difficult to understand. I then spoke to several students and explained what I was trying to ask. I received a couple of example sentences. One of these appeared to be easily understood. I asked the rephrased question to participants who had already completed the survey and everyone understood the question. I then continued the pilot study. Post-evaluation discussion of the updated survey revealed it was deemed easy to understand, user-friendly, and could be completed in a relatively short time. Once the survey sample reached 40 participants, with 33 of these having been satisfactorily completed using the updated survey, I ended the pilot study in order to analyse the responses. The resulting data was deemed to be high quality and respondents had engaged with the majority of the questions. The 33

completed surveys were subsequently added to the data collected from the main study (Figure 3.1).

The questionnaire for the second phase of data collection involved mostly open-ended questions. This survey was tested with five participants. There were no issues with comprehension and the second survey was released. All five of these surveys were used in the second phase of the study (Figure 3.1). Overall, the piloting of both questionnaires was essential in achieving surveys that were reliable, valid, and user-friendly.

3.7.2 Interviews

As part of the second phase of data collection I had anticipated using semi-structured interviews to better understand participants' ideas and add credibility to the findings through triangulation of the data. To check the questions and provide myself with interviewing practice I did two individual interviews and one group interview with three participants. I had known all the interviewees for several years, and all had a high level of English. Furthermore, the group of three were close friends, so they were very comfortable together. While I did get some interesting information from these interviews, I felt that the method was not an appropriate way to collect data in the context of this study. The first reason the interviews proved problematic was due to my insufficient Korean language skills. I am not able to speak Korean at the level needed to discuss a complex issue like language regard. Therefore, I needed interviewees to have a high proficiency in English. Even then, discussing language regard proved difficult for the participants. I felt interviewees were having some frustration due to not being able to express their ideas as they desired due to the complex nature of the subject. Taking part in any research should not be a negative experience. As a result, I stopped the interviews.

A possible solution to this problem would have been to allow the participants to codeswitch (Mann, 2011) and then translate post-interview. However, this would have likely negatively affected the continuity of the interview. Furthermore, a bilingual interviewer could have been hired to conduct the interviews on my behalf (Schilling, 2013). However, this would have increased costs and required time to train the individual, which was not feasible in this study. Also, I could not be sure how potential interviewees would respond to the interviewer and if they would give their true feelings. For instance, in the interviews I conducted, I felt the interviewees were potentially exhibiting social desirability bias (Section 2.5.2) as the responses concerning BrE seemed to be overly-positive. These individuals knew I am from the UK, and while they may have genuinely felt that way, I could not be sure that my presence was not affecting their responses. As language is a potentially sensitive topic, I was also unsure if participants would speak freely about KoE to a Korean interviewer. While these factors may still affect respondents' answers in self-administered questionnaires, it has been shown to be less of an issue than when participants are interviewed by another person (Kreuter et al., 2008, p.847).

Another key point was that by only recruiting interviewees with a high proficiency in English I was excluding a much larger number of potential participants who may have wanted to share their opinions, but not wanted to take part in an interview or not felt confident enough to do so in English. In addition, most participants who completed the first survey and agreed to take part in the next stage of the study preferred to answer a survey rather than be interviewed (Section 3.4.2). Therefore, by using an anonymous online survey that participants could complete at their convenience, I felt that there would be a larger pool of potential respondents. Also, the use of open-ended questions would enable respondents to respond in greater detail, as well as be able to more accurately portray their thoughts than would likely be possible in an interview with a researcher due to language difficulties or

impression management. Although the number of responses to my contact emails regarding participating in the second survey (Appendix 5) was low and new participants needed to be recruited (Section 3.4.2), I believe the points illustrated are still applicable.

3.8 Ethics

The main study was given ethical approval by Aston University (Appendix 6) and subsequently ethically approved by the Author's university (Appendix 7). It was explained to potential participants that involvement in the study was optional and participation could be ceased at any point. The purpose of the survey, how data would be stored and used, and who to contact should there be any questions or issues were explained in either Korean or English – whichever language the respondent opted for. In order to participate in the online survey, individuals had to check the consent box to continue to the survey questions. By giving consent the individuals agreed they understood the purpose of the survey, were willing to participate, and were over the age of 18 years old (over 19 years old in Korean age). The Author's Aston university email address was also provided as contact information should respondents have any queries.

The survey was completed anonymously. The only personally identifiable information collected was email addresses in the first phase of data collection. Participants only provided this data if they wished to take part in the next phase of the study or wished to receive a summary of the findings. All email addresses were separated from the survey data and kept on a password-protected USB. These email addresses will be deleted on completion of this project and when a summary of the findings has been sent.

Due to the anonymous nature of this study, participants in the first phase of data collection will be referred to by the letter 'P' followed by a number based on the order the questionnaires were completed (for example, P1). Similarly, participants in the second

phase of the study will be referred to in the same way but an additional ‘A’ will be used (for example, P1A).

3.9 Overview of data analysis

Content analysis was used to analyse the data. Content analysis can be defined as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the context of their use” (Krippendorff, 2004, p.18). As content analysis is not innately either quantitative or qualitative (Berg & Lune, 2012, p.340), content components, which includes words, can be subjected to quantitative or qualitative analysis or both forms of analysis (Kondracki et al., 2002, p.224). As this research seeks to understand the social meanings of English, an emphasis on qualitative content analysis (QCA) is more appropriate as the coding frame is more data driven than quantitative content analysis, which often uses concept driven and standardised coding frames (Schreier, 2012, p.7). Rather than ignoring or supressing variability as may be the case with traditional positivist language attitude measurement techniques (Potter, 1998, p.244), this research aims to gain a more detailed understanding of young Korean adults’ English regard. Specifically, the qualitative content analysis used is summative content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). As part of this process, words and phrases that are part of the text are counted to uncover the manifest meanings. The data are then further examined to uncover latent meanings. Overall, the two types of analyses can be viewed as complementary, with similar analytical processes (Krippendorff, 2004). It is also deemed acceptable to use coding frames from other researchers in QCA, but they should be adapted to the derived data (Schreier, 2012, p.7). NVivo 11 was used for the content analysis. In addition, SPSS 23 was used to calculate the descriptive statistics of participants. How content analysis was used as a method is now outlined.

The qualitative data was first translated from Korean to English by a bilingual Korean teacher of English. Any translations that I had questions about in terms of different potential meanings were discussed. The translations were then checked by a Korean professor of English. No issues were found. The data were then typed into a spreadsheet in preparation for analysis and then printed.

Coding of the data was done manually on hard copy. The collected data were separated according to short and long form answers. The short form answers (Keywords) were used when participants were asked to list any associations they may have about stated varieties (Research Questions One and Two). The remaining questions (Research Questions Three and Four) were open-ended and tended to elicit longer answers. The process began by submersing myself in the responses. I reread the data multiple times to familiarize myself with the content. Using Krippendorff's (2004) terminology, which has also been used in other Keyword studies (Evans, 2010; Evans & Imai, 2011; Garrett et al., 2005b), I started unitizing the data. This again involved rereading the responses multiple times and making notes. The discrete items (referential units) were identified. Adopting an inductive approach, general thematic categories (thematic units) were subsequently identified. This was an iterative process as the categories were refined with each round of analysis. The referential units were then categorized into the thematic units. I then coded the data again to check coding stability and identify any erroneous coding. Finally, the spreadsheet was imported into NVivo 11, and the data were grouped according to referential and thematic units. This process also provided another opportunity to check the coding. Overall, as the keywords were short answers this was not too problematic. When the longer responses were analysed, the data were unitized according to the referential units present in the responses. Thus, it was possible for more than one theme to be present in a single response. These longer responses were more challenging to code.

The data were then transformed by quantifying the referential units in each thematic unit. Basic descriptive statistics in the form of percentages were calculated to compare frequencies. The manifest analysis was used to gain a broad understanding of the salience of each category. The thematic units were then analysed qualitatively to interpret the latent meaning of the data. These processes were repeated for analysis of each question.

3.10 Chapter Summary

This section has explained the methodology of the study and introduced the methods used to collect data. By undertaking a larger scale pragmatic mixed methods sequential explanatory study using self-administered online surveys, it is hoped a more detailed understanding of young Korean adults' English regard will emerge. Furthermore, having achieved a well-balanced gender ratio, this study will address one of the key weaknesses in much of the recent language regard research. The research results are now presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Background of participants

To better understand the participants' English regard and to give better context to the data from the main research questions, this short chapter provides background information about the participants' language repertoires and use of English. The first section presents the languages that respondents speak. The second section investigates if individuals have used English outside of the language classroom.

4.1 Languages Spoken

Respondents were asked to state the languages they spoke. Participants were only asked the languages that they believed they knew and were not asked their mastery of each language. From the 233 respondents, 125 (53.65%) identified as bilingual, 96 (41.20%) as multilingual, and 12 (5.15%) as monolingual. These findings are of interest as Korea is regarded as a monolingual society (Section 1.1), but these results indicate that most of the participants (94.85%) believe that they have the ability to use multiple communicative resources. Such a high percentage of bilingual or multilingual individuals among this group of young adults is likely a result of Korea's globalisation (*segyehwa*) policy of language learning to develop the country economically, and the need for self-improvement to develop the 'specs' required for good employment (Section 2.3.1). While not known, it is also likely that the individuals who identified as monolinguals will have the ability to translanguage to some extent (Section 2.2.4) due to completing mandatory English education. Table 4.1 presents the languages spoken by respondents.

All participants spoke Korean and 94 percent stated that they knew English. Such a high percentage of English speakers demonstrates the importance of the language in Korea. The widespread knowledge of English among these respondents most likely reflects the compulsory teaching of the subject in schools and the importance of English in the Korean

university entrance test (*Suneung*) (Section 2.3.2), the use of private English academies (Section 2.3.2.2), and the need to achieve high scores on standardised English tests such as TOEIC to gain good employment (Section 2.3.1). Japanese (58) and Chinese (44) were also quite commonly spoken by students. Both these languages are often taught in Korean middle and high schools, and they are both languages of the neighbouring, as well as the two most dominant economies in Asia. Furthermore, there may also be a pivot from learning English to learning Chinese as the most important foreign language due to China's increasingly prominent role in the world (Song, 2016, p.58). The remaining languages were all spoken by a small number of respondents or a single individual and were of European origin except for one speaker of Hindi. Participants were not asked to explain how they acquired their foreign language abilities, but reasons as to how some of the less spoken languages were learned may relate to university language courses, personal interest, and having lived abroad either to study or related to family relocation due to parents' employment (Section 2.3.3).

Table 4. 1: Languages spoken by respondents in the first phase of data collection

Language spoken	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents	Language spoken	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Korean	233	100.00	Russian	02	00.85
English	219	94.01	Serbian	02	00.85
Japanese	58	25.21	Hindi	01	00.43
Chinese	44	18.80	Italian	01	00.43
French	06	02.57	Polish	01	00.43
Spanish	05	02.14	Swedish	01	00.43
German	02	00.85			

The languages spoken according to gender highlighted some differences (Table 4.2). More males (96.52%) than females (91.53%) stated that they spoke English. This may indicate greater confidence in English language ability. The biggest difference, however, was more females (25.42%) than males (11.30%) speaking Chinese. Additionally, females (13) spoke more languages in total than males (7). While the non-systematic survey sample may have contributed to these findings, it may suggest that these female participants have a larger language repertoire than male respondents.

Table 4. 2: Languages spoken by respondents according to gender

Language spoken	Female respondents (118)	Male respondents (115)	Language spoken	Female respondents (118)	Male respondents (115)
Korean	118 (100.00%)	115 (100.00%)	Russian	02 (01.06%)	00 (00.00%)
English	108 (91.53%)	111 (96.52%)	Serbian	02 (01.06%)	00 (00.00%)
Japanese	30 (25.42%)	28 (24.35%)	Hindi	01 (00.85%)	00 (00.00%)
Chinese	31 (26.27%)	13 (11.30%)	Italian	01 (00.85%)	00 (00.00%)
French	02 (01.06%)	04 (03.48%)	Polish	01 (00.85%)	00 (00.00%)
Spanish	01 (00.85%)	04 (03.48%)	Swedish	01 (00.85%)	00 (00.00%)
German	01 (00.85%)	01 (00.87%)			

4.2 English use outside the language classroom

Participants were asked if they had used English outside of the language classroom. A total of 213 participants answered this question. Results showed that 177 respondents stated they had used English and 36 people had not. Looking at the sample as a whole (233 participants), 75.96% stated that they had used English. While relatively high, this potentially means that up to a quarter of the respondents have not used English outside of the language classroom. Thus, English is likely only an academic subject for these individuals.

The participants who had used English were then asked to give some information about how they used the language. A total of 168 participants gave details of their English usage. Some individuals provided more than one instance of using English, which resulted in 178 keyword tokens. Five different themes emerged (Table 4.3). It was not possible to categorise one comment as it did not refer to a specific usage. In general, the themes appear to relate primarily to Appadurai's (1996) ethnoscapes, technoscapes, and finanscapes (Section 2.1.1).

Table 4. 3: How participants have used English

Type of use	Number of instances (%)
Abroad	82 (46.07%)
Informal communication in Korea	48 (26.97%)
Employment in Korea	21 (11.80%)
Education-based English usage in Korea	19 (10.67%)
Information Communication Technology	07 (03.93%)
Uncategorised	01 (00.56%)

Using English outside of Korea was the most common usage. This is not surprising as Koreans now travel abroad in large numbers (Section 2.3.3) and English is commonly used as a lingua franca, especially in tourism (Section 1.1). The second most common use of English among the participants was informal communication in Korea. This is an unexpected result as Korea is considered to be a monolingual country (Section 1.1) and English is not generally thought to be used intra-nationally. However, more people are now travelling to Korea (Section 2.2.3). Therefore, it is likely English is used to communicate in many instances. As tourism has been designated a strategic industry, English use in Korea may increase in the future. The relatively low number of instances of English being used for employment at first seems surprising. However, the vast majority of the sample was university students (90.13%). Many Korean university students do not get a part-time job until after finishing high school. Therefore, there may have been limited opportunities to use

English at work. However, among the 18 employees who provided a comment, 8 had used English while working. This may indicate that if a higher number of employees had been recruited (Section 3.4.2), the instances of using English at work may have been higher. There was some use of English in education settings. However, this number has been inflated as some participants provided comments related to English use in the classroom. This is discussed further in Section 4.2.4. The low number of examples of English being used in relation to information communication technology (ICT) was surprising. Korea is very advanced technologically (Section 2.3.4) and there is evidence of Korean university students using IDLE to interact in English (Section 2.6.3), but such usage is not evident in these findings. This could be the result of the non-systematic sample. However, it also appears that the IDLE research referenced in this study has also used non-systematic samples. Consequently, further research using better sampling techniques is likely to reveal how widespread IDLE is in Korea. The five themes are now briefly analysed to provide background information.

4.2.1 Abroad

Speaking English abroad was the most common situation where English was used (82 / 46.07%). After analysing the responses, three subthemes of English use emerged: vacations, living and studying abroad, and short-term employment and volunteering. The majority of English used abroad was while on vacation (59). Although most participants wrote ‘travelling abroad’ or ‘traveling to other countries’, fourteen destinations on five different continents were mentioned: Asia (Cambodia, Hong Kong, Japan, Philippines, Taiwan, Thailand), Europe (Belgium, Eastern Europe, Great Britain), Oceania (Australia, New Zealand), Africa (South Africa), and North America (Canada, USA). The widely distributed destinations highlight how far these young Korean adults now travel (Section 2.3.3). The types of English interactions included general conversations, as well as ordering

food, asking directions, shopping, solving accommodation related problems, and using English at an airport.

A smaller group of respondents used English while living and studying abroad (17). Four individuals who had lived abroad had used English every day as part of their daily lives. Other participants (13) had studied abroad at different ages and for different lengths of time. Ages ranged from children to young adults and time spent abroad ranged from four months to nine years. Types of study included attending elementary school, university exchange programmes, and English language courses in private institutions. Destinations included the USA (5), Australia (2), Canada (1), and the Philippines (1). The USA being the most popular destination, as well as other IC countries representing most of the countries participants travelled to is similar to Lee's (2016) research stating that these are the preferred destinations for Koreans to study English (Section 2.3.3). Six participants also used English abroad while working either as a volunteer or as a paid employee. Of the three individuals working as volunteers, one was working in the UK, another was in Cambodia, and the third was working as a missionary in the Philippines. The respondents who undertook paid short-term work were employed in Australia, Guam, and the USA respectively.

4.2.2 Informal communication in Korea

English was also used informally in Korea with strangers, friends and family (48 / 26.97%). The largest number of comments related to interactions with strangers (24). Fourteen of these interactions involved giving directions to foreign visitors, while the other exchanges involved questions and short conversations in places such as a coffee shop, amusement park, a restaurant owned by a foreigner, and on the street. In addition, three participants mentioned using English in specific areas of the capital city, Seoul: Itaewon and Hongdae. (Itaewon is multicultural area designated as a Special Tourist Zone and Hongdae is an area

of arts and entertainment popular with young adults). P155 met and spoke with many foreign people while in both locations, and P51 went to Itaewon for the purpose of using English in order to prevent her English skills declining. Furthermore, respondents also used English to talk and 'hang out' with their foreign friends (11). The final sub-theme was using English with family and Korean friends (3). Two individuals stated that this was done to improve English conversation skills.

4.2.3 Employment in Korea

A total of 21 participants (11.80%) used English while working in Korea. The majority of English use concerned paid employment (19), especially while doing part-time work (13). Example jobs included working at a waterpark, a bakery, as a receptionist in a guest house, and as a tour guide. English was also used by full-time employees (8). While one participant mentioned working with the American military for two years, the remaining comments related to office work. Three participants stated that they used English with their colleagues, while P205 worked at an 'international office' at a university and used English every day assisting international students. Additionally, P253 used English to talk to customers in Germany, Japan, Lithuania, and Switzerland. Finally, two participants had used English while volunteering at events and international conferences in Korea where they guided non-Korean attendees and answered questions.

4.2.4 Education-based English usage in Korea

English was used in a range of education settings (19 / 10.67%). Some of responses included classroom use of English. However, these responses generally differ from the standard language lesson and have been included as they still add value by showing the different type of English use in the classroom. The most common education setting for using English was university (11). Specific comments related to sharing opinions and ideas in English debate, role plays, projects, fun conversations in extracurricular English classes,

and speaking and learning the language while listening to university lectures. In addition, four individuals commented that they had used English with foreign students at their universities. These interactions included talking in class, doing group homework, and helping the international students. With South Korea aiming to increase the number of international students as part of its globalisation programme and to counteract the falling enrolment of Korean students due to low birth rates (Section 2.3.3), the possibility of Korean students using English with exchange students may increase in the future.

Outside of the university setting, eight respondents said they had used English in places such as schools, a local library, and private English academies. Activities included general English study, a speech contest, group conversation and TOEIC preparation. Five of these individuals stated they had used English with 'native' English speakers. This suggests that for these individuals English has only been used in an educational setting, and while the general consensus among linguists is that English learners are more likely to interact with 'non-native' speakers of English, it appears that for these individuals the only notable use of English is with NS English teachers, most likely due to government policy of only issuing language teaching visas to individuals from the seven approved IC countries (Section 2.3.2).

4.2.5 Information communication technology

Seven participants (03.93%) mentioned using ICT when using English. One participant watched a lot of English broadcasting and English language videos. In addition, three respondents stated that they used the internet to communicate in English. Activities included searching the internet in English, interacting on English message boards, and communicating with non-Koreans when playing online computer games. One participant used a smartphone application to meet foreign friends, while another individual had phone conversations with foreigners. While these individuals have used technology and English to meet new people, P26 used English to speak with family members in Canada as her

English ability is better than her relatives' Korean abilities. Although low in number, the responses indicate that technology has enabled these respondents to use English to meet and communicate with people abroad. Most of these interactions would not have been possible in the past. In addition, the use of English to communicate with family abroad, while only one instance is an example of movement of people and how such movement affects group language practices.

4.3 English use outside the language classroom according to gender

Analysis of the data according to gender shows differences in how English has been used (Table 4.4).

Table 4. 4: English usage outside the language classroom according to gender

Type of use	Female (92/100%)	Male (86/100%)
Abroad	50 (54.35%)	32 (37.21%)
Informal communication in Korea	19 (20.65%)	29 (33.72%)
Employment in Korea	11 (11.96%)	10 (11.63%)
Education-based English usage in Korea	11 (11.96%)	08 (09.30%)
Information Communication Technology	01 (01.09%)	06 (06.98%)
Uncategorised	00 (00.00%)	01 (01.16%)

A much larger percentage of female respondents (54.35%) have used English abroad compared to male respondents (37.21%). It is possible that females are more likely to communicate in English when abroad, but more likely suggests that the females in this sample have had more opportunities to travel. While only speculation, young adult females will likely have had more chances to travel than males due to able bodied Korean men having to complete two years of national military service. The average age of male students in this sample being two years older than the average female age may further support this idea (Section 3.4.2). A higher percentage of males (33.72%) than females (20.65%) stated they had used English informally in Korea. It is difficult to surmise reasons for this. A

possible reason may relate to fewer males having used English abroad and so the informal use of English in Korea may instead be a more salient category for males. ICT was another area more males (06.98%) than females (01.09%) had used English. This was not a salient category overall, but may indicate that males have more opportunities to use English when using technology. However, more research is needed to see if this speculation has any merit. The use of English at work and in an educational setting was very similar.

4.4 Chapter summary

The results show the participants in the main survey sample mostly class themselves as bilingual or multilingual, with 94% stating that they speak English. This indicates respondents have the ability to communicate in a variety of languages. The use of a translingual repertoire (Section 2.2.4) would likely further enhance communicative abilities. With regard to English usage, over three-quarters of participants have used the language in a wide variety of contexts. Furthermore, the data revealed that gender may affect English usage among the participants in this study. However, further research is needed to see if these findings are replicable and if so, why such differences exist. Overall, most individuals in this survey had used English abroad for a variety of reasons. The majority travelled for short periods, but a sizable number have lived abroad studying and working for longer durations. With most English being used overseas, this finding appears to correspond with the idea that English, despite its importance in Korea (Section 2.3.1), is not part of daily life for the majority of respondents. Nonetheless, there do appear to be opportunities for using English in Korea as respondents have used the language to interact with foreign visitors, residents, and students in public places, work, or educational settings. In addition, there also appears to be specific areas in Seoul that participants know they will be able to regularly use English. It was also shown ICT enables participants to communicate using English as a lingua franca with family, friends, and strangers. However, ICT only being used

by four percent of participants was surprising. With the importance of English in Korea (Section 2.3.1) combined with the nation being technologically advanced and having an excellent internet infrastructure with high usage (Section 2.3.4), it would seem like an excellent way of using and learning English. Reasons for this low percentage as stated by P164A may be a lack of interest in other cultures or at the time of the first stage of data collection (November 2016 – March 2017) (Figure 3.1) there were not as many ways to easily interact internationally online as there are now. Thus, a real time study of English usage in the Korean context, which also investigates usage according to gender, may offer a deeper insight into how English is used over an extended period.

In general, the participants in this sample do not appear to be as monolingual as the literature assumes (Section 1.1). It would also seem probable that there will be more chances to use English in Korea in the future due to increasing movement of people, Korea's continued globalisation push, and desire to attract foreign university students to Korea to offset population decline and improve university global rankings (Section 2.3.3). Nonetheless, around one quarter of respondents had not used English outside the language classroom. English is likely a purely academic subject, which at present has no real-world application either through lack of opportunity or lack of desire to use the language. Therefore, even though Korea has embraced globalisation and promoted English use as a tool to become a developed country (Section 2.3.1), a sizeable percentage of the survey sample has not needed the language beyond the EFL classroom.

Based on the responses in this sample, much of the usage appears to be a result of greater movement of people and capital, as well as improved technologies, all of which are associated with globalisation (Section 2.1.1). These findings have relevance within the EFL classroom as they can provide a better understanding of how English has been used and with whom rather than only considering participants' envisioned use (Section 8.2). This

knowledge can be used to better inform classes such as practical English communication, which in turn can better serve student learners. Furthermore, this data can help to give better context to the results from the research questions in this study. The next chapter begins this process by investigating awareness of different Englishes and variety associations.

Chapter 5: Awareness of varieties of English and associations made with elicited varieties

This chapter answers Research Questions One and Two (Section 3.5.2). The chapter begins by investigating participants' awareness of different varieties of English. The following section examines what associations respondents made with their stated varieties of English. Data from the second phase of the study, which investigates why participants thought AmE and BrE were the most well-known Englishes are then analysed. The chapter concludes with a critical discussion of the findings from this chapter.

5.1 Elicited varieties of English

To better understand young Korean adults' knowledge of different varieties of English, participants were asked to list Englishes they were aware of (Appendices 1 and 2). There were 502 responses listed by 190 participants (Table 5.1). Of these, 490 varieties of English were listed by 180 participants, which when analysed revealed a total of 24 varieties of English. The remaining 12 responses, listed by 10 participants, were general comments related to English. These comments did not list any specific varieties, but they have value in helping to understand the English regard of participants. These responses are analysed in Section 5.2.5.

One important point is that 43 participants (18.45%) did not list any varieties (this figure excludes the 10 participants who provided general comments). While this may be a sign of satisficing (Section 3.5), these individuals completed other sections of the survey, which potentially indicates a complete lack of awareness of any specific varieties of English. This lack of English regard suggests a key methodological issue with previous language attitude studies in the Korea (Section 2.6.3) that have presented researcher selected Englishes in guise or conceptual form and then asked respondents to complete semantic differential

scales or comment about each variety (Section 2.5.3). The results from this study indicate that almost one-fifth of participants may have no awareness of different varieties of English meaning that the varieties and scales used in previous research would likely have no relevance to these individuals. This topic is discussed further in Section 5.4.

The 24 varieties listed by respondents are presented in Table 5.1. For clarity and ease of comparison, the varieties are categorized according to whether they are deemed inner, outer, or expanding circle varieties of English (Section 2.2.2).

Table 5. 1: Varieties of English listed by participants

IC Variety	Number of responses	Percentage (233 respondents)	OC Variety	Number of responses	Percentage (233 respondents)	EC Variety	Number of responses	Percentage (233 respondents)
AmE	167	71.67%	PhE	30	12.87%	SaE	02	00.86%
BrE	152	65.23%	InE	16	06.87%	ChE	01	00.43%
AuE	68	29.18%	AfE	04	01.72%	EuE	01	00.43%
CaE	16	06.87%	SgE	05	02.15%	JaE	01	00.43%
NzE	06	02.58%	SeaE	05	02.15%	KoE	01	00.43%
ZaE	04	01.72%	HkE	02	00.86%	NtE	01	00.43%
IrE	03	01.29%	GhE	01	00.43%	SpE	01	00.43%
OcE	01	00.43%				VtE	01	00.43%
WaE	01	00.43%						

Participants were most aware of American English (AmE) (167 / 71.67%) followed by British English (BrE) (152 / 65.23%). These two varieties accounted for almost two-thirds of all responses listed. Australian English (AuE) was the third most listed variety, but it was recorded significantly less (29.18% / 68). Philippine English (PhE), an OC variety, was the fourth most salient variety, but was only listed by 12.87% of respondents (30 comments). CaE (IC) and Indian English (InE) (OC) were each listed by 6.87% of respondents (16

comments). The remaining 17 varieties were listed eight times or fewer, with 11 of the varieties only being listed once. When looking at the total number of responses of the stated varieties according to their position in Kachru's (1985) Concentric Circles model, IC varieties are most prominent. However, AmE and BrE are by far the most salient. OC varieties had some recognition, but EC varieties appeared to be much less known or acknowledged. However, despite the total number of EC Englishes being low, there were more specific varieties listed from this circle than the OC. Therefore, there is some awareness of EC Englishes among the respondents.

Looking at the varieties according to their respective circles as listed by the 180 participants who were able to state at least one variety of English (Table 5.2), further differences are apparent. Almost all respondents were able to list AmE or BrE, or both varieties (99.44%), but only 42.28% were able to list an IC variety other than AmE and BrE. Awareness of OC Englishes was even lower as only 29.22% were able to list an English from this circle. EC Englishes were listed by just 5.00% of respondents. These results demonstrate an almost complete awareness of AmE and BrE, but this awareness declines considerably moving away from the centre of the Concentric Circles model.

Table 5. 2: Varieties of English listed by participants – Concentric Circles model

Varieties	Total = 180 (100%)
AmE and BrE	179 (99.44%)
Inner circle Englishes excluding AmE and BrE	77 (42.28%)
Outer circle Englishes	53 (29.44%)
Expanding circle Englishes	09 (05.00%)

5.1.1 Elicited varieties from the inner circle

AmE being the most salient variety is unsurprising due to the USA's role in the world (Section 2.1.1), its involvement in South Korea (Section 2.3.1), and the predominant use of American English and culture in study materials (Section 2.3.2.1). The majority of respondents were also aware of BrE even though the variety has not been commonly taught in Korea. The historical use of BrE as one of the main varieties of English globally (Section 2.2.1) and the increasing distribution of British media in traditional and new forms in Korea (Sections 2.3.5 and 7.2.1.4) may be reasons for the variety's salience. AuE was acknowledged as a variety much less than AmE and BrE indicating less familiarity with the variety. However, CaE and New Zealand English (NzE) appear to be much less salient varieties to the participants in this study. The particularly low numbers of responses may seem somewhat surprising due to Canada and New Zealand being well-known English speaking countries, home to a growing number of Korean expatriates and students who choose to study abroad, and English teachers from these two countries are relatively common in Korea. However, Canadian English is thought to be rarely mentioned in Korea (Yook & Lindemann, 2013, p.291) and NzE is also unlikely to be commonly referred to. South African (ZaE), Irish (IrE) and Welsh (WaE) Englishes were also listed, but the very small number of responses indicates these varieties are only known by very few people. The low number of participants stating ZaE and IrE is again of interest as these nations are also part of the group of seven nations that can obtain a working visa to teach conversational English in South Korea (Section 2.3.2). However, the low awareness of IrE replicates findings by Ahn and Kang (2017) (Section 2.6.3). This suggests that IrE is not well known in Korea.

Focusing on the five most salient IC varieties (AmE, BrE, AuE, CaE, NzE) listed in this research. There appears to be similarities with other keyword studies conducted in China

and Japan by Garrett (2009), Evans (2010), and Evans and Imai (2011) (Section 2.6.2). These studies all found AmE to be the most salient variety closely followed by BrE, except in Garrett's (2009) study where 100% of Chinese participants listed both AmE and BrE as varieties of English. AuE and CaE were generally found to be the third and fourth most listed varieties, and NzE was most commonly the least listed. While there is similarity between the saliency of the varieties, the percentages of respondents listing these IC varieties of English in this study are much lower. A possible reason is that the other studies asked individuals to list countries where English is spoken as a native language. Participants in this study were asked to name varieties of English they were aware of. Thus, it may be possible that respondents in this research were aware that English is spoken in the five countries listed above, as well as other locations, but they are less aware of different varieties being used in each location.

5.1.2 Elicited varieties from the outer circle

PhE was the most listed OC variety. The Philippines is popular as a Korean vacation destination and for language study due to its relative proximity to the Korean peninsula and cheaper costs than studying in IC nations (Section 2.3.3). This potential familiarity may explain the higher number of responses compared to some IC varieties. Indian English received 16 responses indicating that the variety is not very salient. This low number of responses when InE may be one of the most spoken varieties of English in the world (Graddol, 2010, p.66) suggests that most young Korean adults in this study are not aware of the variety or choose not to acknowledge it. However, InE is more salient than some IC Englishes. Continuing with Asian varieties of English, Singapore (SgE) (5), Southeast Asia (SeaE) (5), Hong Kong (HkE) (2) were also stated. The low awareness of these varieties is also of interest due to Korea's proximity to these nations and their popularity as tourist destinations for Korean citizens. Furthermore, English is one of the official languages in

both Singapore and Hong Kong and commonly used in a number of Southeast Asian countries. Finally, five participants were aware of English being used in Africa. Four of these participants generalised all Englishes spoken as 'African English' (AfE), while one individual stated knowledge of Ghanaian English (GhE). The overall level of awareness indicates that most respondents know little about OC Englishes other than PhE and InE or do not acknowledge these varieties despite being viewed as legitimate by many World Englishes scholars (Song, 2016).

5.1.3 Elicited varieties from the expanding circle

Awareness of EC varieties was very low. As previously mentioned in Section 5.1, with the exception of South American English (SaE), each EC variety was listed a single time. Netherlands English (NtE) and Spanish English (SpE) were listed, while one respondent labelled all English in Europe as European English (EuE). Asian varieties of English from China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam were also mentioned. Such low numbers are again worth consideration. First, despite most speakers of English in the world being thought to be from the EC, in particular China (Crystal, 2008), the vast majority of respondents were not aware of or did not acknowledge these varieties of English. In the context of this study, KoE only being stated once is important. There has been a growing interest in Korean English by language researchers, with many believing that KoE is a variety (Section 2.3.7). Such a belief, however, does not appear to be shared by the Korean non-language specialists in this study. (The reasons why KoE was not desired as a variety of English is investigated in Section 7.3).

All varieties of English listed in this study are of course generalisations as they do not acknowledge the significant differences in the way that English is spoken in each locale and at the individual level, but there appears to be a tendency among some participants to generalise less salient varieties across parts of or whole continents (African English, South

American English, European English, Southeast Asian English). These less salient varieties are likely subject to such overgeneralization due to a lack of familiarity. Limited understanding of intergroup differences may mean that different regions and countries are grouped together as whole continents as more specific identity groupings are not accessible. Introducing and discussing OEC varieties in the EFL classroom may be help to increase awareness of these Englishes (Section 8.2).

5.1.4 Elicited varieties according to gender

The varieties listed according to gender (Table 5.3).

Table 5. 3: Varieties of English listed according to gender

IC Variety	Females (118)	Males (115)	OC Variety	Females (118)	Males (115)	EC Variety	Females (118)	Males (115)
AmE	84 (71.87%)	83 (72.17%)	PhE	18 (15.25%)	12 (10.43%)	ChE	01 (00.84%)	00 (00.00%)
BrE	77 (65.25%)	75 (65.22%)	InE	08 (06.78%)	08 (06.96%)	EuE	01 (00.84%)	00 (00.00%)
AuE	32 (27.12%)	36 (31.30%)	AfE	02 (01.69%)	02 (01.74%)	JaE	00 (00.00%)	01 (00.87%)
CaE	10 (08.47%)	06 (05.22%)	SgE	03 (02.85%)	02 (01.74%)	KoE	01 (00.84%)	00 (00.00%)
NzE	05 (04.24%)	01 (00.87%)	SeaE	04 (03.39%)	02 (01.74%)	NtE	00 (00.00%)	01 (00.00%)
ZaE	00 (00.00%)	04 (03.48%)	HkE	00 (00.00%)	02 (01.74%)	SaE	01 (00.84%)	01 (00.87%)
IrE	03 (02.54%)	00 (00.00%)	GhE	00 (00.00%)	01 (00.87%)	SpE	00 (00.00%)	01 (00.87%)
OcE	01 (00.85%)	01 (00.87%)				VtE	01 (00.84%)	00 (00.00%)
WaE	1 (00.85%)	0 (00.00%)						

The data shows that AmE and BrE were almost equally salient to both females and males. This further strengthens the idea that these two varieties are the most well-known overall to participants. Saliency of other varieties mostly differed. Looking at the IC, males were more aware of AuE and ZaE, while more females listed CaE, NzE, and IrE. One other difference was PhE (OC variety), as more females were aware of this variety. However, the

percentage differences are not large. Looking at the varieties listed as a whole, half of the varieties were only stated by either males or females. While speculative, this may suggest that the varieties listed could alter if one gender was overrepresented like much of the recent language perception research (Sections 2.6.2 and 2.6.3).

Focusing on the Englishes according to their position in Kachru's Concentric Circles model that were elicited from the 180 individuals able to list a variety of English (Table 5.4), the results are very similar between the two genders. The only notable difference, although still quite small, is more females (31.11%) than males (26.67%) were able to list an OC variety of English. This suggests that males and females have a similar overall awareness of IC, OC, and EC Englishes.

Table 5. 4: Varieties of English listed according to gender – Concentric Circles model

Varieties	Total = 180 (100%)	Females = 90 (100%)	Males = 90 (100%)
AmE and BrE	179 (99.44%)	89 (98.89%)	90 (100.00%)
Inner circle Englishes excluding AmE and BrE	76 (42.22%)	39 (43.33%)	38 (42.22%)
Outer circle Englishes	52 (28.89%)	28 (31.11%)	24 (26.67%)
Expanding circle Englishes	09 (05.00%)	05 (05.56%)	04 (04.44%)

These results are of interest as they highlight that certain varieties of English may be more salient depending on gender, but that overall awareness of IC, OC, and EC Englishes are relatively similar. The results are of importance as the majority of more recent language attitude studies have included significantly more females than males (Section 2.6). As this sample consisted of snowball and to a lesser extent convenience sampling rather than a random systematic sample, generalisability of the results is limited. However, if a gender imbalance was present in this study, the total number of elicited varieties would likely have

differed. It is difficult to speculate why certain Englishes appear to be more salient to different genders due to the numerous ways participants may have come into contact with different Englishes. As a result, further research investigating how individuals became aware of different Englishes would further assist in understanding English regard and how awareness of Englishes may be affected by global flows.

5.1.5 Section conclusion

The keyword approach has shown AmE and BrE were the most salient varieties of English among the survey sample. This correlates with previous findings that these two Englishes, and AmE in particular, are the most known in Korea (Section 2.6.3). References to other varieties of Englishes were much lower. In particular, most IC varieties lacked saliency despite individuals from these nations teaching English in Korea (Section 2.3.2). Apart from PhE, and to a certain extent InE, OC varieties were known or acknowledged by only a small number of respondents. EC varieties were stated by even fewer participants, but the total number of EC varieties was actually higher than OC varieties. Analysis according to gender also revealed that variety saliency may also differ, but that general awareness of IC, OC, and EC varieties were similar between female and male respondents.

Outside of a few IC and OC varieties, other Englishes appear to be much less known, and 18.45% of the respondents appear to be unaware of any distinct varieties of English. This finding indicates that most of the young adult participants in this survey are not aware of or do not acknowledge a wide variety of Englishes. Respondents' lack of awareness of different Englishes most likely relates to the English language teaching policies in Korea (Section 2.3.2), the focus on Western, but particularly American culture and AmE in textbooks (Section 2.3.2.1), and the preference for American teachers in private English academies (Section 2.3.2.2), which have all been influenced by the hegemony of the USA globally (Section 2.1.1) and specifically in South Korea (Section 2.3.1). As far as I am

aware, no other studies in Korea have elicited known Englishes from participants. Previous language attitude work has presented a list of varieties conceptually or a small number of varieties as part of the guise technique (Section 2.6.3). These results are an important first step in understanding English regard in the Korean context. In addition, these findings highlight that previous methods used to investigate language attitudes in Korea and potentially in other contexts where English awareness is low have lacked suitability (Sections 2.5.2 and 2.5.3). The next section investigates participants' associations with the elicited varieties.

5.2 Keywords associated with elicited varieties of English

Participants were asked to note any associations they had with the varieties they stated. (The varieties were automatically presented via question piping as explained in Section 3.5.) A total of 172 participants listed 403 comments related to 19 elicited varieties (Five varieties had no associations) (Appendix 8). The comments were then analysed for keywords using content analysis (Section 3.9). This resulted in 493 keyword tokens, which were then examined with the aim of grouping the units into broader themes (thematic units).

The analysis of the referential units was approached with an open mind in an effort to be more aware of themes that emerged. Following previous studies, keywords with lower counts were collated with other keywords that were semantically similar (Evans & Imai, 2011, p.319). The thematic units from this sample, however, were found to be a combination of units identified in previous research (Section 2.6.1). Themes related to dynamism, superiority, and social attractiveness (Zahn & Hopper, 1985), language learning and awareness of variation (Evans & Imai, 2011), and culture (Garrett, 2009) were found to be present (Appendix 8). It should be noted that this study will use the term 'status' rather than 'superiority' as it does not seem appropriate to label any variety as being more or less superior. All themes are discrete except for awareness of variation. Some of these

comments comparing varieties drew on other elements, which have been included in the other discrete themes. Overall, the grouping of the referential units in this main data collection was relatively straightforward due to the short nature of the answers. Unlike the pilot study (Section 3.7.1), cultural association comments were more numerous, so the keywords associated with culture were made a discrete theme. This solved the main categorization issue found in the pilot study.

The number of comments about the respective varieties of English, which have again been grouped according to Kachru's (1985) Concentric Circles model for clarity and comparability, are shown in Appendix 8. Most comments related to AmE (145) and BrE (137). These two varieties accounted for 71.20% of all keywords listed. In addition, the number of keyword comments for each variety is greater than the number of times each variety was listed, indicating that most respondents were able to make at least a single and sometimes multiple associations with AmE and BrE. This was not the case with the majority of other stated varieties. When removing the six varieties with the most keyword associations, the remaining 18 varieties, including the five varieties that received no comments, accounted for only 6.08% of all keywords.

Furthermore, there were 83 instances (16.94%) where no variety associations were provided (Table 5.5). Looking at the data according to the varieties' positions in Kachru's Concentric Circles model (Section 2.2.2), AmE and BrE had the lowest percentage of no associations (10.97%). The percentage of no associations increases the further away the varieties are located from the centre of the model; IC excluding AmE and BrE (25.26%), OC (29.85%), and EC (44.44%). This suggests that even when participants are aware of the existence of different Englishes, a notable number appear to have no experience or knowledge with many of the varieties listed. In relation to Preston's (2010) concept of language regard (Section 2.4.1) this indicates that these participants were able to notice

varieties but unable to classify them to form an association. The lack of association indicates the absence of an attitude. This is another important finding to better understand English regard in the Korean context. In addition to the 20% of respondents who were unable to list a variety of English (Section 5.1), individuals who did list at least one variety were often unable to make an association with the stated varieties. This lack of familiarity further suggests that the common methods of presenting traits as part of a semantic differential (Section 2.5.3) may have no relevance to a considerable proportion of the sample.

Table 5. 5: Non-associations with elicited varieties – Concentric Circles model

Type of no associations	Total number of elicited varieties	Number of no associations (%)
Overall	490	83 (16.94%)
AmE and BrE	319	35 (10.97%)
IC ex. AmE and BrE	95	24 (25.26%)
OC	67	20 (29.85%)
EC	09	04 (44.44%)

The four varieties (AmE, BrE, AuE, PhE) that accounted for the majority of the keyword comments (88.44%) are now analysed in detail. The remaining varieties' keywords are then presented in relation to their position in Kachru's Concentric Circles model where there are points of interest. This is followed by keyword responses being analysed according to gender. The section concludes by summarising and drawing together findings in comparison with other keywords research from East Asia.

5.2.1 American English

Respondents made 145 comments, which resulted in 174 keyword tokens (Table 5.6). The most common themes were dynamism (56 / 32.19%) and status (53 / 30.46%). Most dynamism comments related to American English pronunciation being soft (35). Comments

about AmE pronunciation being smooth (9) were particularly descriptive. It was labelled as feeling "…like we put some butter on it", "oily", and "like a running river". There was also reference by a small number of respondents to specific linguistic features, such as silent /t/ and postvocalic /r/ indicating some familiarity with prototypical features of AmE. While the majority of comments were positive or neutral, there were some comments stating AmE as being too fast, and one participant feeling it was overacted.

Table 5. 6: American English keyword comments

Dynamism (n=56) (32.19%)	Status (n=53) (30.46%)	Social Attractiveness (n=15) (08.62%)
Soft (35)	Free, slang, liberal (7)	friendly (2)
It feels like we put some butter on it, smooth, oily (4)	Good (3)	comfortable (5)
Fast (5)	Standard, typical, traditional, evolved legitimate, sophisticated (31)	normal, natural feeling (3)
Direct (1)	Most used (9)	cool, fun nice, fresh (4)
Neutral (1)	most commercial and rich country (1)	sounds a little airheaded (1)
A little overacted (1)	I don't know why people use USA English (1)	
prolonged sounds, rolling pronunciation, like a running river (5)	Accent (1)	
A lot of contractions (1)		
R pronunciation is featured (1)		
silent 't', silent syllables (2)		
Language learning (n=41) (23.56%)	**Awareness of variation (n=9) (05.17%)**	**Culture (n=1) (00.57%)**
Familiar, common, exposed (27)	Liberal when compared to British English (1)	We see a lot in the movies (1)
Easy to understand (7)	Different pronunciation and words (3)	
Difficult, difficult to understand (7)	Sounds similar to Canada (2)	
	Not like British English, Not too different to British English (2)	
	Prefer American to British (1)	

Almost all status themed answers were positive (53 / 30.46%). Most comments related to it being ‘sophisticated’, ‘the most typical’, ‘standard’, ‘evolved’ and ‘legitimate’. One comment stated that AmE was used by the “most commercial and rich country” indicating, for this individual at least, that economic capital (Section 2.1.3) associated with the USA and subsequently AmE is of importance. Other comments associated the variety as being ‘free and liberal’, ‘the most used’, and ‘good’. The one negative comment related to P103 not being able to understand why people use AmE. Further examination of the respondent’s answers indicated a preference for BrE.

Language learning was also a salient theme (41 / 23.56%). The majority of the associations were related to familiarity with AmE (27) as it is the variety Koreans learn and are exposed to the most. AmE was also thought to be easy to understand (7), which is likely related to familiarity. However, an equal number of participants stated that the variety was difficult to understand due to “shortened connected words”, “connected syllables” and “using their tongue too hard”. These features may also contribute to the reasons as to why some participants felt that AmE is too fast.

With regard to social attractiveness, the percentage of keywords was much lower (15 / 08.62%). Except for one comment, the variety “sounds a little airheaded”, all the responses were positive. AmE was regarded as friendly, comfortable, natural feeling, and cool. Nine comments (05.17%) were related to awareness of variation. Some respondents were aware of different pronunciation and words, while another participant noted that sometimes the words and sentences used in television shows are different to what the person learned at school and private language academies. Four comments compared AmE with other varieties. Two participants stated that AmE sounds similar to CaE, while two thought AmE was either different or similar to BrE. Additionally, there was one reference to culture as AmE was noted as the variety that is seen a lot in films.

5.2.2 British English

Participants made 137 associations with BrE. This resulted in 177 keyword tokens. Similar to AmE, status (61 / 34.46%) and dynamism (55 / 31.08%) were the most salient associations but in reverse order (Table 5.7). Most status comments identified BrE as being 'original', 'authentic', and 'traditional' (20). Furthermore, the variety was also thought to be 'classy', 'sophisticated', 'luxury', and 'used by the upper classes' (19) indicating that for these respondents BrE has a strong element of symbolic capital (Section 2.1.3) and linguistic cultural capital (Section 2.1.4). Perhaps related to tradition, six participants labelled the variety as 'formal', 'fixed', and 'strict'. Other studies have labelled semantically similar keywords with negative connotations (Garrett, 2009; Garrett et al., 2005b), however, the keywords in this study appear to relate to the perceived originality and authenticity of BrE and could be interpreted as being positive due to the symbolic capital related comments associated with the variety. The status comments in general may relate to the positive way the Korean popular media often portray Britain and British products as being high class, as well as exposure to British television shows and films, such as Harry Potter as mentioned in a cultural comment below. There were also a range of comments related to accent. While some only stated 'accent' or 'strong accent', which may have various meanings, other respondents noted that the accent is 'special' and 'unique'.

Many of the dynamism comments (55 / 31.08%) noted BrE as having a strong or hard pronunciation (38), and specific reference was made to the clear and strong /t/ sound and specifically to 'water' (9). These features are most likely in comparison to softer AmE, and the specific references to linguistic features also demonstrate awareness of prototypical features of BrE (Section 2.2.5).

Table 5. 7: British English keyword comments

Dynamism (n=55) (31.08%)	Status (n=61) (34.46%)	Social Attractiveness (n=17) (9.60%)
Hard, tough, strong, manly (38)	Original, authentic, antique, traditional (20)	Great pronunciation, good pronunciation, nice pronunciation (10)
Strong t, water, choppy (9)	Classy, sophisticated, luxury charming, chic, intelligent (19)	Friendly, gorgeous, nice, cool, clean (6)
Soft (2)	Formal, fixed, strict (6)	Too rough (1)
Clear (2)	Accent, strong accent, special accent, unique accent (14)	
Just a little intonation (1)	Sounds like a dialect (2)	
no 'r' pronunciation (1)		
nasal (2)		
Language learning (n=20) (11.30%)	**Awareness of variation (n=14) (07.91%)**	**Culture (n=11) (06.21%)**
Easy to understand (3)	Different pronunciation, different words, different dialects (3)	Gentleman (8)
Quite familiar, a little familiar exposed to recently (4)	Similar to USA (2)	Harry Potter (1)
Want to speak well (2)	Different to USA (6)	Royal people (1)
Difficult to understand, sometimes words are complicated (8)	Second most exposed after USA (2)	Philosophically educated country (1)
Pronunciation is difficult (2)	Hard pronunciation like Korean (1)	
Not familiar (1)		

Language learning (20 / 11.30%) was the only theme where BrE had more negative than positive comments. The largest subtheme related to having difficulty with BrE in some form. The variety was thought to be complicated and difficult to understand (8), as well having difficult pronunciation (2). A possible explanation for this difficulty, as noted by P6, is that Koreans are not familiar with British English. It was also noted that once learning the 'difficult /a/ pronunciation, some users of AmE will not understand' (P131). Nonetheless, other respondents thought that BrE was familiar (4) and easy to understand (3). Reasons for familiarity included learning the variety as a child, speaking to foreigners and having more exposure recently, which has likely been enabled by greater interconnectivity resulting from globalisation (Section 2.1.1). (An example of the internet enabling Koreans to become

more familiar with BrE through social media is discussed in Section 7.2.1.4.) As previous research has indicated that familiarity with a variety often leads to greater intelligibility and comprehensibility (Pickering, 2006) it would be interesting to note if the continued exposure of BrE in Korea would reduce the number of comments related to difficulty of understanding.

Social Attractiveness comments (17 / 07.91%) were mostly positive. BrE's pronunciation was thought to be 'nice', 'good' or 'great' (10), while the variety was thought of as 'friendly', 'gorgeous', and 'cool' (6). The one negative comment, however, labelled the variety as too rough. No further explanation was given, but the idea of BrE being 'too rough' may relate to a dislike for the harder sounding BrE. For example, as mentioned in the dynamism comments, 'water' in BrE may be more likely to be pronounced with a /t/ sound rather than a glottal 't' sound (ʔ) compared to AmE. It may be this harder sound that the respondent interprets as rough.

Awareness of variation (14 / 07.91%) mostly compared BrE to AmE (10). Six respondents stated that BrE and AmE are different while two individuals thought they were similar. Another two respondents also commented that BrE is the variety that they are second most exposed to after AmE. Furthermore, P54 associated BrE pronunciation to Korean (a syllable-timed language) most probably due the variety being thought to have a 'chopped' or 'hard' pronunciation compared to the softer American English. The remaining comments also noted differences. Two participants noted that BrE has different pronunciation and words. Although not stated, this is likely in comparison with AmE rather than reference to variation within British English. Only one participant commented specifically about diversity within BrE, noting that there are different dialects.

Of all the varieties listed by participants, BrE had the most cultural associations (11). The most prevalent was the stereotype of being gentlemanly (8). There was also reference to

Harry Potter and royalty, while one comment associated BrE with being a philosophically educated nation. Such references likely indicate that the British stereotypes held by these respondents relates to status, which may be reinforced by media stereotypes.

5.2.3 Australian English

Australian English received 48 comments, which produced 58 keyword tokens (Table 5.8).

Table 5. 8: Australian English keyword comments

Dynamism (n=8) (13.79%)	Status (n=12) (20.69%)	Social Attractiveness (n=3) (05.17%)
Soft (1)	Unique (4)	Nice (1)
Strong intonation (2)	Strong accent (2)	Strange (1)
Intonation is unique (1)	English which is used by all kinds of people (1)	Rough (1)
Fast (1)	Dialect (4)	
A lot of shortened words (2)	I don't understand why people use it (1)	
Vague pronunciation (1)		
Language learning (n=15) (25.86%)	**Awareness of variation (n=19) (32.76%)**	**Culture (n=1) (01.72%)**
Difficult to understand (13)	American English (4)	Beach
Not familiar (2)	British English (2)	
	USA plus UK (6)	
	New Zealand (1)	
	Different pronunciation (4)	
	Different from common English (1)	
	Stronger accent than British English (1)	

Awareness of variation accounted for almost one third of keywords (19 / 32.76%). AuE was noted as similar to AmE (4), BrE (2), NzE (1), and most commonly it was compared with both AmE (6) and BrE (6) as it was described as a mixture of the two varieties, in between, or one variety 'plus' the other variety. The overall number of associations made with AmE is

also of interest as AuE has traditionally been associated with BrE. Despite such comparisons with the two most known varieties (AmE and BrE), P35 felt that AuE was different from 'common' English. The difference between AuE and other Englishes (the participant also listed AmE and BrE) was thought to be like the difference between Standard Korean and Korean dialects indicating it is likely the respondent views AuE as less prestigious than AmE and BrE.

The language learning theme (15 / 25.86%) contained AuE's most numerous token; difficulty of understanding (13). Being unfamiliar (2), as well as keywords in dynamism, status, and social attractiveness themes, such as shortened words (2), vague pronunciation (1), fast (1), dialect (4), strange (1), and rough (1) may indicate difficulties or negative feelings towards AuE. 'Nice' and 'unique' appear to be the only overtly positive tokens.

Overall, AuE comments tended to compare the variety with AmE or BrE as being similar or different. The majority of comments also appear to be negative with the most prominent subtheme considering AuE difficult to understand. While there is some awareness of the variety, no specific variety features are present beyond AuE being thought to have a strong pronunciation.

5.2.4 Philippine English

Participants made 22 comments about Philippine English and this resulted in 27 keyword tokens (Table 5.9). The tokens, however, were more evenly spread across the themes compared to other varieties. Regarding variation (6 / 22.22%), the variety was noted as being different from BrE and AmE (3), while one person felt it is similar to AmE. Another participant felt that the pronunciation of PhE contained a lot of Tagalog. Furthermore, status themed comments (6 / 22.22%) labelled PhE as a dialect with 'inarticulate pronunciation', 'feeling a little poor', and being 'colonized English'. Such statements indicate that the variety

lacks status. Comments related to dynamism (6 / 22.22%) noted the linguistic features of 't sounds like double d', 'splashing pronunciation', and 'up and down intonation' may explain such feelings. These associations may also explain why the variety was labelled as difficult to understand (4). Only two comments were overtly positive: joy and fun. As no other details were given it is not possible to know why such attitudes are held. Nonetheless, PhE only appears to be socially attractive to these two individuals. These comparisons suggest that PhE is viewed negatively overall.

Table 5. 9: Philippine English keyword comments

Dynamism (n=6) (22.22%)	Status (n=6) (22.22%)	Social Attractiveness (n= 3) (11.11%)
Strong, strong sounds (2)	Unique (1)	Joy (1)
Up and down intonation (1)	Dialect (2)	Fun (1)
T sounds like double d (1)	Not good pronunciation, inarticulate pronunciation (2)	Strange (1)
Splashing pronunciation (2)	Feels a little poor (1)	

Language learning (n=5) (18.51%)	Awareness of variation (n=6) (22.22%)	Culture (n=1) (3.70%)
Difficult to understand (4)	Feels much like American English (1)	Colonized English (1)
We have to learn this in the Philippines (1)	Pronunciation with a lot of Tagalog (1)	
	Different from British and American English (3)	
	Pronunciation is different (1)	

5.2.5 Other varieties of English

The low number of keywords associated with the remaining varieties prevents detailed analysis. As a result, this section will examine the remaining varieties where there are comments of interest. Looking at IC varieties, Canadian English had only 14 tokens. The

most common themes were awareness of variation (CaE was viewed as similar or the same as AmE) (5) and the number of no comments or 'don't knows' (5). However, P62 did note that CaE's 'r sound is strong'. Except for AmE, BrE, and PhE, this was the only other elicitation of a variety's prototypical features. Overall, these data further suggest CaE lacks identity in Korea even by the small number of participants who listed CaE as a variety of English (Section 5.1.1). The keywords related to NzE (6) covered a number of themes, including being thought slow, strict, compared to AuE, as well as 'native' and having a good education system. IrE was thought to have a strong accent (1) and to have an accent similar to BrE (1). Such a comparison seems uncommon and one that users of IrE would likely reject. However, as no further information was provided it is not possible to know why the respondent had this opinion. ZaE was labelled as tough (1) and feeling like a dialect of English (1). While it is not clear what 'tough' means or if it is positive or negative in term of evaluation, ZaE being thought of as a dialect of English indicates a negative association with the variety.

With reference to OC varieties, InE (13 tokens) was characterised as a dialect with a strong and different accent. P227 felt that it "sounds like it is being squashed." While P109 felt that InE could be understood by people that know English, it was also stated that it was really difficult to understand, and P286 noted that she didn't understand an Indian film (All is Well) she watched. Overall, the tokens related to InE are negative, indicating that the respondents appear to not value the variety. Additionally, six of the sixteen participants who listed InE as a variety of English did not make any associations meaning that they likely had no specific knowledge of the variety. The reference to an Indian movie, however, is of interest as it is an example of Apadurai's mediascapes, technoscapes, and ideoscapes (Section 2.1.1) enabling a Korean citizen in South Korea to watch a foreign film, which

would not have been possible before neoliberal forces opened up Korean entertainment industries (Section 2.3.5).

African English was noted as English that has become fixed because of colonialization by P79, while P35 stated that it is like Standard Korean and Jeju Island dialect (Standard Korean is the prestige variety in South Korea. Jeju Island is located south of the Korean peninsula and is known for having a dialect that is often unintelligible to many mainland Korean citizens). Thus, the individual appears to be stating that AfE is unintelligible compared to 'Standard' English. Reference was also made to SgE (4 tokens). Comments included the variety being mixed with Chinese, so it is hard to understand and doesn't seem like English. HkE (2) was labelled as being similar to BrE, as well as being a 'language made in the colonial period'. Associations made with these OC varieties were either non-evaluative or negative.

Each EC variety had one comment at most. JaE was judged to be "very unique because they changed it themselves", while Vietnamese English (VtE) was noted as "feels like Asians speaking English." Englishes in Europe included the Netherlands (NtE) and Spanish Englishes (SpE). NtE elicited a cultural reference; free country, and the individual who listed SpE could not understand the variety. As EC varieties of English were listed few times (Section 5.1), expectedly the keywords are also low in number. These results suggest that only a very small minority are aware of or acknowledge EC Englishes and even fewer are able to make associations with the varieties. A reason for this as written by P28 is that while he knew there were other varieties of English besides American and British Englishes, he had never heard any of them. This may be the case for other participants too.

Ten participants provided twelve general comments unrelated to specific varieties of English in Section 5.1. These comments are now briefly analysed. A number of comments

stated that the varieties of English differed in pronunciation, intonation, accent and grammar according to place and culture (7). This led to confusion and the varieties sounding like different languages. Two respondents wished English to become integrated into one variety to stop the confusion and because they are the same language. Three other participants acknowledged that although there are differences in the varieties of English, the root is the same and communication is not difficult. While it is not clear if these respondents were aware of different English varieties, the comments indicate that most of this small group were aware of differences in the English language.

In general, the results from this section indicate that most participants who listed varieties of English were able to form an association with AmE and BrE. Furthermore, most of these associations were positive. The number of associations made with other varieties was lower and tended to be more negative. Therefore, outside of the linguistic hegemony of AmE and BrE, most Englishes do not appear to have linguistic capital (Section 2.1.4). It was also evident that a considerable number of associations were non-evaluative. These responses included prototypical language features, varieties being considered similar or different to other varieties, and some cultural references. Such responses potentially indicate an absence of attitudes. This is another finding that calls attention to potential issues with common language attitude research methods (Sections 2.5.2 and 2.5.3).

5.2.6 Keyword associations according to gender

The total number of keywords according to theme are analysed first to reveal any possible quantitative trends. The keywords in each theme are then analysed qualitatively to determine if gender may have had any bearing on the associations made with the stated varieties of English. Only the three most commented varieties (AmE, BrE, and AuE) are looked at qualitatively due to these varieties being almost equally split between female and

male participants, and the remaining varieties having insufficient keywords to allow adequate comparison.

Dynamism and status were the two most salient themes (Table 5.10). However, a higher percentage of females listed dynamism and more males listed status comments. One other notable difference was language learning. This theme appears to be more salient for females (20.08%) than males (16.10%). The remaining themes are similar as percentages. In addition, other than status and dynamism, the remaining themes have the same order of saliency for both genders. While only speculation due to a lack of comparable data from other studies, this may suggest that there is an order of saliency according to theme irrespective of gender. Further research is needed to determine if this finding is replicable.

Table 5. 10: Keyword themes according to gender

Gender	Dynamism	Status	Social attractiveness	Language learning	Awareness of variation	Culture
Female	70 (27.56%)	69 (27.16%)	19 (07.48%)	51 (20.08%)	34 (13.39%)	11 (04.33%)
Male	61 (25.84%)	75 (31.78%)	21 (08.90%)	38 (16.10%)	29 (12.29%)	12 (05.84%)

Looking at the comments qualitatively, AmE's status keywords indicated that females commented more about the variety being 'free', while males were much more likely to associate AmE with being 'standard' or 'typical'. Under the theme of social attractiveness, although similar in number, more females commented about the variety being comfortable, while only males noted AmE as being 'cool' or 'fresh'.

Status keywords related to BrE highlighted some differences. Only females noted the variety being 'formal'. More females also commented about the variety being traditional, while males commented on the variety being more sophisticated. Females also noted that BrE has 'nice' pronunciation while more males associated the variety with a 'special' or 'unique' accent.

An interesting difference among AuE's awareness of variation emerged. Males only made associations about the similarities to AmE and BrE or being a mixture of both, while females made more comments about the variety being different from the above varieties or different from 'common' English in general.

Of the 12 general comments, two were listed by females and ten by males. The two females stated that they wished there was one united variety of English, and the males commented on the differences and similarities of English varieties. This number of comments is too small to draw any definite conclusions about the qualitative elements of their responses, but it does highlight that an open-ended survey format or at least open-ended questions are needed to allow individuals to comment more freely. Had the questions been closed, this data would likely not have been provided. As it was mostly males who made these general comments, and it is this gender that is usually underrepresented in language regard research, a format that allows more personal responses may encourage survey completion.

While there appear to be no definitive overall patterns according to gender, the saliency of themes associated with varieties may differ according to gender, and within these themes, specific keyword associations may differ in certain instances. Such data, while not proven statistically, merit further investigation to determine if results are repeated or other findings emerge. One point of interest was more females labelling AmE as 'free' and BrE as 'formal'. While these associations are quite common and have been reported before (Garrett, 2009), they have been reported as general results. However, as most of these studies have contained a disproportionate number of females, the findings from this research with a well-balanced gender ratio indicate that females are more likely to make these associations. This suggests that previous results may be gender biased and further supports the idea that

analysis of results according to gender can provide greater insight into understanding language regard in specific contexts.

5.2.7 Section conclusion

The data has shown the variety associations respondents are able to make differ considerably in both number and type. AmE and BrE are the most salient to participants in this study. These findings are similar to other keyword research in East Asia (Evans, 2010; Evans & Imai, 2011; Garrett, 2009). Among the reported themes, dynamism and status were the most prominent with AmE receiving more dynamism associations and BrE having more status associations. These themes being most numerous differ from other keyword studies in East Asia. While Evans's (2010) research in China found the most salient theme to be status, Evans and Imai's (2011) Japanese study found the themes of language learning being most associated with AmE and social attractiveness being most associated with BrE. Thus, it is possible that different associative themes are more salient in different contexts. Additionally, in this study, both varieties received a lower number of social attractiveness associations, but similar to Garrett's (2009) keyword language attitudes study of Japanese and Chinese young adults nearly all associations were positive. This differs somewhat from the general understanding where varieties that are seen as being superior usually lacking social attractiveness and vice versa (Garrett, 2010a) (Section 2.6.1). However, these Englishes as viewed by foreign learners of the language may be seen as external standards to their own standard language ideologies (Garrett, 2009). The general lack of negative comments across the themes may relate to the symbolic capital inherent in the cultural, economic, and social capital (Section 2.1.3) associated with these two Englishes in Korea and particularly the USA's geopolitical power (Section 2.1.1).

AmE and BrE were also the only varieties that prompted multiple associations of prototypical linguistic features. The awareness of third-order indexicals (Section 2.2.5) most

likely relates to the general familiarity with both varieties. Similar to other keyword research in East Asia, but with the exception of BrE, there was a lack of cultural references. Within this sample, the 'gentleman' stereotype appears to be strongly associated with Britain, and may also explain the high number of status comments. While participants may be exposed to BrE, it is most likely that this exposure is through teaching materials and the media in particular. The popular British characters in Korea, such as characters from the Kingsman films, Sherlock Holmes, and Harry Potter often speak a variety of English which can be classed as RP or EE rather than the many other varieties. As BrE appears to be enregistered as a prestige variety of English, this may perpetuate the idea of BrE being gentlemanly and superior.

Other IC varieties had a lower percentage of associations, and there was a tendency for the associations to be more negative in most cases. CaE was an exception regarding the negativity, but it did have the most no comments or 'don't knows' as a percentage and the most numerous token was comparison with other varieties, which further indicates that the variety lacks identity and a defined stereotype (Section 5.1). Similarly, OEC varieties had a higher percentage of no comments, and comments that were provided tended to be more negative.

The results have also highlighted the potential for gender to affect the associations that are made with different varieties. While the data are quite similar quantitatively, some differences were found when analysing the responses qualitatively. Although these results are far from conclusive, they do indicate the need to pay more attention to achieving a better gender balance in survey samples, as well as highlighting that caution should be taken when interpreting generalised results from previous research where one gender formed most of the sample.

These findings build on the variety awareness results in Section 5.1 and further highlight potential issues with the reliance on guise techniques and semantic differentials (Section 2.5.3) used in previous language attitude studies in Korea (Section 2.6.3), East Asia (Section 2.6.2), and many other contexts. A considerable number of participants appear to be unable to make associations with known varieties of English. Furthermore, when associations have been made, many were non-evaluative. This suggests that attitudes may not be present in many cases. This point is discussed in more detail in Section 5.4.

Overall, AmE and BrE accounted for almost two-thirds of listed varieties (Section 5.1) and 89% of participants who listed these Englishes were able to make an association with the two varieties (Section 5.2). Furthermore, the keyword responses suggested that AmE and BrE were more familiar to participants and had higher status. To understand these results in more detail, participants in the second phase of data collection (Appendices 3 and 4) were asked why they thought AmE and BrE were predominately selected as known Englishes. The results are presented in the next section.

5.3 Reasons American and British Englishes were the most known varieties

Participants in the follow-up survey (Appendices 3 and 4) were asked to list any reasons why awareness of different Englishes was predominantly limited to AmE and BrE. It was considered unlikely that a non-linguist would have previously considered in detail why AmE and BrE are the most known varieties in Korea, so options were provided to assist participants. As ‘familiarity’ and ‘status’ formed the majority of responses in the first survey (Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2), these themes were used to form the basis of the options; *not being aware of other varieties of English* and *other Englishes not being viewed as real English*. The option ‘*Other*’ was also included to allow individuals to provide alternative reasons. Participants were then asked to provide details about their choices. The first part of this question was answered by all 76 participants (38 females and 38 males).

The most common reason why AmE and BrE were thought to have been selected was due to participants being unaware of other varieties of English (61.84%) followed by other varieties not being accepted as real English (32.90%) (Table 5.11). A minority of participants listed other reasons (05.26%). Therefore, a lack of awareness rather than lack of acknowledgement appears to be the primary reason that other varieties were not elicited.

Table 5. 11: Reasons AmE and BrE were mostly chosen

Question options	Participants (76 / 100%)
Not aware of other varieties of English	47 (61.84%)
Other varieties are not real English	25 (32.90%)
Other	04 (05.26%)

Using content analysis (Section 3.9), 78 keyword tokens were counted, which were then thematically analysed. The responses, however, did not discretely match the three question options. Instead, the three themes of familiarity, language learning, and status were found present across the three options. This suggested a more interrelated link between variety and variety awareness. To better understand the responses, as well as reduce thematic repetition in each section, responses have been placed into three discrete themes regardless of the option originally chosen. The three themes are shown in Table 5.12.

Table 5. 12: Thematic reasons AmE and BrE were mostly chosen

Options	Familiarity	Status	Language learning
	42 (53.84%)	18 (23.08%)	18 (23.08%)

After combining the responses according to theme, familiarity (42 / 53.84%) is the most salient reason explaining why AmE and BrE were most listed. Language learning (18 / 23.08%) and status (18 / 23.08%) were also thought to explain variety awareness. The addition of language learning and decrease in percentage of familiarity and status

responses compared to the original question (Table 5.11) further suggest a more complex interrelated relationship. The qualitative responses are now examined.

5.3.1 Qualitative analysis of participant responses according to theme

The three themes (familiarity, language learning, and status) are now analysed. While there is still crossover in some of the responses, they are reviewed separately at this stage for clarity.

5.3.1.1 Familiarity

Familiarity was the most prominent theme (42 / 53.84%) (Table 5.13). The largest group of comments (24) related to not knowing many varieties of English other than AmE and BrE. Example comments included being unaware that varieties other than AmE and BrE exist (P17A), knowing there are not many different varieties of English (P22A), and only intonation and pronunciation being different rather than there being different varieties of English (P55A). A possible explanation for this lack of awareness was provided by P39A, who noted there was no perception of the differences in varieties and gave the example that “Filipinos speak English, but Koreans never think that the Philippines is an English speaking country”. In addition, two participants compared knowledge of varieties of English with varieties of Korean. P19A commented on there being many Korean dialects but it feels like only a few remain, which he compared to people’s stereotype of thinking that AmE and BrE are the only varieties of English. Similarly, P51A noted that there are many different Korean varieties, but people do not distinguish them all, which he compared to people not being able to recognise different varieties of English or not being aware of them. This suggests that other than AmE and BrE, individuals have difficulty differentiating varieties of English and are either unaware or do not believe there are other varieties of English.

Table 5. 13: Reasons AmE and BrE were most chosen varieties – Familiarity

Familiarity (n=42) (53.84%)
Not many people know about the varieties of English ♦ We don't know many varieties of English ♦ I am not aware of many varieties of English ♦ We haven't heard people speak different varieties (17)
Many other countries use English but people do not include those countries when asked the varieties of English ♦ The other varieties, such as South African English are difficult to be exposed to ♦ There will be many different varieties of English, but people only write down the things they know well, it is like Korean dialect (7)
We don't have many chances to contact the different varieties of English ♦ It's not easy to be exposed to the minor varieties of English ♦ There is a limit to contact English varieties easily (8)
American English and British English are varieties that are spread broadly ♦ The most people use American English and British English ♦ People have a lack of experience with other cultures ♦ People are not interested in other cultures much (7)
It is not easy to meet people who speak English in Korea, so people contact English more through American and British television shows ♦ The exposure to mass media is quite low (3)

Another potential reason for unfamiliarity with other Englishes was a lack of exposure (15). Reasons included not having many chances to contact or be exposed to those countries' Englishes due to living in Asia (P29A) and not having contact with other varieties of English unless travelling to different countries (P13A). In addition, P23A stated that varieties other than AmE and BrE were not used much. As a result, other varieties were not well known nor considered "mainstream" (P74A), which corresponds with the findings in Sections 5.1 (variety awareness) and 5.2 (variety associations). Limited reference was made to other varieties. Of the six stated varieties or countries (Philippines, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, and India) only IC and OC varieties were mentioned. This again indicates a lack of awareness of EC varieties in particular, but also most IC and OC varieties.

The lack of exposure to other varieties can also be explained by the widespread usage of AmE and BrE (7). The varieties were thought to have spread broadly (P4A) and be used by the most people (P20A) and in public places (P34A). More specifically, P48A thought that

English was used by “Western people”, which he described as “white, sometimes black, high nose, different eye colour”. This comment indicates that a stereotype of what an English speaker is thought to be still exists in some cases and parallels the common hiring practices of English language instructors in South Korea. (Section 2.3.2.2). Such a belief may possibly be partly explained by cultural unfamiliarity, which indicated an absence of knowledge about other cultures due to lack of experience (P1A), lack of information (P62A) and lack of interest (P61A). Comments about the media (3) also appear to be related to experience. P70A felt that due to it being difficult to meet English speakers in Korea, individuals were able to come into contact with AmE and BrE via television shows. Furthermore, individuals who view a wider variety of media were thought to know more varieties. However, P27A believed that exposure to English mass media is quite low. These latter comments have similarities with Lee and Lee (2019) who found that perceptions of Englishes were affected by how digital learning was used (Section 2.6.3).

5.3.1.2 Status

Status comments (18 / 23.08%) (Table 5.14) revealed that AmE and BrE were seen as the two main varieties of English (7). These varieties were deemed to be ‘real English’ (P64A), while other varieties were viewed as ‘not real’ English (P43A), ‘dialects’ (P53A), and even ‘third world languages’ (P9A), although this last idea was viewed as wrong by the respondent.

Reasons for such beliefs likely relate to power (5) and origin (4). The USA and UK were viewed as the most powerful and influential English speaking countries. The USA was viewed as more powerful and AmE was thought to be used more widely, but Britain was viewed as the ‘root’ of English, so it cannot be ignored (P52A). Other origin related comments viewed AmE and BrE as the ‘original’ Englishes. P41A stated that excluding colonisation and cultural influence, the USA and Britain were the only countries that use

English as their mother tongues. For P8A, the importance of originality meant the USA and UK were noted as being the "representative study abroad programme". This comment matches findings by Lee (2016) who found that the USA and UK were the most desirable study abroad locations among parents of young learners due to prestige (Section 2.3.3).

Table 5. 14: Reasons AmE and BrE were most chosen varieties – Status

Status (n=18) (23.08%)
American English and British English are the two main ones, so we don't think the English spoken in other countries are mainstream English ♦ I think American English and British English are English ♦ Formal English is American English and British English (7)
The other countries are not big, so we don't know much about the countries ♦ America and England are the most influential and powerful countries ♦ There is no specific reason, but the most powerful countries ♦ The two most powerful English speaking countries are American and Britain (5)
The origin of English is one, but they divide them and people think there are British English and American English so the power of the country is important ♦ The origin of English is from England, so they think it is the main English. People feel that the others are treated like Konglish (4)
People think it is helpful for your success when you learn the most powerful country's English ♦ East Asian culture, people tend to focus on pronunciation, so people think that when you speak American English or British English, you speak good English (2)

References were also made to other varieties; PhE and InE were not thought to be original or 'mainstream' and Russian and Korean Englishes are "not even treated as imitations of English" (P75A). Furthermore, P58A felt non AmE or BrE varieties were treated as Konglish (Section 2.3.7). This suggests Konglish lacks status meaning other varieties are also not thought to be valued. Other varieties of English (Canada, Australia, Ireland, Indian, Philippines) were acknowledged by P76A, but it was felt that these nations were not as influential as the USA and UK. Linked to power and origin were the benefits of learning AmE or BrE (2). It was thought to be helpful to an individual's success when learning the most powerful country's [USA] English (P26A) and as pronunciation was thought to be the focus in East Asia, people think that a person who speaks AmE or BrE speaks good English (P75A).

5.3.1.3 Language learning

Language learning (18 / 23.08%) (Table 5.15), although interconnected with familiarity, is presented here as a separate theme.

Table 5. 15: Reasons AmE and BrE were most chosen varieties – Language learning

Language learning (n=18) (23.08%)
In Korea we learn English from elementary school, and we learn there are two big varieties of English – American and British ♦ When we are educated in Korea, only American English and British English are the main mother tongue English, ♦ This general English is American English since we have been exposed so far (10)
Our regular education listening part is also native American pronunciation ♦ Normally we use American English and British English for tests (TOEIC) (4)
When you learn the representative English, the other language which is derived from it is not difficult to learn ♦ It will be complicated for people to learn all different types of English, so learn the most representative type of (4)

The most common subtheme was only being exposed to either AmE or both AmE and BrE when being taught in school (10). P2A stated that "we learn there are two big varieties of English – American and British" and P62A noted that "people are educated in American English in Korea and we are familiar with it". In addition, P15A believed that there was no education about English origins, history or varieties and P28A felt that there was not enough explanation about "minor" varieties of English. A potential reason highlighted by four participants for the focus on AmE and BrE was the listening sections of standardised English tests. The use of these varieties in language assessment likely continues the cycle of attempting to mimic these varieties (Section 2.2.7), as well as help perpetuate native-speakerism (Section 2.3.2).

Other comments related to practicalities of language learning (5). It was believed to be better to learn the 'representative English' as it will be too complicated to learn all the different types of English (P65A). Additionally, by learning AmE or BrE it would be easier to learn 'the other language' derived from it (P36A). Lastly, it was deemed helpful to learn the

English that many people use in the specific country (P11A and P60A). These latter comments likely refer to other imagined globalised citizens rather than the majority of English users around the world who do not use AmE or BrE (Section 2.2.2), but also highlight the socioeconomic realities of learning these varieties, which are often labelled as 'Standard English', as they have the desired symbolic capital (Section 2.1.3) that may be needed for employment or emigration (Baratta, 2019).

5.3.1.4 Analysis of responses according to gender

Analysis of the data according to gender indicates that results again differed (Table 5.16). Familiarity with AmE and BrE or a lack of familiarity with other Englishes was the most prominent theme for both genders, but it was particularly salient for females (63.16%) compared to males (47.37%). Language learning was also more prominent for females (28.95%) than males (18.42%). However, more males (28.95%) than females (18.42%) attributed status to the reasons the two varieties were most selected. This finding is in line with males making more status comments when providing variety associations in Section 5.2.6.

Table 5. 16: Thematic reasons AmE and BrE were mostly chosen according to gender

Options	Familiarity		Status		Language learning	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
	24 (63.16%)	18 (47.37%)	7 (18.42%)	11 (28.95%)	11 (28.95%)	7 (18.42%)

Qualitative analysis also revealed gender differences. Looking at responses related to familiarity, females (14) made more comments than males (4) about not knowing many varieties of English, while more males (4) than females (2) commented on limited contact with other varieties of English. Examination of status comments showed only males made specific reference to power (2) or being perceived as a successful or a good speaker of

English when using AmE or BrE (2). In addition, only males (4) made usage comments related to AmE and BrE being more widely spread and used.

Overall, the survey sample in this stage of data collection is relatively small, but there appears to be a pattern of females specifically commenting on being unfamiliar with many varieties of English, while males made more comments related to power and status. These gender findings are broadly in line with the overall gender associations made with varieties (Section 5.2.6) and desirable varieties of English (Section 7.1.1.7). While caution is needed, it does appear that certain themes related to English variety awareness may be more likely to be associated with a specific gender.

5.3.2 Section conclusion

The data from the second phase of the study has provided a more detailed insight into reasons why AmE and BrE were the most known and stated varieties of English. The most common reason was a lack of familiarity with other varieties due to insufficient exposure, or if there was awareness of other varieties, they were not thought to be included as mainstream Englishes due to a lack of status. The language learning comments also help explain the lack of exposure. AmE and BrE were the varieties taught in schools, and other varieties were not introduced or explained. A possible reason is the focus on listening sections of standardised tests. For some individuals it was also thought desirable to learn AmE and BrE as it is less complicated, more helpful, and appropriate to learn the language as it is used by those who use English as their primary language. Status comments suggest that non AmE or BrE varieties are often not considered real English even if they are IC varieties. This may be due to the USA and UK being considered the most powerful English speaking countries and the origins of English. Furthermore, criticism of varieties became stronger the farther away they were from the centre of Kachru's Concentric Circles model.

Analysis of the data according to gender showed that more females were unaware of different varieties of English, while more males did not accept varieties other than AmE and BrE as English. When looking at the responses according to theme only, females considered BrE and AmE to be more familiar in general and as a result of English teaching, while males were more focused on the status of the varieties. Qualitative analysis showed that more females stated that they lacked awareness of different Englishes, while more males commented about power and widespread use. Although caution is needed due to the small sample size, the results again suggest that reasons why certain Englishes are known or are acknowledged may differ according to gender.

The reasons for the high awareness levels of AmE and BrE are likely interrelated. Status, while not the most prominent theme, is likely fundamental in affecting familiarity and language learning themes. The role of the USA in Korea's modern history (Section 2.3.1) and the educational policies instituted by various Korean governments based on American hegemony (Section 2.3.2) have most likely affected the Englishes that Koreans have been exposed to, which in turn have affected respondents' familiarity in general and in Korean EFL. These findings in conjunction with variety awareness (Section 5.1) and variety associations (Section 5.2) are now discussed.

5.4 Discussion

Research Question One investigated awareness of different varieties of English. The findings showed that AmE and BrE were the most well-known Englishes. This is congruent with previous studies from East Asia and Korea (Sections 2.6.2 and 2.6.3). Other varieties from all three positions in Kachru's Concentric Circles model appear to be much less known. Overall, 18.45% of participants were unable to list any variety of English and only 42.28% of respondents were able to list a variety of English other than AmE and BrE. This indicates a lack of English variety awareness among the survey sample.

Comparing the awareness of OEC varieties with other studies in East Asia and IC, OC, and EC with previous Korean studies, however, is problematic. The keyword method appears to previously only have been used to assess awareness of English as a native language and does not appear to have been used in Korea where studies have generally presented varieties in guise or conceptual form (Section 2.6.3). With regard to IC variety awareness (AmE, AuE, BrE, CaE, NzE) with keyword studies from China and Japan (Section 2.6.2), AmE and BrE were again the most well-known but the awareness differed. Only 72% of respondents in this study were aware of AmE compared to 100% in other keyword studies. BrE was listed by 65% while other studies were 100% (China) and 94% (Japan). Differences in awareness of other varieties, however, were much greater. AuE was listed by 29% of respondents compared to 88% (China) and 73% (Japan), while CaE was listed by 7% in this study compared to 90% (China) and 75% (Japan). Similar to China (64%) and Japan (48%), NzE was the least stated variety, but the variety was only listed by 2.58% of participants in this research. Such findings show that variety awareness differs according to context, but that the order of saliency may be similar. The much lower variety awareness in Korea, however, is of interest. While this may relate to language learning policies (Section 2.3.2), another reason is this study asked participants to list known varieties of English while the keyword studies above asked individuals to list places where English is spoken as a native language. Thus, participants in this research may well be aware that English is used in Canada and New Zealand, but they may not be aware of the use of different varieties. Further keyword studies are needed in Korea to ascertain if the findings in this study are generalizable.

Awareness of OEC varieties, with the exceptions of PhE and InE, was very low. This is also congruent with previous findings in general, but this study appears to be the first in the Korean context to investigate participants' actual awareness of different Englishes rather

than the researcher providing a set list of English varieties and asking how familiar participants are with each variety. An important finding was KoE being listed as a variety of English by only one person. This indicates KoE is not a salient variety of English for the non-linguist participants in this study. Thus, despite WE researchers often stating KoE to be a variety of English (Section 2.3.7), this belief appears not to be shared by these respondents. The reasons why KoE was not a desired linguistic user model are investigated in Section 7.3, but further research examining why KoE was not elicited as a variety of English would be beneficial.

Research Question Two investigated participants' associations with the stated varieties. AmE and BrE had the highest percentages of associations. This again is in line with the keyword studies previously mentioned. Similarly, AuE had a much lower percentage of associations. This suggests that individuals in different contexts know AuE exists, but indexical features (Section 2.2.5) of the variety are not salient. The previous keyword studies also found CaE and NzE to have a relatively low proportion of associations. However, the very low awareness of these varieties in this sample prevents comparison. Overall, the percentage of no associations increased the farther away the varieties were located from the centre of Kachru's Concentric Circles model. Therefore, in addition to limited awareness of different Englishes, knowledge about variety features or other associations becomes noticeably lower according to whether the Englishes are IC, OC, or EC varieties.

The type of associations also differed from previous keyword studies (Section 2.6.2). In Japan, AmE was thought to be the most correct version and BrE was thought to be more socially attractive, while in China, BrE was accorded higher status and AmE was thought to be more modern. The findings in this study show that status and dynamism were the two most common types of associations followed by language learning. Comments related to

social attractiveness, while mostly positive were much less common. One similarity however, was the associations made with AuE, CaE, and NzE. Previous keyword studies found these varieties to be mostly compared to AmE and BrE in some way. This finding was also present in this study. Furthermore, it was also found present in PhE comparisons. This suggests that when specific features of a variety are not salient to an individual, it seems likely that the variety is considered in terms of its perceived similarities or differences with more well-known varieties, in this case AmE and BrE.

Direct comparison of associations with Korean research (Section 2.6.3) as well as other non-keyword research in East Asia (Section 2.6.2) should be done with caution due to the issues identified with the reliance on semantic differentials (Section 2.5.3). Furthermore, many of the associations with the different Englishes, particularly language learning and dynamism themes, did not contain any evaluative content. This suggests previous positivist research in the Korean context, as well as more generally, has presented participants with varieties they are likely unaware of and then asked the respondents to evaluate traits that may not be applicable. Furthermore, any non-evaluative associations that were present have not been considered. This finding further suggests that the most common ways of assessing language attitudes (guise and semantic differentials) may not provide an accurate representation of participants' perceptions. Therefore, the concept of language regard (Section 2.4.1), which takes into account all beliefs, whether evaluative or not, and allows for the presence of bidimensional attitudes (Section 2.4.2), is more pragmatic than a sole focus on language attitudes (Section 2.4.3).

Tentatively comparing the evaluative associations present in the data with other studies, status comments match previous research where AmE and BrE were rated highly while other varieties were less so (Section 2.6.3). Looking at other themes, Kim (2007) found AmE to be considered socially attractive. While AmE in this study was generally considered

to be socially attractive, it was not a salient theme, and BrE received a greater proportion of social attractiveness comments. KoE only being listed as a variety once and the absence of any associations prevent comparison with previous research indicating that the variety is becoming more accepted or that nativized varieties are more likely to be rated highly for solidarity (Kim, 2007; McKenzie, 2006; Sasayama, 2013). These findings are of importance as they highlight variety salience and associations made with varieties appear to differ according to context and data collection methods.

The second phase of data collection revealed the reasons why AmE and BrE were the most listed varieties and received the most associations related to familiarity, language learning, and status. While these factors are complex and highly interrelated, the main reason appears to be unfamiliarity with different Englishes rather than different varieties not being accepted due a lack of status. The present lack of awareness of English varieties is problematic considering the sociolinguistic realities of how English is used and by whom. It is likely that all responses have been shaped implicitly or explicitly by social, economic, political, and geographic influences in Korea (Section 2.3), but overt status comments being limited to 23% suggests the introduction of a greater variety of World Englishes in language classes in conjunction with explanations of the sociolinguistic realities of English usage may mean these Englishes become more widely known and accepted. This change in teaching practice is discussed further in Section 8.2. With regard to data collection methods, the use of a qualitative follow-up survey has helped to provide a more detailed picture of why participants were aware or not aware of different Englishes.

Analysis of findings according to gender revealed potential differences. Awareness of different Englishes varied according to gender as did the associations made with stated varieties, as well as the reasons AmE and BrE were thought to be more common. Males made a higher percentage of status comments in general, while females made more

reference to familiarity and language features. In addition, it was also shown that previously reported results regarding variety associations may have been gender biased due to the underrepresentation of males. Thus, findings from this study, with its relatively well-balanced gender ratio, are an important step in language regard research in general and Korea specifically. The lack of systematic sampling and relatively small sample size prevent definitive statements, but these findings demonstrate the need for future research studies to give serious consideration to the composition of survey samples and how findings are reported.

Finally, the overall lack of awareness of and familiarity with different Englishes needs to be considered in relation to the sociolinguistic realities of English usage in a globalised world. It appears the participants in this study are likely to be unfamiliar with most Englishes other than AmE and BrE, or if participants are aware, these Englishes appear to be viewed more negatively. However, it is thought more likely that respondents will come into contact with non-IC Englishes (Section 2.2.3). The results from Section 4.2 revealed that respondents had used English in a variety of contexts, with the majority of use being overseas. Even if visiting the USA or UK it is unlikely that individuals would only encounter the GA or RP/EE varieties used in language learning materials (Section 2.3.2.1). Similarly, the increasing number of foreign visitors to Korea (Section 2.3.3) who may well use English as a lingua franca will most likely use a wide variety of Englishes and translingual practices (Section 2.2.4). Furthermore, Korea's economy is export driven (Section 2.3.1). Korean companies export to markets all around the world and are likely to do business using English. These realities mean that an awareness and overall appreciation of AmE and BrE as a result of linguistic policies does not match the possible needs of these individuals, companies, or Korea as a nation. It would therefore appear necessary to introduce different Englishes and translingual practices in school and university classrooms to better prepare individuals for

real world English usage (This is discussed in Section 8.2.) The perceived needs of the individual user of English, however, must also be understood and taken into consideration. These needs are not clear though as the reasons English is considered important appears to be an under researched area in Korea. To better understand the perceived English needs of these young Korean adult participants, the next chapter investigates the reasons why English may be deemed important.

5.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has shown that AmE and BrE were the most known varieties. Awareness of different Englishes drops considerably when moving from the inner to the expanding circles. Furthermore, 18.45% of respondents appear to be unaware of different Englishes. With regard to variety associations, AmE and BrE had the most associations. However, similar to variety awareness, the percentages of associations dropped the farther the variety was from the center of Kachru's Concentric Circles model. In total, no associations were made with 16.94% of listed varieties. Thus, the findings show a considerable number of participants were unaware of a variety of Englishes, and a notable number of respondents were unable to classify and imbue known varieties to form any kind of association. The data also show that many of the stated associations did not contain any evaluative content. The main reason for the prominence of AmE and BrE relates to a general lack of awareness of other varieties of English. The status of different Englishes also played a role, but was less prominent. Reasons why English is important to the participants is now investigated.

Chapter 6: The importance of English

Chapter Six answers Research Question Three (Section 3.5.3) by exploring the reasons participants consider English to be important. The different themes are analysed quantitatively and then qualitatively. This is followed by data from the second survey, which investigated the surprising finding that English was thought more important for communication than employment. The chapter concludes with a critical discussion of the findings.

6.1 Reasons why English was deemed important

Participants in the first survey were asked to state any reasons they deemed English to be important (Appendices 1 and 2). The question was answered by 225 individuals (117 females and 108 males), which resulted in 321 keyword comments. After analysing the keyword data (Section 3.9), a total of six themes emerged (Table 6.1). All the themes relate to globalisation (Section 2.1.1) in some form and can be thought of as interrelated. The most prominent theme was communication, which accounted for nearly half of all keyword tokens (46.42%). Employment was the next most important factor, but it was considerably less salient (17.76%). The remaining themes were education (12.46%), explicit mention of globalisation (10.90%), travel (07.79%), and symbolic capital (04.67%). The most notable finding, and somewhat surprising, is the relatively low percentage of comments focusing on employment. The literature often states English is considered to be most important for securing good quality jobs (Section 2.3.1), but these findings indicate that English is regarded as important for various reasons, with communication being the most prominent. The themes are now analysed qualitatively.

Table 6. 1: The importance of English according to theme

Theme	Communication	Employment	Education	Globalisation	Travel	Symbolic capital
Total	149 (46.42%)	57 (17.76%)	40 (12.46%)	35 (10.90%)	25 (07.79%)	15 (04.67%)

6.1.1 Qualitative analysis of participant responses according to theme

The reasons English was considered important are now interpreted qualitatively in order of prominence. Content analysis (Section 3.9) was used to interpret the responses. There is again overlap in the themes, but they are presented separately for clarity and to aid analysis.

6.1.1.1 Communication

Almost half of all keywords related to English being important for communication (149 / 46.42%) (Table 6.2). Ninety of the comments stated the role English plays as a global lingua franca. Participant comments included English being the world's 'international' or 'common' language and being used worldwide. With regard to using English as a communicative tool, there appear to be different beliefs about the language ability needed to communicate. Responses included using English for 'basic communication', being able to communicate easily by using 'good English' and it being 'necessary to communicate fluently as a native language'. While it is not stated what 'good English' is thought to mean, being able to communicate in English as if it is a native language is likely very difficult for most learners in Korea where English is mostly learned as a foreign language. Furthermore, as public English education has continued to focus on the receptive skills needed for the English section of the Korean university entrance exam rather than the productive skills of speaking and writing (Section 2.3.2) learners are unlikely to be provided with suitable chances to actually use English to communicate.

Table 6. 2: The importance of English – Communication

Communication (n=149) (46.42%)
English is used worldwide ⬩ It is the common and most used language ⬩ English is the international common language ⬩ English is international language and it is used in any place ⬩ Global language ⬩ World common language (74)
Communication ⬩ simple communication ⬩ I want to make many foreign friends ⬩ It is joyful when I communicate in English ⬩ To communicate with friends from other countries ⬩ Communicate freely ⬩ Communicate with other global people ⬩ We can communicate with foreigners ⬩ That's the medium to connect with foreigners (56)
World's official language ⬩ Official language ⬩ Official common language ⬩ English is the international official language (16)
Many people use it around me ⬩ Everyday life and school ⬩ I use this language everyday (3)

Among the responses related to English being a lingua franca, the keyword ‘official’ appeared 16 times. English was noted as the ‘world’s official language’ or the ‘international official common language’. Such phrases appear to indicate that English is given the legitimate position of being the world’s lingua franca. Another notable item regarding communication was the idea that English is prevalent all around the world. Example comments include most people in the world knowing and speaking English (P153), everybody speaking English as their second language (P69), and English being used in all countries and a basic requirement in any place (P258). These findings suggest that some participants believe English is used by most or all people in many or all countries. While English is currently the language most likely thought to be the global lingua franca, such beliefs about universal usage are overstated when even the most generous calculations of the number of English speakers place the total at around two billion people (Crystal, 2008), and the spread of English, much like that of globalisation (Section 2.1.1) is limited to specific areas. The official status and global use of English are likely examples of embodied cultural capital (Section 2.1.3) associated with the Korean government’s push to use

English as a tool to help the country globalise and become recognised as world class (Section 2.3.1). Furthermore, these beliefs may relate to group identity. When referring to ‘everyone’ and ‘all places’ these participants may be overlooking the majority of people in the world who do not know English (out-group) and instead are referring to other global citizens (in-group), as noted by P140 who stated that English is used to ‘communicate with other global people’.

Comments that used the word ‘communicate’ in some form (56) were also analysed to determine which individuals or groups, if any, the participants listed as potential interlocutors. In almost all cases that an individual or group were labelled, ‘foreigners’ (9) or ‘people’ (21) were used, while ‘friend’ was only listed three times. The low number of references to specific individuals suggests that most participants in this sample do not appear to use English as part of maintaining their personal relationships at present. Instead English may be viewed as a ‘common communication tool for a globalised world’ as stated by P109.

6.1.1.2 Employment

English was also deemed important for employment purposes (57 / 17.76%) (Table 6.3). The majority of comments related to getting a job (38). It was noted as the basic skill and necessary language to gain employment in Korea. More specifically, English was regarded as the “means to achieve my dream” (P217). Specific jobs included airline cabin crew, working in television, and being an English teacher. In addition, the importance of ‘specs’ was mentioned, as was the importance of the standardised tests TOEIC and TOEFL in securing jobs (Section 2.3.1). Three participants stated that people are measured by their TOEIC scores and it affects those looking for jobs. With youth unemployment in Korea being high and growing at the fastest rate within the OECD (D. Kim, 2017) when the data were collected, it is not surprising that English was deemed important by participants. After

getting a job, English was used for work and business purposes, and English ability was stated as affecting promotion and offering a lot of opportunities to work in various fields (Section 2.3.1). A potential point of interest concerning the employee and student participants was that 34.78% of employees believed English to be important compared to 23.33% of students. The low number of employees limits the comparison, but does suggest English may be more important to the workers in this study. This is an area that would benefit from further investigation (Section 8.5).

Table 6. 3: The importance of English – Employment

Employment (n=57) (17.76%)
English is very important in Korea to get a job ⬩ To get a job ⬩ Using English I can get a job ⬩ Getting a job - Korean companies basically need specs ⬩ English is a basic need for getting a job (38)
In society people tend to measure people by their TOEIC scores. So it affects a lot of influences to a person who is looking for a job ⬩ When I graduate, TOEIC score will affect my getting a job (4)
My dream is to get a job with a foreign design company, so English is necessary ⬩ I want to be an air stewardess, English is necessary ⬩ The means to achieve my dream (6)
It will be helpful for having a job in other countries ⬩ Working abroad ⬩ Getting a job abroad ⬩ I want to get a job in America (4)
Business purpose ⬩ I use English a lot because of my job ⬩ when you get a job it affects your promotion (5)

6.1.1.3 Education

English was also thought to be important for education (40 / 12.46%) (Table 6.4). English was regarded as necessary to enter university, get degree credits, and graduate. It was mentioned as being needed due to many books being written in English and the need to write dissertations and journal articles in English. It was also stated that a lot of English words are used in participants' degree subjects (nursing and other unspecified subjects) or being the official language of the subject (biology). Although information regarding

university students' majors was not collected (Section 3.4.2), respondents' degree subjects, particularly more vocational courses such as nursing, have the potential to influence the importance of English to these individuals. Investigating the importance of English in relation to degree subjects is an area that would benefit from further research.

Table 6. 4: The importance of English – Education

Education (n=40) (12.46%)
English is necessary to go to university ⬩ It is needed to get credit in university ⬩ It is necessary to graduate ⬩ English is my major so I like English and it's important ⬩ English is the official language of biology ⬩ It represents a large portion of study (19)
English is a very important factor for enjoying culture ⬩ I want to see the world with different points of view ⬩ English is not only the language itself, but it also becomes the medium for looking at the bigger world, feel, and experience ⬩ When I learn about other people and cultures, English will be used with a lot of benefits (11)
Fun to study language ⬩ It is very attractive to learn a language from another country ⬩ English is an interesting language like our native language ⬩ The grammatical factors of learning English is helpful learning other languages (6)
English is important to me because if I'm good at it ⬩ I started when I was young and I should live with it now and in the future too (4)

Looking at learning more generally, a number of participants regarded English as very important or the most important subject in Korea and representing a large portion of study. Unfortunately, such importance led to one participant commenting "English is the language we have to study even if we really hate it." While only one individual stated this opinion, negative feelings related to having to learn English may well be present among a larger percentage of the survey population. Another insightful comment highlighted the potential negative consequences that may occur when children move overseas for additional language study (Section 2.3.3) before their first language has fully developed. P172 stated:

> "I didn't learn my mother tongue that thoroughly cos I was abroad when I was younger. So sometimes it feels kind of frustrating when I cannot explain what I think even in Korean."

Although the reason the participant was abroad was not stated, there are many thousands of young Koreans who move abroad each year with the primary aim of learning English as a result of 'English fever' in Korea (Section 2.3.1). This situation has likely been experienced by others and demonstrates the possibility that individuals may not master any language, which can then cause difficulty communicating ideas.

Other language learning comments, however, included English being fun, interesting, and attractive (6). There were also comments describing the benefits of studying the language (11). English provided access to vast quantities of information, allowed individuals to broaden their knowledge, and enjoy different cultures and points of view. A particularly descriptive comment stated that "English is not only the language itself, but it also becomes the medium for looking at, feeling, and experiencing the bigger world" (P189). For these individuals there appears to be motivation to learn English as it provides a gateway to the wider world.

6.1.1.4 Globalisation

Specific reference was also made to globalisation (35 / 10.90%) (Table 6.5). Most commonly English was thought of as '…the most needed ability for a person who lives in this global era' (P13), while others labelled it as the most important language in the world, and it is 'necessary' and 'required' now and for the future. The need to become part of the globalised world was also mentioned. P227 stated that 'we should step into the world', P147 noted 'I want to catch up with the global world' and P138 wrote 'because we face this global world'. The words and phrases of 'should', 'face' and 'catch up' appear to demonstrate a perceived deficit and could also be interpreted as being obligated to learn English in order to join the 'in-group' of global human talent or global Koreans (injae) rather than be left behind (Section 2.3.1).

Table 6. 5: The importance of English – Globalisation

Globalisation (n=35) (10.90%)
English is very important in this global world era ♦ Now English is required ♦ It is the most needed ability for a person who lives in this global era ♦ English is the international factor so it is necessary to live ♦ I want to catch up with this global world (21)
Global era ♦ Global world ♦ It is used globally (8)
There are many signs of English in the world ♦ it's easy to see anywhere in Korea (4)
America is so big ♦ America in which they speak English is a very powerful country (2)

The majority of comments only referred to needing English in the 'world' or 'modern society'; two exceptions were comments about the USA. English was thought important due to the size of America and it being the world's most powerful country. These status comments, as well as others referencing the USA (Sections 6.1.1.2 and 7.2.1.1) further indicate that for some individuals an important reason to learn English is because it is the language used by the powerful USA. In addition, the ubiquity of English as a result of globalisation was also mentioned (4). Signs of English were thought to be everywhere in Korea, as well as Koreans experiencing different cultures overseas, and English being thought to have affected Korean culture and the nation's future vision. These comments, although low in number, are examples of Appadurai's global flows (Section 2.1.1) and are also congruent with ideas presented in the societal treatment of Korea in Section 2.3.

6.1.1.5 Travel

Travelling and to a lesser extent living abroad were also reasons English was believed to be important (25 / 07.79%) (Table 6.6). There were multiple comments relating to English being necessary to travel, as well as English making travel easier and more enjoyable. There was also reference to being able to use English frequently because of the opportunities to go abroad, and knowledge of English enabling an individual to go overseas

at any time. Communicative competence featured again as one participant stated that fluent English is needed to go abroad, while two other participants felt that 'good English' and 'being fluent in English' would make foreign travel easier and more convenient. Unlike comments related to communication (Section 6.1.1.1) where a range of linguistic competence was mentioned, only a high level of English ability is stated in relation to travel. The small number of travel comments overall may have affected the range of responses, but it may indicate that these individuals are placing the burden of successful communication on themselves or they wish to be identified as a global citizen able to speak a foreign language to a high standard.

Table 6. 6: The importance of English – Travel

Travel (n=25) (07.79%)
To go abroad people need to speak English fluently ♦ Easier to travel other countries if you are fluent in English not only in Korea but also in almost countries (8)
Travelling ♦ For free travelling ♦ I can be ready to go abroad anytime ♦ We can use it frequently because we have opportunities to go abroad ♦ It's the best way to explore the world! ♦ When you go travelling it might be very comfortable if you talk English, so it is important (15)
I want to live in other countries ♦ Most necessary factor to live in other countries (2)

6.1.1.6 Symbolic capital

Symbolic capital comments were the least prominent in explaining the importance of English (15 / 04.67%) (Table 6.7). It was thought that being able to speak good English enabled an individual in Korea to be 'honored', 'respected', and 'accepted as an educated person'. Relating to the neoliberal philosophy of self-development (Section 2.1.2), as well as the Korean government's push to use English as a tool for globalisation (Section 2.3.1), reference was made to English being important to 'improve me', 'one's development', and to 'contribute to the development of yourself and the country'. Furthermore, those with good English ability were thought to have more opportunities and have a better quality of life,

while those who lack the ability to speak English will find it inconvenient, may suffer disadvantages, and will be treated as 'lagging'. In Bourdieusian terms, these comments appear to reflect the role the habitus and fields have on individuals' reasons for acquiring capital (Section 2.1.3).

Table 6. 7: The importance of English – Symbolic capital

Symbolic capital (n=15) (04.67%)
In Korea, people who speak good English are honored and respected, so English is more and more important ♦ English is important to improve me ♦ we can have more opportunities ♦ I want to be accepted as an educated person in Korean society (9)
It is the necessary refinement in the world ♦ It will be inconvenient ♦ English is very important in Korean society and needed in general society too (5)
I've never thought that English is that important, but if I pick one reason, in Korea people use English even if we don't have to use English. I think it is wrong realization in the whole society but maybe it can be the one important reasons (1)

A differing opinion by P110, however, stated that he did not consider English important. In fact, he deemed the importance attached to the language to be a problem in Korean society owing to Koreans using English even if it is not necessary. This is only the response of one person, but it also shows that ideas about the importance of English in the Korean habitus are not immutable (Section 2.1.3). An example that illustrates the sometimes unnecessary use of English relates to an experience one of my students had when vacationing with his family in South Korea. While checking into the hotel, the staff member used English despite the employee and the student's family being Korean. My student was able to understand parts of what was being said, but his parents were not able to understand. This unnecessary use of English caused communication breakdown and appeared to serve no other purpose than indexing the hotel as an international establishment.

6.1.2 Analysis of responses according to gender

Looking at the responses according to gender (Table 6.8) some differences are present. Communication was the most salient for both genders, but more males (49.66%) than females (43.68%) listed this theme. Males (21.77%) also attached more importance to employment than females (14.37%). The themes of education and travel were more pertinent to females (14.94% and 10.92%) than males (09.53% and 04.08%). There were also differences in the salience of globalisation (more female comments) and symbolic capital (more male comments), however, these differences were smaller. In addition to the unanticipated finding of employment appearing to be less important than communication (Section 6.1), a further unexpected finding was females listing English marginally more important for education than employment. Looking qualitatively, the only apparent differences were females being much more likely to associate English with being able to broaden knowledge and better understand different cultures, and only females stated that English was 'necessary' to travel and live abroad. Thus, while there are some notable differences in themes related to the importance of English according to gender, the content of responses are similar.

Table 6. 8: The importance of English according to gender

Importance of English	Females (174)	Males (147)
Communication	76 (43.68%)	73 (49.66%)
Employment	25 (14.37%)	32 (21.77%)
Education	26 (14.94%)	14 (09.53%)
Globalisation	21 (12.07%)	14 (09.53%)
Travel	19 (10.92%)	6 (04.08%)
Symbolic capital	7 (04.03%)	8 (05.44%)

The reasons for gender differences can only be speculated, but the finding that a higher percentage of males than females listed communication as important may be slightly

misleading. The actual number of communication comments made by females was slightly higher than males. However, as females made a larger and more varied number of thematic comments overall, the percentage of female communication comments is lower than males. While it is clear that communication was the most salient theme overall for both genders, it may suggest that females judge English to be important for more varied reasons than males. One possible explanation is female participants in this study being younger than males overall (Section 3.4.2). As the majority of the sample was university students, academic study may be of more importance to the younger females as the prospect of entering the workforce may be more distant compared to males. Additionally, Korea has historically been a patriarchal society (Sechiyama, 2013). This may mean that the role of being the wage earner and thus employment is more salient to males. Furthermore, all able-bodied males must complete around two years of mandatory military service. Although anecdotal, I am aware from my own experience of working in Korean higher education that male students after having completed military service are conscious of their age when they graduate and feel the need to enter the workforce as soon as possible. The greater importance attached to travel by females may also relate to age difference and the required military service of males. Results from Section 4.3 showed that more females than males had used English while abroad, which may suggest the female respondents have travelled abroad more in general. It is possible that the male participants have had reduced opportunities to travel as well as fewer opportunities to earn money (mandatory military service pay is low), which means that travel is less relevant compared to female students. These findings, while inconclusive, highlight that the importance of English potentially differs between these male and female respondents. This is another area that would benefit from further research.

6.1.3 Section conclusion

The results indicate that participants believe English to be important for a number of reasons. Unexpectedly, English appears to be deemed much more important for communication than employment. This finding is in contrast to the general consensus that the main role of English in Korea is to secure quality employment (Section 2.3.1). Other reasons why English was thought important were education, globalisation, travel and symbolic capital. Looking at these themes as a whole, explicit mention of globalisation was not the most prominent, but other responses appear to be directly related to the increasing movements of people, ideas, and capital through enhanced technology, as well as the political ideology of globalisation and neoliberalism being used to represent global interdependency (Sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2). This embodied cultural knowledge (Section 2.1.3) may help to explain why a sizeable number of participants believed that English is the 'official' common language and used universally. Additionally, competition through the growth of neoliberalism may also explain why English appeared to be thought of as a tool for enabling communication. A further recurring theme was English ability. There was a continuum of English abilities stated. Communication comments ranged from basic to high level English ability, while employment and travel comments only mentioned needing a high level of competence. This may relate to English ability indexing social standing in Korea and being a global citizen (Section 2.3.1). Nonetheless, the finding that English is most important for communication rather than employment may signal changing beliefs about the purpose of English among these respondents (Section 6.2).

Analysis of the results according to gender showed communication as the most prominent theme for both females and males. There were differences, however, according to the salience of the other themes. In particular, employment was the third most prominent theme for females. This may suggest that employment is even less important than was previously

thought. Potential differences according to gender again demonstrate the importance of having a balanced survey sample when investigating language regard and warrants further investigation. Overall, the key finding of English for communication being much more salient than employment contrasts with the general understanding of why English is thought to be learned in Korea. This finding is now further investigated.

6.2. Why communication was thought more important than employment

Respondents in the follow-up survey (Appendices 3 and 4) were asked why they thought English was deemed to be more important for communication than employment. This question was completed by 73 respondents (38 females, 35 males). Using qualitative content analysis (Section 3.9), 77 different responses were counted. Three general themes were found present in the data: communicative English (the ability to communicate in everyday situations), communicative English aiding employment, and travel. The data are displayed in Table 6.9.

Table 6. 9: Reasons communication was thought more important than employment

Theme	Number of comments (77)	Percentage (100%)
Communicative English	35	45.455%
Communicative English aiding employment	35	45.455%
Travel	07	09.09%

Communicative English and communicative English aiding employment were both the most prominent themes and received the same number of comments (35 / 45.455%). Travel was less salient (07 / 09.09%). The idea of communicative English being important is similar to the findings in Section 6.1.1.1, however, the idea of communicative English aiding employment is an important finding as communication and employment appear to be interrelated rather than being the two distinct categories found in the first phase of data collection (Section 6.1). Furthermore, travel being present in relation to the importance of

English in general (Section 6.1.1.5) and with regard to communication specifically suggests it is an important theme for participants. These are findings that do not appear to have been reported elsewhere and provide further nuance in understanding the evolving importance of English to these young adults. To better understand these quantitative results, the themes are now analysed qualitatively.

6.2.1 Qualitative analysis of participant responses according to theme

This section analyses the themes in order of prominence. These themes are interrelated, but are analysed separately for clarity. The data are then examined according to gender to determine if any differences are present within the data.

6.2.1.1 The importance of communicative English

The practical use of English was the joint most common theme (35 / 45.455%) (Table 6.10). The largest subtheme focused on the reasons a language is learned and the differentiation of everyday English and English needed to get a job (20). Ideas about the purpose of learning a language were to communicate in real life (P7A), and if a person cannot communicate, there is no meaning to learning English (P26A). Related to these ideas was the use of English in daily life, which was thought to be “needed”, “effective”, and “helpful”. English being thought of as having a presence in everyday life in Korea, or even being considered needed, contrasts with the literature, which suggests that English is not widely used in South Korea (Section 1.1). Such a finding, although limited in scale, suggests that the English language for everyday communication may be more prevalent among specific groups than previously suggested.

English for communication and English for employment were also viewed as being different (8), with the latter not being considered useful in real world communicative situations. Specifically, the English needed for jobs was thought to be “a tool”, “not practical”, “not

helpful for real communication skills" or "a small part of learning English for communication". Other participants commented that the English used at work is limited and repetitive meaning that some knowledge of English is sufficient (P75A) or that there were not many chances to use English (P18A). For these individuals it appears that there is a distinct divide between communicative English and the less practical and less helpful job English[5]. This appears to be another important distinction of English usage.

Table 6. 10: The importance of communicative English

Communicative English (n=35) (45.455%)
It is due to practical use, it is helpful in many ways in your daily life ♦ We need it in daily life, It will be very helpful for living when you learn English that is more related to daily life ♦ The English for everyday life is a lot more useful than the English that we can use at (12)
The English for getting a job is not practical English ♦ The English for getting a job is a tool ♦ In Korea when you study English for getting a job, it is not helpful for real communication skills ♦ The English people learn for getting a job is a small part of learning English for communication (8)
In the past people were satisfied with their test scores, but now there are actually many situations we can use English ♦ If you speak good English, you can communicate internationally ♦ There are so many places to go and so many things to learn in the world, so we should learn English to communicate with different people and share our opinions (12)
People want to learn the actual English for actual communication skill, but in reality, the companies prefer the people who get high TOEIC score ♦ Self-justification - Self-perception mismatch. Originally, it is used to get a good job (TOEIC) (3)

Changing beliefs about English in relation to study and work were also present, as well as wanting to use English to communicate internationally and interculturally (12). P12A thought people were previously satisfied with their test scores, but now there are many opportunities to use English. Furthermore, getting a good job is no longer the "end goal" or "life goal" of individuals. If a person has another ambition, the ability to communicate in

[5] In the context of this study 'Job English' is synonymous with 'English for employment'. The two terms are used interchangeably.

English is needed (P58A), and while a good job is still important, so is "having international experiences and meeting international people" (P70A), and sharing ideas (P25A). The desire to use English to communicate with people was also expressed by P15A, who stated there are "…so many places to go and so many things to learn in the world, …we should learn English to communicate with different people and share our opinions". Globalisation and the development of the internet was also thought to have provided Koreans more opportunities to have contact with foreigners more easily and build a community (P4A), as well as be able to speak to the many foreigners in Korea (P29A). These ideas were also shared by P59A and P45A. However, their comments "when you communicate smoothly[6], you can act internationally" and "if you speak good English, you can communicate internationally" continue to highlight stratified competence and the belief that a high level of English ability is needed in order to communicate effectively (Section 6.1.1.1). An insightful comment highlighted the idea of individuals saying English is used to communicate in order to be better perceived. P27A stated that there is a "self-justification, self-perception mismatch". It was felt that English, via a standardised test, was used to get a good job, but now people say they learn English in order to communicate with people because they want to have a better self-perception. While not stated, this idea likely relates to increasing an individual's symbolic capital (Section 2.1.3) by being perceived as an 'injae' (international Korean) (Section 2.3.1). This is a single comment, but it does highlight the potential for English communication skills being used as a tool to index oneself as an able individual. Most of these comments, however, suggest changing priorities for participants. The idea

[6] In this context 'smooth' and 'good' English are synonymous with 'fluent'. 'Smooth' is a direct translation from the Korean response and in this case means 'fluent'. In the English language *fluent* is a common word to describe speaking a language easily and accurately. However, this is not the case in Korean. The Korean language has a number of levels of formality. The Korean word for *fluent* **(유창한)** is among the upper levels of formality and is not used regularly in everyday contexts or the semi-formal context of completing the survey for this research project. Instead, the Korean word **(부드러운)** is used, which translates as 'smooth'.

that jobs have less importance may relate to changing beliefs about societal norms among this age group who are facing numerous economic and social challenges (Section 2.3.1), but also the greater opportunities offered by globalisation (Section 2.1.1). Furthermore, the desire to communicate internationally suggests evidence of international posture (Section 2.3.6). Such findings may relate to posthumanist ideas about what it now means to be human and what language is needed and used (Pennycook, 2018) (Section 2.1.4).

Despite many of these participants wanting to learn English with the aim to communicate, issues preventing this were also highlighted. P76A felt that companies still prefer applicants to have a high TOEIC score rather than actual communicative ability to the extent that if the applicant does not possess a suitable test score, it will be hard for that individual to get a good job. Similarly, P69A stated while English used in daily life is more important than the theories studied, an English certificate was needed for "…every job…entering university, or even a simple part-time job". Therefore, English ability appears to only be rewarded if the necessary institutionalised cultural capital has been attained via recognised standardised tests (Section 2.1.3). Thus, without certification, an individual's communicative English ability may lack the linguistic capital needed for personal advancement. Furthermore, as these qualifications expire, it emphasises the neoliberal philosophies of individuals needing to constantly upgrade their skills or 'specs' to add to their 'human capital' (Sections 2.1.2 and 2.3.1). From personal experience teaching in Korean higher education, the need to achieve high scores in various standardised tests is commonly stated by students preparing for employment. The summer and winter vacations are often spent studying for tests, such as TOEIC. As a result, while there may be an increase in weighting being given to English communicative abilities in job recruitment (Section 2.3.1), the cultural capital associated with standardised test scores still appear to still control access to jobs, and thus access to economic and social capital (Section 2.1.3).

The comments citing the importance of communicative English suggest beliefs about the importance of English are evolving. The seeming willingness of these participants to use English as a lingua franca to communicate with foreigners again suggests evidence of international posture and an increased confidence to engage with the world (Section 2.3.6). In addition, rather than just needing English for achieving good test scores or securing a good job, there is awareness that English can be used to achieve other goals. Such changes are likely a combination of Korea's globalisation push and the resulting exposure to the increasing global flows of people, technology, capital, media, and ideologies combined with the difficulties this age group now face in Korea (Section 2.3). These changes may also be evidence of changes in the Korean habitus among the field of young adults and the capital desired among this group (Section 2.1.3). However, even though some participants desire communicative English rather than job English, which is viewed as being of limited or no use, they still feel constrained by the need to acquire institutionalised cultural capital in the form of standardised tests, which continues to be used as a gatekeeper for employment. Thus, there appears to be a mismatch between the English these respondents wish to learn and the type of English needed to secure employment. For other participants, however, communicative English is desired in order to secure employment. These responses are now examined.

6.2.1.2 Communicative English aiding employment

The relationship between communicative English being directly linked to employment was the joint most salient theme (35 / 45.455%) (Table 6.11). The most numerous reason that respondents considered communicative English would help secure employment was the two ideas of *communication* and *employment* being thought of as 'connected', 'helpful', 'convenient' and 'the same' (17). Most of these responses, however, made reference to stratified competence as individuals were thought to need "good communication", "fluent

conversation" and to "speak English well". Such ability was also thought to lead to promotion at work due to high English test scores now being common (P54A) (Section 2.3.1). This suggests that for these respondents only an ability to communicate to a very high standard has the necessary linguistic capital (Section 2.1.4).

Table 6. 11: The importance of communicative English aiding employment

Communicative English aiding employment (n=35) (45.455%)
The English for smooth communication and the English for getting a job are not really different ♦ To communicate and get a good job are the same ♦ When you communicate it is helpful to get a good job (17)
The sentence 'when you speak good English, you can get a good job' is difficult but in many jobs there are many chances to talk to native speakers or to go on business trips abroad This is a global world so it is necessary to have more contact with foreigners at work (12)
For sales abroad, English is necessary and many companies are in mainly English speaking countries ♦ This is a global world and the biggest industry and distribution markets are mainly in English speaking countries (6)

Another prominent feature was the importance of English for businesses due to globalisation. Because of business and economics becoming globalised, it was thought everyone wants to use English (P5A) and there are more opportunities for Koreans to work and communicate with foreign people (P51A). With specific reference to the needs of businesses, globalisation was deemed important for companies expanding operations around the world. It was stated South Korean companies export a lot (P40A), are focusing on overseas markets, (P64A), and workers need to be able to understand the language and the culture of these markets in order to communicate the benefits of their companies (P2A). However, it was acknowledged that while workers have been asked to have fluent communication skills, individuals are required to independently achieve high levels of linguistic ability as companies do not teach English (P52A). This again highlights the neoliberal philosophy of individuals needing to constantly upgrade their abilities to remain

competitive (Section 2.1.2). Nonetheless, the tangible benefit of communicative English was highlighted by P47A who referred to Koreans using English in negotiations with Americans to secure a better deal than the USA in the bilateral free trade agreement that was ratified in 2011. Despite the agreement now having been renegotiated, the original agreement is the reverse of the IMF bailout in 1997 where the lack of English skill in Korea was thought to have led to an inferior and damaging agreement (Section 2.3.1). A finding of note, however, is that despite the importance of globalisation and exports for the Korean economy, only English-speaking export markets were mentioned. These markets were regarded as important for sales due to there being “many companies” and “remarkable technology” (P23A), as well as English speaking countries having the biggest industries and distribution markets (P2A). Such comments again indicate IC nations are viewed as superior despite emerging markets presently offering greater opportunities for growth. This focus may relate to Korea’s own definition of globalisation to be recognised as a world-class nation (Section 2.3.1). As a result, it may be envisioned that nations from the developed ‘core’ (Section 2.1.1) purchasing from Korea is recognition of the country’s developed status.

Respondents having the ability to communicate fluently in English appears to be a tool or commodity to assist with securing quality employment as Korean companies focus on overseas markets as part of their globalisation push. In addition, it seems the focus abroad may actually be a focus on exporting to English speaking countries due to their perceived status. Thus, English may not actually be a global lingua franca for these participants, but rather a tool to communicate and sell products to the core ‘developed’ nations. Furthermore, these comments differ from the theme of general communicative English (Section 6.2.1.1) as there appears to be no intrinsic desire to communicate for the purpose of sharing ideas and building community. However, with the South Korean economy suffering from high

levels of youth unemployment in the competitive job market, as well as low-paid temporary work (Section 2.3.1), it is understandable how being able to communicate 'fluently' in English is seen as a tool to index oneself as a capable employee and improve or maintain socioeconomic status.

6.2.1.3 Travel

There were seven travel related comments (09.09%) (Table 6.12). The responses suggest that there are now more chances to go abroad (P12A) and more opportunities for independent travel if a person has the ability to communicate in English (P55A). Furthermore, when travelling abroad, English was regarded as "needed" (P6A) or "extremely helpful" once a person is able to speak 'good' English (P11A).

Table 6. 12: The importance of communication – Travel

Travel (n=7) (09.09%)
There are more chances to go abroad ♦ There are more opportunities to visit a tourist area without a guide (2)
When you go travelling you need English (2)
The necessary English for travelling and meeting foreign friends is communicating rather than the English to get a job (2)
I want to go abroad for travelling but I hesitate because of language problems (1)

The distinction between English for communicative purposes and employment was again highlighted. P28A believed the 'necessary' English for travelling was the ability to communicate rather than the English needed to get a job. Similarly, P63A felt that English for getting a job is not helpful abroad, unlike "English for communication". These comments continue to support the idea of there being different types of English usage for these participants with the spatiotemporal context affecting what English is needed. One comment, however, highlighted how self-perceived speaking difficulties can impede travel.

P17A was hesitant to travel abroad due to difficulty speaking English, despite being able to translate and listen well. It is not possible to know the individual's actual communicative ability or whether it is a self-deprecating comment (Section 2.3.1), but this response appears to be another example of stratified competence affecting an individual's perceived ability to communicate. Due to this respondent not classing herself as a 'good' speaker of English, her ambition to travel abroad is not realised. Although not stated, the comment also appears to reflect the traditional language teaching methods used in South Korea. The focus on the receptive skills of listening and translating are needed for the important Korean university entrance exam rather than conversation (Section 2.3.2).

These comments, although low in number, again suggest the greater possibility of travel as a result of globalisation (Section 2.1.1) and how communicative English enables this. This also further suggests evidence of international posture (Section 2.3.6). Communicative English and English for work are again differentiated, with the latter not being considered beneficial when travelling. The use of communicative English, although suggesting evidence of stratified competence, appears to support these individuals in their desire to travel and interact abroad. The themes are now analysed according to gender.

6.2.2 Analysis of responses according to gender

Quantitative analysis of the data (Table 6.13) revealed that responses according to theme were almost identical. The similarity in the number of comments between both genders related to communicative English matches the findings in the first survey (Section 6.1.2). However, the number of employment and travel related comments differ as previously males considered employment more important and females placed more emphasis on travel. Possible reasons may be this question focusing on communication and employment rather than the open-ended question investigating the importance of English (Section 6.1). Consequently, respondents were more focused on these two themes. Additionally, a large

proportion of the survey sample in the second phase of data collection differed from the first phase, which may also have contributed to differing results. Nonetheless, it does appear that communicative English skills whether for general use, work, or travel are equally valued by both females and males.

Table 6. 13: The importance of communication according to gender

Theme	Female comments (40 = 100%)	Male comments (37 = 100%)
Communicative English	18 (45.00%)	17 (45.95%)
Communicative English aiding employment	18 (45.00%)	17 (45.95%)
Travel	04 (10.00%)	03 (08.10%)

Looking at the comments qualitatively there were few differences. Regarding communicative English, female respondents (11) made more comments than males (4) about the importance of general communication, while males (5) made more comments than females (2) in relation to English not being needed at work. Both sets of comments relate to communicative English, but females being more focused on general communication and more males focusing on what English is needed or not needed at work, may suggest different thought processes. Analysis of communicative English aiding employment and travel themes did not reveal any notable differences. Overall, the quantitative and qualitative analysis of why communication was considered more important than employment is very similar. The small sample population limits generalisations, but does suggest males and females have similar concepts as to why English was viewed as more important for communication than employment.

6.2.3 Section Conclusion

The purpose of this follow-up question was to understand why English was deemed more important for communication than for employment. Three themes were identified;

communicative English ability, communicative English ability aiding employment, and travel. Overall, communicative English in some form was most valued by respondents, but the data highlighted that the distinction between the categories of communication and employment is more complex than appeared in the first survey. For one group of respondents, English for communication and English for employment appear to be considered as two distinct types of English usage, with the former being judged as much more useful in everyday life. For other respondents communication and employment are thought to be related due to communicative English ability being considered helpful in securing good quality employment.

For individuals who valued the importance of practical communication, such ability was considered the primary reason to learn any language, as were the continued opportunities to use English rather than studying for a standardised test to get a job, which was thought to be used only once. There was also evidence of wanting to use English to communicate internationally to share ideas and learn about the world. With the development of the internet and more opportunities to travel abroad, building community with people around the world was judged to be easier. Furthermore, the data suggested that the importance of English and its use by the young Korean adult participants is evolving. Previously, individuals were thought to be focusing on achieving high English test scores or securing good employment. While this was still evident, there was awareness and desire to have new experiences and meet new people internationally and in daily life, which communicative English was thought to facilitate. Such comments appear to reflect an increased international posture. The desire of some individuals to just use English for communicative purposes, however, was stifled by institutionalised cultural capital in the form of standardised test scores continuing to force individuals to focus on successfully passing examinations in order to meet the requirements of potential employers. Travel

comments, although fewer, shared the idea of communicative English and job English being distinct, with the former regarded as helpful and the latter not being useful outside of work. Furthermore, the opportunity for greater mobility was highlighted as respondents felt there were many chances to travel abroad, which required the use of communicative English.

Responses related to employment highlighted the relationship between communicative ability and work, either from the perspective of the individual or what companies were thought to need. Being able to speak 'good' English was regarded as beneficial as companies were thought to want people who can communicate fluently with customers around the world. This ability appears to be a method of differentiating oneself from other workers who only have good English test scores, and index oneself as a capable worker. Attaining such ability, however, was again stated as being the responsibility of the individual rather than with support of employers. This appears to be further evidence of neoliberal policy placing the burden of self-development on the individual (Section 2.1.2). In addition, the requirement to be able to communicate to a high standard, along with it being stated that companies still require high scores on standardised English tests appears to further reinforce the cycle of constant self-improvement necessary to achieve the institutionalised cultural capital needed to secure desirable employment.

Looking at the data according to gender revealed very few differences quantitatively and qualitatively. This may suggest gender has limited bearing on the importance of communication. Instead, the reasons English is deemed important may depend on whether English is desired due to intrinsic motivation to use the language as a lingua franca or the extrinsic motivation of communicative ability enabling employment in export oriented Korean companies. However, further research focusing on gender is required.

6.3 Discussion

This chapter has shown that English is important to participants for various reasons. English was deemed important for communication, employment, education, travel, and symbolic capital, which all appear to be connected by intensifying global flows (Section 2.1.1). The most prominent theme, however, was communication. This contrasts with the general consensus in the literature that English in Korea is most important for gaining quality employment. While employment is still a salient feature, the majority of respondents in the first survey referenced English as now being the most used language in the world. However, the data from the second survey showed that the relationship between communication and employment was not as distinct as it appeared in the first survey. The results from the second phase identified two general ideas: communicative English is now needed and desired in a globalised world and communicative English is desirable due to it being perceived as helping to secure employment in a globalised world. These findings suggest that the importance of English may not only differ from the general beliefs, but that its importance among these participants may also be in the process of changing. These ideas are now discussed.

English being thought more important for communication than employment was unexpected as it contrasts with the widely stated notion of English being deemed important for getting a job. When analysing this general belief, however, it becomes apparent that there is a lack of empirical research in the Korean context concerning the importance of English. Furthermore, this belief that English is mostly required for employment may have been perpetuated by the common citation of Joseph Sung-Yul Park (2009) (Section 2.3.1). This is not to say that English being most important for employment was incorrect, as it still remains a key importance of English for many participants, but over a decade later other reasons English is considered important have arisen. The findings of differing purposes of

English in this study are likely the result of globalisation and its associated global flows (Section 2.1.1), which have influenced what it now means to be a young Korean adult in a globalised world.

How globalisation is understood by respondents may also affect their views of what communicative English is and how it is used. The findings of the second survey showed that employment was still relevant to one group of respondents as communicative English appears to be viewed as a commodified resource to help secure employment due to the belief this skill is desired by Korean companies focused on exporting in a competitive globalised neoliberal society. This group appears to conform to the neoliberal model of continual self-improvement and the politicized use of globalisation as being necessary to survive in this era of increasing interconnectedness and interdependency (Section 2.1.1). However, the only stated countries or business markets were the USA or 'English' speaking countries, which were referenced due to power, advanced technologies, and large markets. The exclusion of other markets is problematic in the sense that they appear to be ignored and also due to these developing markets being important for Korea as an exporting nation. Possible reasons for this may relate to Korea's interpretation of globalisation (*segyewha*), which was to become recognised as a world-class nation by attaining economic, social, and cultural capital, with English positioned as a tool to help achieve this (Section 2.3.1). By interacting and doing business with these developed English speaking countries, it may indicate that Korea has attained the necessary capital to have moved from the semi-periphery to the core in relation to the WSA model (Section 2.1.1). It also suggests that rather than English being a global lingua franca for these participants, it is a tool to sell products to 'developed' English speaking nations. This finding that respondents wish to use English to interact with people in English speaking countries was also found in Chapter

Seven (desired English user model) and may help to partly explain why the majority of participants wanted to speak like a native English speaker.

The importance of English may be changing though. The results indicated that a larger group of respondents in the second survey appeared to have a more intrinsic desire to use English communicatively to interact with individuals. Increasing interconnected flows also appear responsible for these beliefs, which are evident by travel being a theme that featured in both surveys, as well as improving technologies allowing easier contact and sharing of information. These respondents also viewed communicative English and job English as separate, with the latter not being considered useful in the real world or even at work once employment had been secured. Nonetheless, the desire to move away from job English appears to be impeded by the continuing necessity of achieving institutionalized cultural capital through standardised tests, which continue to be used as gatekeepers by employers.

For other respondents, jobs were not the main priority due to the realisation of there being many opportunities and experiences in the world. This may suggest that participants' understanding of globalisation is moving away from the governments' political neoliberal narrative towards to Blommaert's (2010) definition of globalisation as intensified flows offering new community, opportunities and thinking (Section 2.1.1). Part of this transformation may be related to societal changes in Korea due to the nation's rapid neoliberal globalisation, which the age group of this survey sample are suffering from in particular. Within Korea various neologisms such as 'Hell Joseon' (Hell Korea) and 'n-po' (foregoing things such as love, employment, and home ownership) are used to show dissatisfaction with Korean society (Section 2.3.1). As a result, for some individuals there may be a rejection of the excessive demands and competition of employment, as well as the increased cost of living and lower quality of life. Instead, the opportunities to travel and

use the internet to interact and consume global content may be embraced. Thus, how these individuals view globalised society and their place in it may affect their views on why English is important and the purpose of communicative English. Such changes globally and domestically raise the questions of what it means to be human and what language is needed in different spatiotemporal contexts. With rapid social, economic, environmental, and technological changes, the importance of English may alter considerably in the future (Section 2.1.4).

From a Bourdieusian perspective (Section 2.1.3) these findings indicate that English is important for these individuals in the Korean habitus and more globally, too. However, the reasons English is deemed important appears to differ according to the field. While English has previously been thought of as important to gain employment and acquire economic capital, the majority of the sample in the study's second phase now desired English for reasons that appear to be closer related to social capital in the form of communicating with people around the world and opportunities for new experiences in Korea and beyond. However, for some of these respondents who desire English for communicative purposes, they are still constrained by the field of employment, which still necessitates specific scores on recognised standardised tests and therefore continue to reinforce institutionalised cultural capital. As stated above, any further changes in behaviour in the Korean habitus in relation to the importance of English will likely be a consequence of societal changes nationally and globally.

The findings also showed evidence of international posture as participants indicated a desire to travel, interact interculturally in Korea, and communicate internationally at work. However, desire to travel and interact interculturally both internationally and domestically may be limited to developed nations with regard to participants beliefs about employment (Section 6.2.1.2) and general English usage (Section 7.3.1.2). This outlook appears to have

similarities with Campbell's (2015) idea of a new nationalism among younger Korean generations based on modernity, cosmopolitanism and status rather than ethnocentrism. Campbell's finding that young adults may be more open to immigrants as long as they have equal or superior economic status (Section 2.3.6), may also apply to this age group in terms of desire to interact in English. Another feature throughout the chapter was linguistic competence. A range of necessary competences were present throughout the responses. While some felt that only a basic level of competence was needed to communicate, the majority of these comments noted that a high level of English ability was needed to communicate in general, while at work, or while travelling. This may be a result of the Korean government's English language learning polices, which until 2007 focused on students attaining English competence levels comparable to native speakers (Section 2.3.2). It may also relate to the symbolic capital that is thought to be associated with communicative English (Shin & Lee, 2019). Though, with the exception of a small number of comments related to symbolic capital (Section 6.1.1.6) most comments do not overtly relate to status, but rather to the realities of an increasingly interconnected globalised world where a high level of English is a communicative tool that enables social mobility. However, the limited explicit mention of status does not mean the theme is unimportant. It is also possible that status may be a subconscious theme due to being ingrained in individuals in the Korean habitus (Section 2.1.3) as part of the nation's globalisation push (Section 2.3.1). It is also possible that different situational contexts affect accessibility to certain ideas (Section 2.4.2). This may be evidenced by status being a prominent reason relating to participants' desired linguistic user model (Chapter 7). This finding is discussed further in the next chapter.

The results regarding gender also need to be discussed. The first survey indicated that the importance of English may differ according to gender, while the results from the second

survey, which investigated why English was thought more important for communication rather than employment, were very similar. The initial findings suggest that communication is important for both genders, but other reasons differ. Males made more employment related comments and females listed a higher number of education and travel comments. With regard to theoretical understanding, these findings are important as they not only suggest that the importance of English may differ from the general consensus of employment being the main focus, but that the importance of English may be further affected by gender. Pedagogically, these findings highlight that gender may affect the reasons English is learned and for what purposes. While further research is needed to investigate these findings, instructors at least being aware that the reasons English is thought important potentially differing according to gender may be beneficial when planning and teaching classes and may help understand student needs. However, when respondents in the second survey were asked why communication was thought to be more important than employment, the data according to gender were very similar. As previously stated in Section 6.2.2, these results may be the result of a largely different survey sample, as well as the majority of participants being university students and female participants being an average of two years younger than male respondents. Nonetheless, the continued prominence of and similarity between females and males regarding communicative English suggests that the ability to communicate is the most and equally pertinent theme for both sexes in this study. However, further research is required to determine if these results are replicable. Additionally, investigating the importance of English to different age groups may reveal different beliefs overall, as well as according to gender.

The non-systematic sampling limits generalisability, but these results have theoretical and practical relevance. Theoretically, the importance of English potentially differing in relation to gender needs to be considered and further investigated. This again highlights the need

for a balanced gender ratio in language regard studies. Regarding practical application, the potential differences in prominence may be of use in the language classroom. Instructors investigating why English is important to learners (even as briefly as a quick needs analysis at the start of the course or as a warm-up activity) may reveal factors that can be incorporated into language classes. A better focus on student identified needs and taking into account possible gender differences may positively affect student motivation. Teaching implications in the EFL classroom are discussed in Section 8.2.

6.4 Chapter summary

The results from this chapter highlight the interrelated and complex reasons participants believe English is important. Key findings show that employment still has prominence, but communication is now considered most important. The results also showed there is a distinction between communicative English and job English, with communicative English being viewed as much more useful. Furthermore, the purpose of communicative English appears to be split between a potentially more intrinsic motivation of using English to communicate in general and extrinsic motivation of communicative English being needed for employment as a result of the globalised economy. These results hint at changing beliefs about what it means to be a young Korean adult and the role English has in the lives of these respondents.

Chapter 7: Varieties of English desired as user models

Chapter Seven answers Research Question Four (Section 3.5.4) by exploring which varieties of English participants wished to use as a linguistic model and the reasons why. The first section investigates which varieties respondents chose. Having ascertained that NS Englishes and AmE specifically were most desired, the following section uses data from the second survey to investigate this finding in more detail. Then, to better understand why no participants in the first phase of the study wished to use KoE as a linguistic model, the results from the follow-up survey are analysed. The chapter concludes with a critical discussion of the findings from the three sections.

7.1 Desired English user models

Participants in the first survey were asked to state a variety of English they would like to speak. A total of 226 participants (116 females and 110 males) answered the question. Five options were provided: native speaker (with an additional sub-question requesting a specific variety), clear English with a Korean accent, Korean English (Konglish), other, and variety does not matter. These options were provided due to the possibility of participants lacking awareness of different English varieties or not having considered such a question before. The sub-question requesting a specific native speaker variety, however, did not provide any options. This was done to ascertain if any specific varieties were known and desired by the respondents. After selecting a variety, respondents were asked to give reasons to explain their choices in the provided textbox. The types of English that participants wished to speak are presented in Table 7.1.

Table 7. 1: Variety of English participants wanted to speak

Variety	Number of participants (Percentage)
Native speaker	169 (74.78%)
Clear English with Korean accent	34 (15.04%)
Korean English (Konglish)	00 (00.00%)
Other	05 (02.21%)
Variety does not matter	18 (07.97%)

The findings show that the majority of participants (169 / 74.78%) wished to speak a native speaker variety of English. A much lower, but still sizeable, number of participants (34 / 15.04%) wanted to speak clear English with a Korean accent. Nobody wished to speak Korean English (Konglish) indicating that the variety lacks any type of desirability with these participants. Five individuals (02.21%) selected 'other' and 18 participants (07.96%) stated that the variety did not matter. Consequently, NS English is the most desired English user model.

Table 7. 2: Native varieties of English participants wanted to speak

Native English variety	Number of participants (Percentage)
AmE	92 (54.44%)
BrE	37 (21.89%)
CaE	04 (02.37%)
AuE	01 (00.59%)
Multiple NS varieties	16 (09.47%)
NS (no specific variety chosen) – comment only	19 (11.24%)

Among the native speaker varieties of English chosen by the 169 participants (Table 7.2), AmE was selected by the majority of participants (92 / 54.44%). BrE was the next most desired variety (37 / 21.89%). CaE (04 / 02.37%) and AuE (01 / 00.59%) were selected by very few individuals. Additionally, there were 16 respondents who selected more than one variety of native speaker English. Most of these answers included two varieties, with the

exception of two individuals who selected three Englishes. The varieties selected in this subtheme are the same as the four varieties highlighted above (AmE, BrE, CaE, AuE). In every case AmE was selected, and BrE was chosen 14 times. CaE was selected three times and AuE was listed once. Furthermore, 19 participants only selected 'native speaker English' and did not provide any varieties. As noted in Section 5.1, this may be a sign of satisficing, but it may also relate to a lack of specific knowledge of different varieties of English. It is possible that these participants only have knowledge of the Korean word '원어민' (won-eomin) meaning native speaker of a language (Section 2.3.2). The ability to speak like a native speaker (won-eomin) may have been enough for participants to adequately express their desired linguistic user model. Thus, specific NS Englishes were not listed.

Almost three-quarters of respondents wanting to speak a native variety of English indicates a continued native speaker bias (Section 2.3.2). Among the NS varieties listed AmE is the most desired variety. Similar to the variety awareness results (Section 5.1), BrE was the second most elicited variety of English, however, as a percentage it was significantly lower. This indicates that while the majority of young adults in this study are aware of BrE and made mostly positive associations with the variety, it did not translate into BrE being a very desirable user model. CaE and AuE were only desired by a small number of respondents, while other IC varieties (IrE, NzE, ZaE) were not stated at all. With the exception of AuE, there was a low awareness of these varieties (Section 5.1), so it is probable these varieties were not desired due to a lack of awareness. AuE had a higher level of awareness, but most associations with the variety were a comparison with AmE and BrE or negative (Section 5.2.3). The lack of positive associations may explain why the variety was not desired.

Looking at these results in the wider Korean context, the only comparable research appears to be Breaux and Brown (2011). Their study, however, provided varieties as options and offered first, second, and third choice preferences. Nonetheless, there is similarity in some key findings. AmE was the most desired variety followed by BrE. Additionally, AuE and CaE, although in reverse order to this study, were third and fourth most desired. These similarities indicate that these four varieties may be the most known and desired IC Englishes. Furthermore, KoE was only listed by a low number of participants as second or third choice in Breaux and Brown's study. As KoE was not selected at all in this research, the low desirability may be widespread.

In relation to other variety preferences, nearly one quarter of respondents (23.01%) did not wish to speak a native variety of English due to either wanting to retain their Korean accent (34 / 15.04%) or believing that the variety of English spoken did not matter (18 / 07.97%). While still a minority, a sizeable percentage of participants have different ideas about the type of English that they want to use. This figure, however, is much lower than He and Zhang's (2010) research in China, which found 55% of participants wished to speak with a Chinese accent (Section 2.6.2). He and Zhang found the reasons for this were English being thought a tool for communication and participants having a strong Chinese language identity. While the results in this present study also found that English was deemed a tool for communication (Chapter 6), it appears that most participants did not want to show their Korean language identity when using English. The findings are now analysed qualitatively.

7.1.1 Qualitative analysis of participant responses according to theme

Content analysis (Section 3.9) was used to analyse the responses given by respondents to explain the choice of English variety they wished to speak. All themes are discrete expect for awareness of variation and culture, which in some cases drew on comments from other themes.

7.1.1.1 American English

The 92 participants (54.44%) who chose AmE generated 113 keyword tokens (Table 7.3). The most salient theme explaining why AmE was desired was status (47 / 41.59%). The most numerous token, in this theme and for the variety overall, was AmE being the most typical and standard variety used around the world (26). The perceived standardness, global use of AmE, and most significantly its wide use in the Korean context (Section 2.3) likely reinforces the belief that learning the most standard variety is necessary or at least desirable.

A number of responses also gave some insight into what some participants perceived to be the most standard American accent. While there were comments about 'normal American', others stated that the AmE they desired was 'city style English', 'New York', and 'East Coast of America'. An explanation for this belief, as stated by P117, was that this is the "…American standard English used by educated people." The claim of New York and the East Coast being viewed as Standard English is of interest as the accent differs from GA, which is generally perceived to be the standard American English accent. Furthermore, the English accent from this region has been shown to be disparaged by Americans from different regions of the USA (Preston, 2004). The reasons why participants made these associations are not clear. However, it may relate to 'New York' and 'the East Coast' being more pre-supposable (Section 2.2.6) than other places due to popular culture. It is also possible the acquisition of such Englishes may help the individuals to be perceived as global Koreans (injae) (Section 2.3.1). In addition, ethnicity was a factor for two participants. One individual desired to speak English like 'American white people' and another used the acronym WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant). These associations appear to be examples of linguistic stereotypes (Section 2.4.4). The reference to speaking like 'white people' unfortunately suggests that English used by other American ethnicities is deemed

deficient. Similarly, the reference to 'WASP' is likely to have a strong connection with ethnicity but could also represent the high social status of this group. The desire to speak what are thought to be the most standard and educated varieties of English may relate to the participants' 'imagined selves' (Section 2.1.4) and their desire to be identified as educated individuals with high social status. Although these participants' wish to speak an 'educated' variety can be viewed as discriminatory, it does demonstrate enregisterment of different varieties of AmE (Section 2.2.5), as well as evidence of a language hierarchy.

Table 7. 3: Reasons participants wanted to speak AmE

Dynamism (n=8) (07.08%)	Status (n=47) (41.59%)	Social attractiveness (n=4) (03.54%)
Clear pronunciation (3) Soft (5)	Most common, typical, standard, most standardized (26) Natural (1) original (2) WASP, city style, New York, American white people (10) Centre of the world, most powerful (8)	Comfortable (2) Sounds better (1) Nicest pronunciation (1)
Language learning (n=36) (31.86%)	**Awareness of variation (n=13) (11.50%)**	**Travel (n=3) (02.65%)**
Familiarity (18) Good enough to communicate with normal American people, natural conversation (11) Easy to understand (7)	Easier to understand than BrE, easier to learn than BrE, falling sun British (12) I want to use English expressions with different grammars, different from Korea (1)	Want to go to America (2) Want to live in America (1)
		Culture (n=2) (01.77%)
		American dramas and films (2)

Related to status was the USA's standing in the world (8). The USA was noted as a country with a large population at the centre of the world, and the most powerful nation whose influence is everywhere. One participant stated, "I prefer American English rather than the falling sun British", which likely suggests that the USA is a world power unlike the modern United Kingdom. Furthermore, for two individuals, AmE was also desired due to it being

considered the 'original' English. AmE was noted as "…start[ing] from America" and being "…the original place for English". While these ideas are inaccurate, such beliefs likely relate to the global power of the USA and the prevalence of American English in Korea (Section 2.3.1).

Reasons relating to language learning were the second most prominent theme (36 / 31.86%). This is likely the result of AmE being mainly taught in Korea (Section 2.3.1). Familiarity with AmE (18) was an important factor for participants. Reasons for familiarity included learning the variety from a young age and it being the most common variety of English in Korea. As a result of being accustomed to AmE, two participants felt that the pronunciation was easy to acquire and that it would not take long to learn the variety. Ease of understanding (7) was another reason participants wished to speak AmE. Comments ranged from the variety being comparatively easier to understand than BrE to the easiest variety to understand. Expected location of use may also be a factor in understanding as P42 commented "Common American pronunciation is easy to understand in Oriental and Western countries." In locations where AmE is not the dominant variety of English, respondents may offer alternative varieties due to similar beliefs.

Communication (11) was also a prominent subtheme. AmE was desired or even considered necessary to communicate naturally and without difficulties. Participants wanted to communicate with foreigners with the most standard American accent, speak fluently, and free talk. One explanation for such thinking was given by P159 who stated "...when I speak with a Korean accent, I heard that native speakers cannot understand my pronunciation." As most users of English in the world are not from the IC and do not use English as a first language, the desire to use AmE due to the belief that it can enable unhindered communication, despite being inaccurate, likely relates to the idolisation of the native speaker and AmE in particular (Pollard, 2010). It would seem likely that this embodied

cultural capital has been reinforced by the Korean government's English language policy (Section 2.3.2).

Dynamism as a theme had eight keyword tokens (07.08%). Participants wanted to speak AmE because of its clear pronunciation (3) and softness (5). This low number most likely demonstrates that the linguistic features of AmE are not reasons why participants wish to speak the variety. In addition, the low number of comments contrasts with the large number of dynamism comments participants listed when making associations with AmE (Section 5.2.1). Thus, certain features of the variety may alter in saliency and importance depending on the situation and questions being asked. With regard to social attractiveness, there were only four individuals who wanted to speak AmE for this reason (03.54%). The variety was regarded as being comfortable (2), sounding better than British English (1) and having the nicest pronunciation (1). This low number of social attractiveness keywords also indicates that it is not a principle reason for wanting to speak AmE among the survey respondents and is not a theme associated with the variety in general (Section 5.2.1). AmE being viewed as having high status but not particularly socially attractive matches general findings associated with prestige varieties (Section 2.6.1). Other reasons individuals wanted to speak AmE related to visiting (2) or living (1) in the USA, and having been exposed to American television shows and films (2).

When giving reasons as to why AmE was the desired variety, 12 participants made comparisons with other varieties. Except for one individual, all comparisons were with BrE. While there were some negative comments about BrE, other comments appeared more favourable, yet AmE was still preferred. BrE was thought to be more attractive (3) and original (1) but AmE was selected as it was thought more typical and universal. The one non-BrE comparison referred to English in Korea. P55 stated "When I see Americans speaking English, I want to use English expressions with different grammars, different from

Korea." This comment appears to imply that group identity is important for the respondent as she appears to want to distinguish herself from other speakers of English in Korea by using the grammar and expressions that are more likely to identify her as a speaker of AmE. The comparisons of AmE with other varieties are of significance for two reasons. With all but one of the comparisons featuring BrE this further suggests that in the minds of these respondents there are only two salient varieties of English, which is in line with variety awareness results in Section 5.1. Furthermore, AmE being selected in a number of cases despite BrE receiving more positive social attractiveness associations, may indicate that norm, context, and familiarity driven factors are more important than sound driven factors when determining variety desirability (Section 2.4.3).

7.1.1.2 British English

British English was chosen as the desired variety by 37 participants (21.89%). Analysis of the comments revealed 45 keyword tokens that were divided into six main categories (Table 7.4). Social attractiveness related reasons were the most prevalent (21 / 46.67%). BrE's pronunciation was deemed attractive, while the accent was thought 'nice' (15). Furthermore, the variety was thought cool (4) and liked the most (2).

Status comments (9 / 20.00%) indicated the variety was thought intelligent and sophisticated (6), as well as being original, traditional and correct (3). Most likely related to these subthemes was the naming of famous British people: Benedict Cumberbatch, Hugh Grant, and the British Royal family. While these names relate to the cultural associations below, they also seem related to status and social attractiveness. These individuals use the 'stereotypical' British accent of RP / EE (Section 2.2.1). The naming of these individuals rather than other British celebrities who speak one of the many varieties used in the United Kingdom or those who speak Standard English with a regional accent likely reflects the

elevated social status of the people named and matches with the stereotype of what is often thought to be authentic and idealised British English.

Other reasons were fewer in number. In language learning related comments (6 / 13.33%), the variety was considered easy to understand (2) and easy to use (4). BrE was thought to enable conversation and be used effectively. Similar to AmE, although much lower in number, there are some individuals who appear to believe that the use of a specific variety of English will enable effective communication.

Table 7. 4: Reasons participants wanted to speak BrE

Status (n=9) (20.00%)	Social attractiveness (n=21) (46.67%)	Language learning (n=6) (13.33%)
Charming, intelligent, sophisticated (6)	Good pronunciation, attractive pronunciation, nice accent (15)	Clear, Comfortable to understand (2)
Original, traditional, correct (3)	Cool (4)	Easy to talk, comfortable to do conversation (4)
	Like the most (2)	
Awareness of variation (n=2) (04.44%)	Culture (n=7) (08.89%)	
Different from American English (1)	Watching British drama (1)	
More gentlemanly than American English (1)	I was influenced by movies (1)	
	Gentleman (2)	
	Benedict Cumberbatch, Hugh Grant, Royal Family (3)	

The themes of awareness of variation (2/04.44%) and culture (7/08.89%) also had some similarities with AmE. Comparisons were only made with AmE, thus continuing the trend of these Englishes being associated with each other. However, the number of comparisons was much lower. With respect to culture, television shows (1) and film (1) were also mentioned as influencing opinion about why two individuals wanted to speak BrE. Unlike AmE though, there were no geographical or social references to variation within BrE. Instead there were only references to famous British people suggesting that the

enregistered stereotype of the desired variety of BrE can only be identified by a few participants at an individual level (Section 2.2.5).

The salience of themes explaining why participants wished to speak BrE also differs to a certain extent when compared with general associations made with the variety (Section 5.2.2). Social attractiveness was the most prominent reason BrE was desired as a user model, while dynamism, which did not feature as a reason to want to speak BrE, was most salient when making general associations. Status, however, remained the second most common theme in both instances suggesting it has an important link with BrE. Consequently, the primary factor BrE was desired by participants appears to be phonologically-driven. However, the positive sound properties associated with BrE are likely associated with BrE's status as a prestige variety and favourable representation in the Korean context, which suggests BrE's appeal may be norm driven and context driven (Section 2.4.3).

7.1.1.3 Other native speaker Englishes, multiple varieties, and comments

The only other desired varieties of native English were CaE (4) and AuE (1). CaE was selected by one person due to the variety being perceived as being the most accurate. Other reasons related to two participants having lived in Canada or wishing to emigrate. AuE was chosen as it was felt to be in between American and British Englishes. This may demonstrate a desire to speak a variety other than the two most common Englishes, and AuE, which was regarded as 'unique' when general associations were provided (Section 5.2.3), may be thought of as discernible from AmE and BrE but also still recognisable as a native variety of English.

Sixteen participants selected two or more native varieties of English. AmE was selected in every case and BrE was selected 14 times. When looking at the comparisons of the two

varieties both AmE and BrE were associated 12 times. Reasons included these varieties being the most typical, being intelligible to people in English speaking countries, having good pronunciation, and unfamiliarity with other Englishes. In addition, two respondents stated that they just wanted to speak English and the pronunciation does not matter as long as it is American or British. Such comments again demonstrate that some participants view AmE and BrE as the only prestige varieties indicating that all other varieties are likely thought to be inferior. A few other participants, however, were more positive about AuE and CaE. These varieties were mentioned once each in combination with AmE. AuE was noted as being unique, and CaE along with AmE were noted as being the easiest to understand and most commonly learned. The remaining selections both listed three varieties (AmE, BrE, CaE). One individual only stated “Speak good English” while the other respondent highlighted the difficulty of /r/ pronunciation of AmE for Koreans and resultingly wanted to learn ‘Queen’s English’ if she were to start learning English again. The very small number of respondents wishing to speak AuE and CaE, and the absence of any other IC Englishes again demonstrates the hegemony of AmE, and to a lesser extent BrE.

Twenty participants selected native speaker but did not provide a specific variety. Nine of these individuals provided comments. Possible reasons for this were mentioned in Section 7.1. Analysis of these comments revealed a spectrum of reasons related to communication. While one participant wanted to use “English that makes communication possible” in order to “understand ideas from other countries through English”, others wanted to speak English well and naturally with clear pronunciation and proper speed to be able to ‘free talk’. Such feelings appear to be held due to the belief that it will be familiar for native speakers of English and that ‘Standard English’ will enable communication in any place due to “standard pronunciation and basic vocabulary”. These responses suggest a desire to use English with ‘native’ English speakers and that by using a ‘native’ variety of English,

communication in general will be much easier. These ideas do not reflect the reality that 'native speakers' are now in the minority of English speakers (Section 2.2.3), have communication issues, or that users of English from non-English speaking countries are surprised at the use of non-standard English in countries that use English as a primary language (Section 2.2.7). However, participants' desire to use English with native speakers is repeated in Sections 7.2.1.3 (why NS Englishes were desired) and 7.3.1.2 (why KoE was not desired). These findings are discussed in Section 7.4.

7.1.1.4 Clear English with a Korean accent

Thirty-four participants (15.04%) wished to speak clear English with a Korean accent. There were 27 provided comments, which resulted in 29 keywords (Table 7.5).

Table 7. 5: Reasons participants wanted to speak clear English with a Korean accent

Language learning limitations (n=6) (20.69%)	Communicative ability (n=17) (58.62%)
There is a limit because we are not native (3) Unable to change pronunciation (2) It would be really good to speak like a native speaker, but it will be uncomfortable to speak my own language	To communicate, To be easily understood, to express ideas clearly(12) Perfect understanding, English that everybody understands, exact English is needed (4) I want to speak English with the level that is necessary in Korea (1)
Identity (n=3) (10.345%)	**Work (n=3) (10.345%)**
I want to sustain my dignity as an educated Korean show my identity Everyone has their own pronunciation we don't have to follow the exact accent from a different culture	I want to achieve a certain degree with dealing with my work in English The purpose of learning English is for getting my job. My English is not related to my fluency, I just want people to understand clearly I don't feel like I will get a job which is related to English

Four themes were found present. The most salient theme was communicative ability (17). Participants wanted to be able to clearly communicate their ideas even if they "…don't

pronounce perfectly" or "sound like a native speaker" (P166), while other participants thought this English could be understood by everyone. There were also comments relating to proficiency. P201 stated "I want to speak English with the level that is necessary in Korea" indicating that the individual believes sounding like a native speaker is not needed in the Korean context. Furthermore, three participants commented on the relationship between English proficiency and employment. Two participants, who felt they needed English for work, stated that only a certain degree of English needed to be achieved, and understanding rather than fluency was more important. P198 stated that he did not think that he would get a job related to English, which can be interpreted as meaning that a native variety of English was deemed unnecessary.

Language learning limitations were also reasons six individuals opted for Korean accented English. Explanations included "it is too late to change my pronunciation perfectly" (P103), "I learned that Koreans can't speak like native speakers with native accent" (P158), and "because I know I can't speak like a native speaker" (P179). Thus, these individuals appear to want to speak like a 'native speaker' of English but have abandoned this idea due to the perceived difficulty and in some cases perceived impossibility of achieving such a goal. For three individuals, however, personal identity is the motivation to speak clear English with a Korean accent. There was acknowledgement of variation among English users around the world and not needing to follow an exact accent from a different culture. P123 felt that "…it is not shameful to show my identity as a foreigner [English speaker] and other foreigners [non-Koreans] will accept it as my individuality", while most strongly of all, P203 stated "I want to sustain my dignity as an educated Korean". These participants are in the minority, but it does highlight that some individuals wish to maintain their Korean identities when speaking English or at least not identify with the idea of needing or wanting to speak like a 'native speaker' of English. While only speculation, it is possible that the respondents'

desire to maintain their Korean identities when using English relates to having acquired sufficient social, economic and cultural capital (Section 2.1.3). As a result, speaking with a NS accent may not be desired or even actively avoided. Overall, most respondents believe that speaking English with a Korean accent is all that is needed or is desired with regard to Korean identity, but some appear to view this level of English as a compromise due to their perceived inability to sound like a 'native' speaker.

7.1.1.5 Variety does not matter

Eighteen individuals (07.97%) stated that the variety of English they wanted to speak did not matter, which revealed 20 keyword tokens also related to language learning. Being able to communicate well was considered the central point of using English rather than a specific variety due to English being used in many different countries and there being many different accents, as well as English only being the language for communication. However, there were differences in the primary focus of the communication. For a number of participants grammar and pronunciation were of less importance as long as their speech was understood. P135, however, commented that he wanted to "…speak clear English with clear grammar even if the pronunciation is not great like Ban Ki Moon."[7] For other participants pronunciation was of more importance. P143 wanted to be in between native speaker and Korean pronunciation. This choice may relate to identity. Being 'in between' may demonstrate the individual's language ability without being associated or identified as a native speaker. Additionally, attaining such a level may also be regarded as more attainable. Other comments related to the difficulty of language learning. One individual felt that it might be difficult to be 'good' at English, so only using English a bit would be satisfactory, while another respondent felt that due to her low level the variety did not matter.

[7] Ban Ki Moon was a South Korean diplomat and former Secretary-general of the United Nations. He is known in Korea for having an excellent command of English but still retaining his Korean accent.

For these participants with lower perceived English abilities, it appears that the idea of speaking a specific variety of English is not considered realistic.

7.1.1.6 Other

The option 'other' was selected by five participants (02.21%), two of whom gave explanations. Both individuals wanted to speak English that can be understood globally. P87 added more detail by stating she wanted to have an accent that people around the world can understand because "there are limitations of learning English in Korea and I still had difficulties talking to people abroad." Such a comment suggests the respondent is placing the burden of being understood on herself rather than interlocutors. It is also possible that the interlocutors were the cause of the communication difficulties.

7.1.1.7 Desired English user models according to gender

The data were analysed quantitatively and qualitatively to determine if gender affected results.

Table 7. 6: Varieties of English chosen according to gender

	Total (226)	
Variety	Female (116)	Male (110)
Native speaker	95 (81.90%)	74 (67.27%)
Clear English with Korean accent	07 (06.03%)	27 (24.55%)
Korean English (Konglish)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)
Other	03 (02.59%)	02 (01.82%)
Variety does not matter	11 (09.48%)	07 (06.36%)

When looking at the varieties according to gender (Table 7.6), a higher percentage of females (81.90%) than males (67.27%) wished to speak a 'native variety' of English, while over four times as many males (24.55%) than females (06.03%) selected 'Speaking clear English with a Korean accent'. A relatively equal number selected 'variety of English did not

matter' and 'other'. Neither gender wished to speak 'Korean English'. Females being more likely to want to speak prestige varieties of English (in this case NS varieties) and males being more likely to want to speak non-prestige varieties (Korean accented English) are congruent with general findings in previous studies (Section 2.6.1).

Table 7. 7: Native speaker varieties of English chosen according to gender

	Total (169)	
	Female (96)	Male (73)
AmE	42 (43.75%)	50 (68.49%)
BrE	25 (26.04%)	12 (16.44%)
CaE	04 (04.17%)	00 (00.00%)
AuE	01 (01.04%)	00 (00.00%)
Multiple NS varieties	11 (11.46%)	05 (06.85%)
NS (comment only)	13 (13.54%)	06 (08.22%)

The data were then analysed according to the NS varieties selected by each gender (Table 7.7). A much higher percentage of male students (68.49%) than female students (43.75%) selected AmE, while a higher percentage of females (26.04%) than males (16.44%) wished to speak BrE. Additionally, only females specifically selected CaE (04.17%) and AuE (01.04%), although two males who selected multiple varieties did list CaE. Furthermore, twice as many females selected multiple native speaker varieties. This may suggest that females are open to and wish to speak a wider variety of NS Englishes than males.

Qualitative analysis of the comments revealed that some themes were more salient according to gender in relation to AmE and BrE. Female AmE comments mostly related to familiarity, while males listed more status related reasons, with the biggest difference being the comments related to the power of the USA. Of the eight 'power' comments given, seven were made by males. Some differences related to BrE were also present. Females (17) made four times as many comments about social attractiveness than males (4), and in

particular, only females (4) labelled BrE as ‘cool’. No other differences according to gender were found. In sum, variety preference and reasons for such preferences may differ according to gender. These results suggest females have a greater preference for Standard English and that social attractiveness may be more important, while males are more open to less prestigious varieties but also value status. These findings continue to demonstrate that gender may affect language regard. Due to gender ratio imbalance in much of the previous Korean research, such findings do not appear to have been presented before.

7.1.2 Section conclusion

The findings show that three-quarters of participants wished to speak a native variety of English. Among the participants who selected NS varieties, AmE was the most desired variety followed by BrE. The only other desired native speaker varieties were CaE and AuE. However, these two varieties were only mentioned a few times. Just under one-quarter of individuals wanted to speak English with a Korean accent or believed that variety was not important. Nobody wanted to speak Korean English.

These results indicate that a NS bias is present within the survey sample. Reasons as to why AmE and BrE were chosen differed. The most common AmE theme was status followed by language learning and the subtheme of familiarity in particular, while social attractiveness and status were most common for BrE. These results are of significance as the most prominent themes explaining why individuals wish to speak a certain variety of English differ from the general associations made with AmE and BrE (Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2). While status remains important in variety desirability, dynamism was not a common reason to want to speak either variety. These differences indicate that certain aspects of language varieties become more salient depending on the context. In addition, the finding that AmE was chosen instead of BrE in some cases despite participants preferring the latter variety further suggests that the commonly used unidimensional methods of measuring

language attitudes (Sections 2.5.2 and 2.5.3) are unlikely to fully explain participants' language regard (Section 2.4.1).

Individuals who did not wish to speak an NS variety of English listed reasons such as adequate communication being possible without NS Englishes, the desire to keep Korean identity or not wanting to take on a new identity, and the difficulty or impossibility of achieving NS competence. These findings are of interest as they provide further understanding as to why Korean accented English may be chosen as a user model; for some individuals it is the desire to keep Korean identity while others it is the inability to achieve 'native' speaker pronunciation. Such findings would likely not have been revealed without qualitative open-ended questions.

Related to communication, particularly among those who selected NS Englishes, was the underlying theme of respondents placing the burden of successful communication upon themselves. Being able to speak a certain level of English or speaking 'Standard English' was thought to enable successful communication; while others stated that it would be easier for native speakers to understand. Such beliefs do not reflect the sociolinguistic reality of English usage around the world or even in countries where 'native English' is thought to be used (Section 2.2.3), but may match participants' perceived needs of using the language in contexts where English is the primary language (Sections 6.2.1.2 and 7.3.1.2). The relatively low number of individuals who wish to speak a non-IC English combined with the general low awareness of OEC Englishes (Section 5.1) suggests that the message of World Englishes is only known or embraced by a minority. In particular, no participants wished to use KoE as a linguistic model. (The reasons for this are investigated in Section 7.3.) This demonstrates that more work needs to be done to highlight the variability present in all Englishes and the potential for communication breakdown even when using 'native' Englishes. This is discussed further in Section 8.2.

Analysis of responses according to gender again highlighted potential differences. The results showed that certain varieties may be more desired by different genders. The reasons these varieties are desired may differ, too. Females were more likely to want to speak a native variety of English, especially BrE, while almost four times as many males as females wanted to speak English with a Korean accent. These results are broadly in line with previous research stating females are more likely to prefer prestigious varieties of language (Section 2.6.1). Reasons as to why such results were found can only be speculated, but they may relate to Korean females' social position in South Korea. As stated in Section 6.1.2, Korea has traditionally been a patriarchal society. A gender wage gap, low job security for women, and a higher percentage of women in low rank positions (Cho et al., 2013) may mean that females are more likely to desire the overt prestige associated with AmE and BrE as the cultural capital these Englishes have may be exchanged for economic capital through securing higher quality employment (Section 2.1.3).

The main qualitative differences were that males listed more status reasons related to AmE and females favoured BrE due to social attractiveness. Such findings again demonstrate the need to analyse answers according to gender to better understand any potential differences that may be present.

Overall, the findings show that specific varieties may be desired due to a combination of all five of van Bezooijen's (2002) hypotheses: sound, norm, context, intelligibility, and familiarity (Section 2.4.3). However, norm and context driven factors appear to be most prominent. It also appears that the factors may alter in importance according to gender. Having found that AmE and BrE were the most desired varieties despite English being viewed as global language used for communication (Chapter 6), the next section investigates the reasons for this finding in more detail. Then, the reasons why KoE was not desired by any participants is examined in Section 7.3.

7.2 Why participants wanted to speak native speaker varieties of English

In the first survey participants indicated that English is a global language used for communication (Section 6.1), but the majority of respondents (74.78%) wanted to use an NS variety of English (Section 7.1). In order to understand these findings in greater detail, participants in the second survey (Appendices 3 and 4) were asked why they thought NS Englishes and AmE in particular was desired. This question was answered by 75 participants (37 females and 38 males). Using content analysis (Section 3.9) 119 specific comments were identified, which covered five themes: status, language learning, communicative ability, culture, and language dynamism (Table 7.8).

Table 7. 8: Reasons native speaker Englishes were desired according to theme

Theme	Number of comments	Percentage
Status	54	45.38%
Language learning	31	26.05%
Communicative ability	19	15.97%
Culture	10	08.40%
Language dynamism	05	04.20%

Status (54 / 45.38%) is the most common reason participants wanted to acquire a ‘native’ variety of English. Language learning (31 / 26.89%), the majority of which related to familiarity, was also a salient theme. Communicative ability (19), which primarily focused on NS varieties making it easier to communicate, accounted for 15.97%. Culture (10 / 07.56%) and language dynamism (05 / 04.20%) were less prominent. As a result, status and language learning appear to be the key reasons NS Englishes were preferred. The themes are now qualitatively analysed to better understand why ‘native speaker’ varieties were preferred.

7.2.1 Qualitative analysis of participant responses according to theme

This section analyses the themes in order of prominence. These themes are interrelated, but are analysed separately for clarity. The data are then examined according to gender to determine if any particular subthemes are salient.

7.2.1.1 Status

Comments related to status of NS Englishes were most salient (54 / 45.38%) (Table 7.9). The majority of the responses were focused on standard language ideology (35). Other subthemes were the perceived power of NS English speaking countries, but specifically the USA (13) and positive perception by others when using NS Englishes (6).

Standard language ideology (35) was the most prominent subtheme. NS Englishes were desired due to being regarded as "standard language" (P19A and P53A), "real language that is actually used" (P52A), and "perfect and worth it to learn" (P22A). Furthermore, it was considered the language spoken by American and British people (P72A), but AmE was considered more useful than BrE (P63A). With specific reference to AmE, P20A commented "American English is FM[8]" (FM = follow the manual – a KoE term to indicate that the rules are correctly followed). AmE and BrE being the only explicitly stated varieties likely relates to these two Englishes being the most well-known (Section 5.1). This may also be explained by the historical references to English (4). NS English was regarded as "the place of origin" (P24A) and "originally English is the native speaker's language" (P63A). Likely based on a similar belief, P15A stated that "we should follow the way it [English] has been used for a long time". One comment related to standard language ideology, however, differed from the other statements. P32A believed that there is no Standard English, but

[8] The use of KoE as part of the comment is an example of how words, or an abbreviation in this case, have become integrated into the Korean language as a way to give meaning in an economical form (Section 2.3.7).

“people implicitly think that English spoken by native speakers is Standard English”. With this exception, it appears respondents still believe, whether explicitly or implicitly, NS English to be the ‘real’ English that is ‘owned’ by the native speaker (Section 2.2.3).

Table 7. 9: Reasons native speaker Englishes were desired – Status

Status (n=54) (45.38%)
In Korea, people think that American English is the Standard English ♦ English is the language spoken by American people or British people ♦ The English spoken by native speakers is perfect and worth to learn (17)
American English is the most used and people want to follow the trend ♦ Many people use American English ♦ American English is a lot more useful than British English (9)
English is everywhere in any place ♦ English is necessary in this global world ♦ There is no such situation which people never need English (9)
The USA is a very influential country ♦ America is the most influential country ♦ People think America is the most powerful country and also America is number one for (13)
If you speak American English, people believe that you speak perfect and ideal English ♦ First impression is based on appearance, so if you have good American style pronunciation it looks like you speak good English (6)

Another reason why NS Englishes were preferred was the social, economic, and political power of the USA and in one instance the UK (13). The one comment concerning the UK was that there was thought to be “envy towards developed countries, such as America and Britain” (P39A). The remaining comments regarded the USA as “the center of the world”, “the most influential”, and “it not [being] easy to ignore the power of the country”. Specific details included the USA being “the most powerful country in art, education and economy” (P76A) and the “number one for competitiveness”. These comments further illustrate how respondents’ language regard appears to be affected by the hegemony of the USA from a global perspective (Section 2.1.1) and its role in South Korea (Section 2.3.1).

The remaining responses related to how the speaker would be positively perceived when using NS Englishes (5). It was thought that individuals would appear as having “confidence”

(P18A) and “speaking good English” (P56A), as well as “look[ing] cool when speaking a second language fluently like a native speaker” (P71A). For two respondents, positive perceptions were directly connected with using AmE. P38A commented that “first impressions are based on appearance, so if you speak American English, it looks like you speak good English.” A more telling comment was made by P62A, who wanted to speak an NS variety because she did not want to be ignored. For these individuals the ability to fluently use a ‘native’ variety of English, such as AmE appears to provide an improved self-perception and an ability to differentiate from others in South Korea by indexing themselves as capable users of ‘native’ English. As a result, the cultural and symbolic capital associated with NS Englishes appears to be an asset (Section 2.1.3). While not stated, it is possible the cultural and symbolic capital of these Englishes can be converted into economic capital via improved employment opportunities (Section 6.2.1.1) and potentially social capital, too.

The high percentage of comments related to status shows its importance in shaping the language regard of these participants. Although complex and interrelated, standard language ideology is prevalent. The widespread use of AmE in South Korea, which is related to the continued power of the USA and its strong influence in Korea’s modern history (Section 2.3.1) appears to continue to reinforce the idea of a ‘standard’ language, which in turn is valued by some participants due to the esteem associated with speaking the variety. However, the hegemonic distinction is not just limited to ‘native’ versus ‘non-native’ varieties (Section 5.2) and within a national variety (Section 7.1.1.1), but also seems present within NS varieties with AmE being regarded as more useful than BrE by certain participants.

7.2.1.2 Language learning

There were 31 language learning comments (26.05%) (Table 7.10). The most common subtheme why NS Englishes, and AmE in particular, were preferred was familiarity. Other related subthemes were ease of learning and using NS Englishes, as well as standardised English tests.

Familiarity comments (21) accounted for most of the responses. To aid analysis the comments have been divided according to general familiarity and familiarity through English language education. Beginning with general familiarity, NS Englishes were preferred because “it is the most common” (P23A) and “it is a lot more familiar” (P40A). The singular references to NS Englishes suggest that these participants may view English as spoken by native speakers to be monolithic. References to specific varieties were all focused on AmE, except for one comment which also included BrE and CaE. These three varieties were thought to be easily recognisable due to English becoming an international language (P64A). The remaining comments viewed AmE as more “familiar”, “common” and “exposed to” from a young age. Additionally, AmE was regarded as the “easiest type of English that Koreans know best” due to “America [being] familiar in our minds” (P1A). Explaining further, the individual believed that many Koreans thought that “Western = America”. Such a comment demonstrates the hegemonic power of the USA and likely helps to explain why AmE is primarily associated with ‘native speaker’ English and English in general in South Korea (Sections 2.1.1 and 2.3.1). The association of English with the USA is similar to findings in Japan by Evans and Imai (2011) (Section 2.6.2) suggesting that the status and power associated with the USA leading to English being viewed as synonymous with the nation is present in different contexts.

Table 7. 10: Reasons native speaker Englishes were desired – Language learning

Language learning (n=31) (26.05%)
People prefer American English because we are exposed to American English more than British English ♦ American English is the most common ♦ American English is more familiar (12)
We are familiar with American English because we have been exposed to it since we were very young in Korea (3)
In Korea, we are educated with American English rather than British English ♦ We are educated in American English since we are young (6)
It looks easy to learn ♦ Easy to pronounce ♦ Easy to understand (5)
It is the most useful in Korea (tests) ♦ American English is in the TOEIC test a lot (3)
I want to have American English pronunciation but I want to learn more about British English (1)
Native speakers they speak their first language well, so people want to learn their English (1)

All the comments about learning English in schools (6) referenced AmE as the pedagogic model in Korean education and being used in standardised tests (3). It was noted that students are taught AmE rather than BrE (P28A and P37A) and AmE is taught from a young age (P40A). In particular, P25A felt that the Korean education system "teaches English to exchange information with America…" so it was difficult for Koreans to think about other varieties of English. This idea likely explains P21A's comment that people studying English think they are studying AmE.

Possibly related to having learned NS Englishes from a young age and these varieties being familiar, other comments mentioned the ease of learning English (5). NS Englishes were thought "easy to learn" and "easy to pronounce", as well as "easy to understand" for both Koreans and people abroad, and even thought to be understood by 90% of the world's population (P9A). This overestimation of English being understood in the world is similar to findings relating to the importance of English (Section 6.1) and is likely the result of the importance placed on English as a tool for a globalised South Korea (Section 2.3.1).

Language learning is an important element in explaining why NS Englishes were preferred by participants. Familiarity with AmE in particular, either generally or the language classroom, appears to be significant with standardised English tests also being a factor. Furthermore, this familiarity is likely the reason NS Englishes were viewed by some individuals to be easier to learn and understand. These findings also relate to the hegemony of the USA as it is unlikely AmE would be the pedagogic model in Korea without America's dominant world role.

7.2.1.3 Communicative ability

Communicative ability comments (19 / 15.97%) (Table 7.11) with one exception focused how NS Englishes improved communication. Using NS varieties of English or speaking close to 'Standard' English was thought 'beneficial to communicate, 'easier to communicate' and to enable 'smooth communication'. An NS variety was also thought more "versatile" and enabled users to "communicate fluently in any place" and "removes the awkward feeling" when using English.

Table 7. 11: Reasons native speaker Englishes were desired – Communicative ability

Communicative ability (n=19) (15.97%)
English is very beneficial to communicate ♦ For smooth communication ♦ Because the English spoken by native speakers are more versatile (18)
I think any kind of English can be used to communicate with people who speak different varieties of English (1)

Explanations of why such beliefs were held related to pronunciation and variation affecting comprehensibility. P41A, referring to KoE, felt that "…because of pronunciation there will be misunderstanding", while P54A believed the "importance of pronunciation is huge". The respondent noted that using KoE in a restaurant, café, or shop while abroad would not be a problem, but that it would cause a lot of misunderstandings when making conversation,

discussing difficult topics, or when giving a presentation due to the difference in pronunciation from native speakers. Supporting this idea, P8A, who has visited English speaking countries, noted “the meanings and transfer capability can be changed because of a very tiny difference in communication”. While communitive breakdown can happen regardless of who is talking, an example from my own teaching experience in a Korean university English presentation class is the pronunciation of ‘*theme*’. The word has also become part of the Korean lexicon, but the pronunciation in Korean is /ˈtem.ə/ (Section 2.3.7). This pronunciation is often transferred when speaking English. Despite being familiar with Korean pronunciation and L1 transfer, I had not heard the word pronounced like this at the time, and even with the context of the speech I did not know what was said. As a teacher I looked at this as a learning experience for myself, the students in my class, and future students. However, as almost half of the respondents in this study believed that fluent English communication is important for acquiring or maintaining employment (Section 6.2.1.2), it is understandable participants are concerned about a breakdown in real-world communication being problematic. The one differing idea was that any kind of English can be used to communicate with people who speak different varieties of English (P73A). Such a belief corresponds with many scholars of World Englishes (Section 2.2.2) and newer theories such as translanguaging (Section 2.2.4), but in this sample the participant was alone in subscribing to such thinking.

Despite English being a global lingua-franca, all but one of the comments in this section demonstrate that NS Englishes are thought to enable much easier communication in different situations due to being more widely understood or enabling the speaker to feel more confident. This latter point may relate to the symbolic capital (Section 2.1.3) associated with NS Englishes in Korea. Conversely, KoE was stated as causing communication problems due to pronunciation issues.

7.2.1.4 Culture

There were ten comments related to culture (08.40%) (Table 7.12). The most common theme was the relationship South Korea has with the USA. It was thought that Koreans pursue American culture (P44A) and have a 'warm feeling' with the USA (P34A), as well as South Korea being influenced by the USA (P57A). One explanation for such feelings, as stated by P76A, is South Korea's close relations with the USA militarily, politically, and economically.

Related to media, it was stated that American movies are famous (P44A) and the USA has massive power in film, as well as music (P48A). Furthermore, by learning AmE it was felt that an individual will have broader awareness of the world by watching the American news channel CNN. For P26A, however, American hegemony in the form of the media and monetary capital has been used as a vehicle to "spread propaganda". Unfortunately, no further details were provided, but this comment suggests awareness of how the media can be used as a vehicle for linguistic hegemony. With regard to newer forms of media, P75A stated that Korean people are now more interested in British English due to being exposed to YouTube channels such as the 'Korean Englishman' (영국남자)[9]. The channel is hosted by a Korean speaking Englishman who shares the culture of South Korea and the UK. As of March 2020, the channel has over 3.7 million subscribers. While this is only one comment, it does highlight how new media via technological advancements has enabled Koreans to become more familiar with BrE and British culture more generally. This may help to explain the more positive associations in this study than Jung (2005) found (Section 2.6.3).

[9] The Korean Englishman YouTube channel is hosted by Josh Carrott from the UK. The content mainly presents the reactions of British people to different aspects of Korean culture.

Table 7. 12: Reasons native speaker Englishes were desired – Culture

Culture (n=10) (08.40%)
America is the country which Koreans' feel a warm feeling ♦ Koreans prefer America. If we say flunkeyism it is too much, but we are pursuing American culture ♦ Especially Korea has a lot of influence from America (4)
American English is easier to be exposed to due to media influence ♦ American English has massive power in music and movies (3)
A very powerful country (USA) spread propaganda using media and massive capital (1)
Korean people are more interested in British English by being exposed to YouTube channels – (영국남자 / Korean Englishman) and the growth in media (1)
If you acquire American English your vision from CNN or the world will broaden (1)

Although the number of cultural comments is relatively low, they do highlight how film, music and the internet can affect language preferences. Nonetheless, it is the status and power of the USA, and to a certain extent the UK, that most likely enables and continues this cultural soft power. With ever increasing connectivity, it is likely that even more people will be exposed to different varieties of English and the respective cultures more easily than was possible in the past. Such connectivity may enable other Englishes to be encountered, but it is also possible that the hegemony of the USA and potentially the UK means that the prevailing status of AmE and BrE may be even more solidified by easier access.

7.2.1.5 Language dynamism

Dynamism comments were the least common (5 / 04.20%) (Table 7.13).

Table 7. 13: Reasons native speaker Englishes were desired – Dynamism

Dynamism (n=5) (04.20%)
American English has soft pronunciation ♦ For many people American English is clearer (3)
British English sounds like Korean English, so people want to speak American English (1)
Konglish is chopped or too oily (1)

AmE was preferred as it was thought to be softer and clearer than other varieties of English (3). As a result of this softness, the variety was judged to be “comfortable” (P69A) and was thought to feel like ‘English’ (P48A) rather than the harder sounding Australian and British Englishes. These comments are similar to those elicited in the first survey when participants were asked about any associations they had with stated varieties (Section 5.2)[10]. With specific reference to BrE, the “unique pronunciation” was thought to sound “a little awkward” (P2A) and even sound like Korean English (P46A), which led to both respondents believing people want to speak AmE. One comment was made about ‘Konglish’, which was thought to sound “chopped” (hard sounds) or “too oily” (trying too hard to sound like a ‘native speaker’) (P54A). Although much lower in number, the sound driven reasons of the ‘softer’ AmE appears important to these individuals. A further point of interest is the low number of dynamism related comments, which is similar to the findings in 7.1. This further suggests that among participants in both phases of data collection dynamism is not a prominent feature of why NS Englishes are desired.

7.2.2 Analysis of responses according to gender

Quantitative analyses of themes are shown in Table 7.14. Status related comments were most salient for both genders and almost equally prominent as percentages. This further suggests that the status of NS Englishes is a key reason they are desired as user models. The remaining themes, however, differed noticeably according to gender. Females (24.07% and 07.41%) made more comments about communicative ability and dynamism than males (09.23% and 01.54%). Conversely, males (32.31% and 10.77%) made more language learning and culture related comments than females (18.52% and 05.56%). Therefore, while status appears to be a key reason the NS Englishes are preferred, other themes are

[10] An interpretation of what ‘softer’ and ‘harder’ may mean in relation to the different varieties is presented in Section 5.2.2.

more salient to different genders. A point of interest is that in both phases of research, this is the only time that males made more comments than females. As non-probability sampling was used any ideas must be tentative, but the larger number of male comments may suggest a greater interest in NS Englishes than other aspects of English.

Table 7. 14: Reasons native speaker Englishes were desired according to gender

Theme	Female comments (54)	Male comments (65)
Status	24 (44.44%)	30 (46.15%)
Language learning	10 (18.52%)	21 (32.31%)
Communicative ability	13 (24.07%)	06 (09.23%)
Culture	03 (05.56%)	07 (10.77%)
Dynamism	04 (07.41%)	01 (01.54%)

Looking at the results qualitatively there were some differences in the types of comments provided by respondents according to gender. With regard to status, more males (8) than females (5) commented on the power of the USA, as well as its cultural influence (3 males and 1 female). A more sizeable difference related to communicative ability - twice as many females (12) than males (6) commented on the importance NS Englishes enabling better communication. Other differences concerned language learning. While males made more comments overall in this theme, a greater number of males in particular focused on having more familiarity with NS Englishes, particularly with reference to being exposed to AmE from a young age, as well as their usage in Korean education. This may suggest that familiarity with NS Englishes is more important to males than females.

7.2.3 Section Conclusion

The results show ‘native speaker’ varieties of English, and AmE in particular, were desired due to five interrelated themes. Status was the most prominent theme. NS Englishes were strongly associated with standard language ideology, widespread usage, and the power of

the USA. Language learning was also an important reason. The most common subtheme was familiarity with NS Englishes in general and in the language classroom where AmE is the pedagogic model. Communicative ability was also somewhat pertinent. NS Englishes were thought to enable improved communication due to better fluency and being more versatile. Cultural themed responses were less numerous but highlighted how South Korea's relationship with the USA, as well as the power of American film, music, and media in general has affected language regard. However, there was evidence of new media enabling access to BrE and further raising awareness of the variety. Language dynamism was least salient. Most comments focused on the softness and clarity of AmE, while other mentioned varieties (AuE, BrE and KoE) were thought to sound too hard or awkward. Analysis of the data according to gender revealed that status was the most prominent theme for each gender and of very similar importance. It therefore appears that status is a key theme that affects the language regard of these participants towards NS Englishes. The remaining themes differed suggesting gender plays a role in shaping language regard.

Looking at all the themes related to the preference of NS Englishes being the most desired user model, it appears that all of van Bezooijen's (2002) identified hypotheses are present: norm, context, intelligibility, familiarity, and sound (Section 2.4.3). However, status and context driven factors appear to be most important. AmE was also desired due to the variety being more familiar. However, this familiarity, which has likely affected intelligibility, can be associated with AmE being the predominate variety taught in Korea as a result of American hegemony giving AmE its elevated status (Sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2). Sound driven reasons were low. The comments relating to AmE sounding 'soft' and 'comfortable' may be related to the variety sounding inherently better, but it is more likely they are related to AmE being considered familiar and intelligible. Consequently, it appears AmE is desired for a number of interrelated reasons, but this desire is likely to be driven by the status of the

variety. Having gained a better understanding of why NS Englishes were desired, the next section investigates why KoE was not desired as a variety.

7.3 Why participants did not want to speak Korean English

No participants in the first phase of the study wanted to speak KoE (Section 7.1). To better understand why this variety lacked any desirability, respondents in the second survey (Appendices 3 and 4) were asked to state why they thought no individuals wanted to use KoE as a linguistic model. This section begins by introducing the general themes present in the data and then analyses the comments qualitatively. The data are then analysed according to gender.

A total of 71 participants (36 female and 35 male) answered the question. Content analysis (Section 3.9) revealed 85 keyword comments (47 female and 38 male), which related to four themes explaining why KoE was not desired: status, communicative ability, language identity, and language learning (Table 7.15).

Comments related to status were the most prominent (37 / 43.53%) closely followed by communicative ability (36 / 42.35%), while language identity (08 / 09.41%) and language learning (04 / 04.71%) responses were less common. As a result, the primary reasons KoE was not desired as a variety of English relate to prestige and ability to communicate.

Table 7. 15: Reasons KoE was not desired according to theme

Theme	Number of comments	Percentage
Status	37	43.53%
Communicative ability	36	42.35%
Language identity	08	09.41%
Language learning	04	04.71%

Looking at these themes in comparison with why NS Englishes were desired (Section 7.2), status was the most prominent theme in both cases. This suggests that the level of prestige

associated with a variety is important to the respondents in general. Other themes differed in salience, such as communicative ability and language learning, or differed completely in the cases of language identity and culture. These results are discussed further in Section 7.4, but at the quantitative level suggest that the desirability of varieties of English are affected by various factors.

7.3.1 Qualitative analysis of participant responses according to theme

The themes are now analysed qualitatively to better understand the quantitative findings. The themes are analysed in order of prominence.

7.3.1.1 Status

Status comments (37 / 43.53%) (Table 7.16) were split between the status attributed to 'native speaker' Englishes (17) and the lack of status associated with KoE (20). The majority of 'native speaker' English comments (9) focused on respondents wanting to use English correctly or speak perfectly. This suggests that these respondents idealise NS English as being a completely accurate form of English to model language use despite this not often being the case (Section 2.2.3). Furthermore, such ideas indicate that for these individuals a native speaker exonormative norm model is still desired compared to an endonormative model of English (Section 2.2.2). Reasons for wanting to speak like a native speaker included P15A stating "…we should follow the English way because it is the international language as it is used in America and Britain" and P74A noting "people want to learn the original language and not the language in-between". Such feelings may be explained by the ideas that people will think you speak good English (P46A), it looks cool (P58A), and people wanting confidence when talking to others, especially native speakers (P28A). KoE comments were mostly negative. The variety was considered incorrect or not real English and not useful or accepted (8). KoE was regarded as sounding 'cheap', 'countryside', and 'uneducated'. More strongly, P59A compared KoE to an "English mutant

variety" and believed it to be useless in a country where English is not the dominant language.

Other comments focused on how non-Koreans may react to KoE and how the speaker may feel (11). It was thought when foreigners were exposed to KoE it is "embarrassing" for the speaker of KoE (P42A), foreigners will "laugh at it" (P43A), and the speaker will be ignored (P50A), which would result in the speaker feeling "shameful" when communicating with foreigners (P71A). The one non-negative comment about KoE, however, stated that it is not shameful to use the variety. Instead, P75A stated that the variety and culture are different, much like AmE and BrE are different. While commonly agreed upon among many linguists, this orthodox view was only subscribed to by one individual.

Table 7. 16: Reasons KoE was not desired – Status

Status (n=37) (43.53%)
Want to speak English perfectly ♦ Want to use correct English ♦ Want to learn the original language (9)
When you speak English fluently like foreigners, people think that you speak good English (3)
Should use proper intonation and speak like a native speaker ♦ We have mind that we do not want to lose ♦ Between Koreans it is about self-esteem (3)
Lack of professionalism ♦ helpful for career if you speak proper English (2)
Not real English ♦ Not proper English ♦ An English mutant variety (8)
Foreigners will laugh ♦ Sounds funny ♦ You will be ignored (7)
Looks like you don't speak good English (4)
I do not think it is shameful. It is the different English with different culture (1)

An insight into why it was desirable to speak a 'native' English rather than KoE related to competition with oneself and among others in Korean society (3). P4A commented that as English is not the 'mother tongue' of Korea, Koreans should "use proper intonation and

speak like a native speaker" because he believed that if an individual learns something, he or she should learn it as well as possible, while P40A stated that "between Koreans it is about self-esteem". Similarly, P18A stated that everybody [Koreans] wants to speak English and communicate well, and they do not want to speak KoE due to the fact it represents "losing". Though no further context is provided, these ideas likely relate to the competitive environment these young adults find themselves in. The feeling of 'losing' or low self-esteem is likely a result of being unable to achieve the desired competence in prestige Englishes such as AmE, and thus failing to achieve the desired social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital in the competitive Korean society (Section 2.3.1).

These comments demonstrate that KoE lacks status as a variety, while the numerous comparisons with NS Englishes shows a strong presence of standard language ideology and native-speakerism (Section 2.3.2). Standard English is thought to aid self-esteem through self-confidence and the belief that others (both Korean and non-Korean) will view the speaker positively. Conversely, KoE is viewed negatively or not even considered 'real' English and may even be equated with failure.

7.3.1.2 Communicative ability

Communication issues were also an important theme explaining why KoE was not a desirable variety of English (36 / 42.35%) (Table 7.17). The most common subtheme was perceived communication difficulties when using KoE (23). Participants felt 'native speakers', 'foreigners' or 'people abroad' would have difficulty understanding KoE or even find it impossible (15), and only Koreans are able to understand it (2). Reasons for comprehensibility difficulties were that people 'do not use the words in real life' (P52A), the use of "false expressions" (P25A) and "wrong words" (P61A). Additionally, the pronunciation was thought difficult to understand. P19A gave the example of Koreans pronouncing 'mayonnaise' as /maɪ.ʌn.eɪz.ə/ and 'buffet' as /bʌp.peɪ/ not being intelligible

(Section 2.3.7). Additionally, P54A had unwittingly used KoE abroad and had difficulty communicating.

By avoiding the use of the KoE, however, communication was deemed to be easier (7). It was thought “official English” (P1A), “correct English pronunciation” (P38A), and ‘mainland English’ (mainland / 본토 = USA) (P21A) were helpful to communicate. Another reason that KoE was avoided was due to it not matching the purpose of learning English, which the respondents believed is to communicate (4). P25A stated that the purpose of him learning English was to communicate with people in ‘native countries’, while P32A felt English is not learned to be used in Korea, but to communicate with people who use different languages. Similarly, P30A noted that as Konglish is only used in Korea and only Koreans understand it, “there is no meaning to use it”.

Table 7. 17: Reasons KoE was not desired – Communicative ability

Communicative ability (n=36) (42.35%)
If we use English with foreigners they don’t understand the correct meaning ♦ Konglish cannot be used to communicate with native people ♦ Korean style English can’t be understood except by Koreans (23)
Not to be prevented communicating with foreigners ♦ For easy communication people want to speak mainland English (7)
To learn English is not to use in Korea ♦ the purpose of using English for Koreans is to communicate with other people in native countries (4)
Afraid to talk to foreigners face to face ♦ People are afraid of their English speaking skill and not being fluent (2)

Overall, KoE as a variety is thought to inhibit communication, while native Englishes are thought to enable successful communication. This may be viewed as problematic in the sense that KoE is negatively viewed, but the participants express a repeated expectation of using English with non-Koreans rather than intra-nationally with Koreans. As a result, the

features of KoE (Section 2.3.7) were thought to inhibit communication with non-Koreans. Consequently, while KoE was thought intelligible and comprehensible among Koreans, participants do not intend to use English with other Koreans. This finding is in line with the results from Section 6.1.1.1 (Importance of English), which found that English was considered important to be able to communicate internationally.

7.3.1.3 Language identity

Language identity comments featured eight times (09.41%) (Table 7.18). Nearly all the comments related to KoE's identity and use (7). KoE was considered 'ambiguous' (P41A) and caused the identities of the Korean language and foreign languages to be 'confused' (P8A). Additionally, there was concern about Konglish destroying Korean due to a "chaos of identity" (P9A). Reasons for such feelings may be due to KoE being thought of as 'not actually a fixed language' and 'neither Korean nor English'. As a result, these respondents did not want to use KoE. P70A wanted to "use Korean words as Korean and English words as English", while P2A did not want to use a 'complicated language' as it is 'not effective or economical'. P60A, however, believed that KoE can be accepted as "a culture", but that Korean can be used more, which may be a reference to the increasing use of Konglish and English in Korean society. These comments generally indicate structuralist beliefs as Korean and English are viewed as autonomous systems (Section 2.2).

Table 7. 18: Reasons KoE was not desired – Language identity

Language identity (n=8) (09.41%)
I want to use Korean words as Korean, and I want to use English words as English ♦ Konglish makes Korean language and foreign language identities confused (7)
Doesn't consider the English speaking countries cultural and English speaking situation (1)

One very different comment focused on the use of Konglish not taking into account the culture and English use in English speaking countries. P48A felt that non-Koreans were

being “pushed to understand” KoE. Although only an individual comment, it again suggests the belief that ownership of English still belongs to English speaking countries, as well as placing the burden of communication onto Koreans rather than being shared.

These comments, while low in number, suggest a desire to keep languages as distinct and territorialised (Section 2.2) in the belief that it will strengthen language identity and simplify language use. This desire potentially relates to the finding that respondents stated they wanted to use English with non-Koreans, and by suppressing features of KoE (Section 2.3.7), communication is envisioned to be easier. These findings contrast with the idea of translanguaging (Section 2.2.4). Rather than a spatial repertoire enabling easier cross-cultural communication, these respondents appear to view translanguaging as problematic and would rather use one autonomous language and its associated standard rules to communicate. This belief is likely the result of many factors relating to the Korean habitus (Section 2.3), but education policies favouring IC Englishes and ‘native’ speakers has likely played a key role (Section 2.3.2). The possibility of at least helping learners recognise how translanguaging can aid communication is discussed in Section 8.2.

7.3.1.4 Language learning

Four comments focused on language learning (04.71%) (Table 7.19).

Table 7. 19: Reasons KoE was not desired – Language learning

Language learning (n=4) (04.71%)
It disturbs English studying ♦ Damages the essence of English because there are too many words to memorize (3)
If I understand and use one country’s language well, then foreign people can learn Korean the correct way (1)

Related to identity, P41A felt that the ambiguity of KoE ‘disturbs’ English study, while P47A stated that the ‘essence’ of English is damaged because of there being too many words to

memorise. A related example provided by P54A explained the different usage of words in Korea and abroad meaning that she had to memorise the correct words, which was ‘complicated’ and ‘inconvenient’. Also, P53A felt by understanding one language well [Standard English], users of the language will be able to learn the Korean language ‘the correct way’ from her. This small group of comments also appears to support the idea of linguistic prescriptivism. However, it also highlights the difficulties and practicalities of learning a language; learning English appears to be easier without KoE.

7.3.2 Analysis of responses according gender

Comparing the themes according to gender showed some differences (Table 7.20).

Table 7. 20: Reasons KoE was not desired according to gender

Theme	Female (47)	Male (38)
Status	22 (46.81%)	15 (39.47%)
Communication	16 (34.04%)	20 (52.63%)
Language identity	06 (12.77%)	02 (05.26%)
Language learning	03 (06.38%)	01 (02.63%)

A higher percentage of females (46.81%) than males (39.47%) commented on status, and language identity was also more salient for females (12.77%) than males (05.26%). Language learning as a theme was very small overall, but females (06.38%) also made more related comments than males (02.63%). The only theme males (52.63%) made more comments than females (34.04%) was communication. These differences continue the trend of certain aspects of language regard differing according to gender. However, status and communication being the two most prominent themes for both genders indicates the overall importance of these two themes in affecting why KoE was not desired as a user model.

Qualitative analysis also revealed some variation. With regard to status comments, only females (4) made reference to the use of KoE giving the appearance that the speaker cannot speak English well and that being able to speak English fluently and with good pronunciation would be perceived as 'cool', and individuals would be thought of as good speakers of English (3). In addition, more females (7) than males (2) commented on wanting to speak English 'correctly' and 'perfectly'. Male comments differed in one instance. Males were the only respondents to address self-esteem and competitiveness of learning English (3). Analysis of communication comments revealed only one difference; males (14) made more comments than females (9) about the communication difficulties caused by using KoE. Language identity received fewer comments and those comments were made mostly by female respondents. One notable trend, however, is that only females (4) commented on the variety being 'manmade', 'not fixed' and 'not English and not Korean'. No differences were found among language learning comments.

These findings differed from other results in this study as females made more status comments than males. A potential reason may be the absence of systematic sampling, but it may also relate to evaluating varieties of English differently. While males made more status related comments in relation to NS Englishes (Sections 7.1.1.7 and 7.2.2), a larger number of males also desired to speak clear English with a Korean accent (Section 7.1.1.4). This may suggest status is less salient for males when considering Englishes in the Korean context; instead the issue of communication becomes more prominent. However, status remains an important theme for females whom as a group were more likely to want to speak an NS English. Further research is required to determine if this speculation has merit.

7.3.3 Section conclusion

The results indicate participants, with one exception, did not want to speak KoE in any communicative contexts. Status and communication issues formed the majority of the

responses and were almost equally salient. Language identity and language learning were less prominent. The status comments showed that KoE was regarded as undesirable. Most of the comments focused on the negative emotions a speaker of KoE would feel and the perception that interlocutors would view the KoE speaker negatively due to the variety not being considered 'real' English. In contrast, individuals who wanted to speak 'original' NS English felt it would boost confidence and self-esteem, as well as allow them to be perceived more positively by others.

Comprehensibility and intelligibility issues caused by KoE were also prominent. In particular, respondents felt that 'native speakers' would have difficulty understanding the variety due to the use of 'incorrect' expressions and Korean pronunciation. As a result, only Koreans were thought to be able to understand KoE. Furthermore, the respondents, only indicated that they wished to use English with non-Koreans or abroad in countries where English was the 'native' language. Thus, KoE does not match the perceived needs of these individuals. Language identity was less prominent, but there was concern KoE blurred the identities of English and Korean and made language use complicated. The individuals wanted to use the two languages autonomously and not conflate them. Language learning comments shared some similarities with identity comments due to the use of the two varieties causing ambiguity and generating too many words to learn, which would disrupt a participant's English studies. Therefore, it can be deduced that learning only 'Standard English' is believed to make language learning less difficult. These findings are of importance as the belief that Korean and English should remain as two autonomous languages needs to be taken into consideration when designing language classes. While there is a need to prepare learners to be able to communicate in different situations, which may and likely should include instruction in translanguaging practices (Section 2.2.4), learner needs and wishes must also be considered (Section 8.2).

Analysis of the data according to gender revealed a higher percentage of females provided status and language identity comments, while communication was more salient for males. This finding again appears to support the idea that females are more concerned than males about prestige associated with varieties (Sections 2.6.1 and 7.1). When looking qualitatively, some gender differences emerged. In status related comments only females made reference to the negative perceptions of using KoE and the positive perceptions of being able to speak English well, while only males highlighted self and societal competition when learning English. In relation to communication, more males were concerned about the communication difficulties caused by using KoE.

These findings suggest that KoE is not desired as a variety due to a mix of norm, context, familiarity and intelligibility driven factors (van Bezooijen, 2002) (Section 2.4.3). The variety lacks status among these individuals and is also perceived to lack status with potential non-Korean interlocutors. Participants also believed that envisioned conversation partners would be unfamiliar with the variety and its features (Section 2.3.7). Thus, KoE would be deemed unintelligible. It was believed that Koreans would be familiar with KoE, but using this variety was not deemed to match the purpose of learning and using English. No comments related to the sound driven hypothesis. This is unsurprising given the overall negative perceptions of KoE as a variety. The findings from the three sections of this chapter are now discussed in detail.

7.4 Discussion

This chapter has shown that NS Englishes were desired as user models by the majority of respondents (74.78%). Speaking clear English with a Korean accent (15.04%) and variety does not matter (07.97%) formed nearly a quarter of the responses. KoE was not desired by any participant. Among the desired NS varieties, AmE was most preferred (54.44%) followed by BrE (21.89%). CaE (02.37%) and AuE (00.59%) were the only other mentioned

varieties, but these varieties were not prominent at all. No other specific varieties were mentioned. Data from the second survey showed that the preference for AmE and lack of desire for KoE were due to a variety of themes, which generally differed in salience according to the variety. One exception was status, which was the most prominent factor for both varieties. These findings are now discussed in relation to previous research.

Looking at the results from Section 7.1 in comparison to other East Asian studies (Section 2.6.2), Sasayama (2013) also found that around three-quarters of respondents wished to sound American and that most did not want to sound Japanese. In China, however, He and Zhang (2010) found that over half of the respondents (55%) wanted to maintain a Chinese accent rather than sound American. Reasons for this were English being viewed as a tool for communication and a strong Chinese language identity. This study also found English was considered as a tool for communication (Chapter 6), but status appears to be strongly interlinked with communication meaning that a prestige variety is mostly desired when using English. (The possible reasons for this finding are discussed below.) The findings regarding identity also differed as the majority of participants appeared to want to separate their Korean language identities from their English speaking identities. This is most likely due to KoE lacking the desired linguistic capital (Section 2.1.4) and linguistic features (Section 2.3.7) being judged to cause communication breakdown. The similarity of results between Korea and Japan regarding AmE is potentially the result of each country's relationship with the USA since the end of the Second World War, and its presence in both nations unlike China.

With regard to Korean research (Section 2.6.3), the findings that AmE and NS Englishes in general are most desired, while KoE is not, match the findings by Breaux and Brown (2011) and have some similarities with Lee and Warren Green (2016) whom found IC Englishes were considered most important to learn and understand. The similarity in results indicates

that IC Englishes, especially AmE, continue to be viewed as the most desired varieties by young adults in Korea. These previous studies, however, either lacked qualitative explanation to understand why varieties such as AmE and KoE were or were not desired (Breaux & Brown, 2011) or did not investigate the reasons specific Englishes were preferred (Lee & Warren Green, 2016). As a result, this research appears to be one of the first in the Korean context to investigate the reasons that affect variety desirability.

A finding of note was that the salience of themes explaining why AmE and BrE were desired as varieties of English (Section 7.1) differed quite considerably with general associations made with the varieties (Section 5.2). Status was a prominent theme in general, as was familiarity through language learning. However, dynamism, which was very prominent in general associations was mentioned very few times when respondents were asked to explain why they had chosen AmE or BrE as desired user models. A further difference was that social attractiveness was not particularly salient in respondents' general associations but became the most salient theme when explaining why BrE was desired as a user model. These findings again indicate that not all language regard associations are evaluative (Section 2.4.1). Furthermore, it suggests that when language attitudes are present, they may be affected by the context of the question. Consequently, the unidimensional view of attitudes adopted by researchers who have only used positivist methods to investigate language attitudes (Sections 2.5.2 and 2.5.3), may produce results that do not reflect participants' true language regard.

Comparing the themes related to the desirability of NS Englishes (Section 7.2) and undesirability of KoE (Section 7.3), status was the most prominent theme in both instances. This suggests that status dimensions play an important role in participants' English regard. NS Englishes and AmE in particular were generally thought to be real English, while KoE was not or was considered as sounding 'cheap'. NS Englishes were deemed to have more

status than OEC varieties, but linguistic hierarchies were also present within NS Englishes. Despite participants having a similar awareness of AmE and BrE (Section 5.1) and generally positive perceptions of these varieties (Section 5.2), the majority wished to speak AmE even when BrE was preferred due to sounding better or being thought more original. Within AmE a hierarchy was also present as specific geographical, social class, and ethnic varieties were preferred. These results show that awareness of variation among respondents differs considerably, but some respondents are conscious that certain Englishes within national varieties have more linguistic capital than others. The hierarchies are likely the result of norm and context driven factors (section 2.4.3) associated with Standard American English in Korea (Section 2.3).

Other stated themes differed in prominence. Communication featured in both questions, but was much more prominent in relation to KoE. Respondents were primarily concerned that the variety would be unintelligible to the desired non-Korean interlocutors. Conversely, AmE was thought to enable unhindered communication. However, this theme was less prominent for AmE. Furthermore, language learning, mostly due to familiarity, was a salient reason AmE was preferred. This theme, however, was not prominent in relation to KoE. Instead, the few language learning responses focused on the added difficulty the variety causes in learning English. These results suggest that the salience of elicited themes can differ considerably according to the variety in question.

The findings also highlight a disconnect between the real-world perceptions these respondents have towards KoE and linguists who posit the equality of all varieties of English. Participant desire to keep Korean and English separate and territorialised in the belief that this will enable more successful communication rather than using a translingual or spatial repertoire is in contrast with the academic literature (Section 2.2.4). Similarly, the focus on using IC Englishes with ‘native’ English speakers is at odds with the fact that there

are more ‘non-native’ speakers of English than ‘native’ speakers in the world (Section 2.2.3). However, before being critical of these beliefs, it is necessary to consider why they are held. English in Korea has been portrayed as a tool to enable Korea to become a globalised world class nation and as a tool for self-improvement in an increasingly competitive and connected neoliberal society. These changes have led to a very competitive job market and high youth unemployment (Section 2.3.1). Despite the findings in Section 6.2.1.1 indicating a potential change in beliefs about the purpose of English, for most respondents English still appears to be associated with competence. It should be remembered that many people, especially young adults, now navigate multiple worlds (both real and virtual) and are subjected to normative judgements according to their English competence (Blommaert, 2017), which are likely to further intensify if there is greater global interconnectedness. Based on the responses in this study, the worlds these participants wish to be part of may be limited to the globalised core ‘in group’ rather than the semi peripheral or peripheral ‘out group’ whom are deemed to lack sufficient capital (Chapter 6).

Combining language competence with the English language policy of Korea, which has promoted AmE and resulted in the low awareness of different Englishes (Section 5.1), it is unsurprising that AmE has become enregistered as a prestige variety in Korea. As varieties are likely to be viewed differently depending on the spatiotemporal context, American hegemony globally and in Korea (Sections 2.1.1 and 2.3.1) has led to AmE being more pre-supposable due to having greater horizontal and vertical scale (Section 2.2.6). Therefore, AmE is valued by respondents and is thought to be valued by others in a greater number of different time-spaces. Consequently, the envisioned use with interlocutors in English speaking countries for general communication, as well as for professional purposes (Sections 6.1.1.1 and 6.1.1.2) likely means that the prestige of AmE with its perceived intelligibility and comprehensibility is more desirable than other varieties, particularly KoE,

which is thought to prevent communication. The belief certain IC varieties have more value than others may be at odds with many WE researchers, myself included. However, I recognise that as a 'native speaker' of English I am in a privileged position and am afforded opportunities because I was fortunate to be born in a specific place at a specific time. For many respondents, 'Standard' IC English is a tool for self-improvement and social mobility to also gain additional opportunities (Section 2.3.1). Within World Englishes there is a focus on changing standard language ideologies, which I am in full agreement with. A move away from standard language ideology would of course be beneficial, but it is unlikely to happen in the short-term, if at all. Researchers who promote significant pedagogical changes away from Standard English, while of course out of concern, are likely to already have the cultural, social, and potentially economic capital that English language learners are trying to achieve through learning a standard variety. Thus, the perceived needs of learners need to be at least understood and accommodated in some form. This is discussed further in Section 8.2.

While the majority of participants wished to speak an NS English, around one quarter did not. For some participants it was a belief that attaining 'native' competence was not achievable, but for other respondents there was awareness that an NS English is not needed or desired. The difference between clear English with a Korean accent being desired and KoE not being desired appears to be the acceptability or desirability of maintaining national identity (through Korean accent) but the unacceptability of combining language identities by mixing what participants viewed as two autonomous languages, which was thought to prevent understanding with envisioned non-Korean interlocutors. With regard to individuals who believed that variety did not matter, some acknowledged the polylithic nature of English and the main purpose of a language being to communicate. For these few individuals, it can be speculated that translanguaging (Section 2.2.4) may be acceptable. For others, however, there were again references to the level of grammar and

pronunciation needed, which suggests an element of desired standardness in English usage. Potential teaching implications that can accommodate the perceived needs of learners but also better prepare individuals for real-world English communication and intercultural communication in general by promoting World Englishes are discussed in Section 8.2.

The responses according to gender also revealed trends regarding desired varieties and reasons for desirability. NS varieties were preferred by both genders, but more males desired clear English with a Korean accent (Section 7.1). Among respondents who selected an NS variety, AmE was the most desired, but more females preferred the variety due to familiarity, while males commented on the power of the USA. Additionally, more females selected BrE with the primary reason being social attractiveness. When explaining why NS Englishes were preferred (Section 7.2), status was again the most prevalent reason. However, more females commented on communicative ability while males made more familiarity comments. When these participants were asked why KoE was not desired though (Section 7.3), status remained the most prominent theme for females but communicative ability was most prominent for males. These findings suggest that females may be more concerned with status than males overall. However, among respondents who value the status of a variety it appears that females are more concerned with standardness, while more males relate to power. Such results are broadly in line with general findings that females value more standard varieties than males (Section 2.6.1). Previous research in the Korean context, however, appears not to have investigated how gender may affect desired English user models. Therefore, these findings are important in better understanding English regard in Korea as they demonstrate potential differences why language varieties are or are not desired. These findings continue to support the idea that associations elicited from individuals can differ according to the context, and show the importance of follow-up

qualitative research. In addition, further research would be of value to determine if the desire to a speak a NS English or non-NS English, in general and in relation to gender, changes in the future as a result of potentially intensifying global flows (Section 2.3.1) and as we move into a posthumanist society (Section 2.1.4).

Looking at the themes associated with different Englishes according to van Bezooijen's (2002) hypotheses why specific varieties are preferred (Section 2.4.3), certain patterns emerged. Norm and context driven themes appear to be important factors in pertaining to which varieties are or are not desired. The lack of status associated with KoE means it is not desired, while the power and positive stereotypes associated with AmE, and BrE to a certain extent play a major role in making these the preferred user models. Related to the power of AmE and its use in the Korean context, familiarity and intelligibility driven factors were also mentioned. Without norm driven factors, however, it is unlikely AmE would be as familiar. The familiarity of AmE may also mean that it is perceived to be more intelligible. Although intelligibility reasons were not prominently associated with AmE, if norm and context driven factors were not present the variety would likely be viewed as less intelligible. Conversely, intelligibility driven reasons were much more important in explaining why KoE was not desired. Participants were concerned the variety would not be understood by the desired non-Korean interlocutors. This belief likely relates to participants thinking KoE lacks status among Koreans and potential English communication partners, as well as the latter being unfamiliar with the variety. Finally, sound driven factors were generally not salient with either AmE or KoE, but were the most prominent associations with BrE (Section 7.1.1.2). From the perspective of respondents, this suggests that certain Englishes may have inherent value. However, it is also likely the reasons BrE was deemed socially attractive was related to the general status it was afforded by participants, which may relate to an idealised stereotype of a BrE speaker portrayed in the media (Section 7.1.1.2).

Nonetheless, while sound qualities of BrE were noted, some respondents still selected AmE as a desired user model due to norm driven factors. The generally higher status AmE has in Korea may be a reason that fewer respondents selected BrE as a user model (Section 7.1) despite general associations being mostly positive (Section 5.2).

7.5 Chapter summary

Overall, power and status were the most prominent reasons NS Englishes were preferred and likely affected the other themes either explicitly or implicitly. Despite English being regarded as a global language, in many cases it is viewed as still belonging to the 'native speaker'. KoE was not desired as a user model at all by participants. This was due mostly to a lack of status and perceived communication issues. However, around a quarter of respondents did not wish to speak an NS English. Some reasons relate to a perceived lack of ability to learn an NS English, but mostly relate to an NS English not being deemed necessary or a desire to maintain a Korean national identity. The findings from chapters four to seven and their implications are now presented in the concluding chapter.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This research project stemmed from a desire to better comprehend the English regard of young Korean adults in South Korea. I wanted to better understand English variety awareness and associations, the importance of English, and desired English user models among this group in a globalising neoliberal Korea. As shown in Section 2.3, English is a very important language in Korea. However, English regard has been an under-investigated area, and much of the work undertaken has used methods from the positivist paradigm with an emphasis on investigating language attitudes, which is an issue that also applies to studies beyond Korea. This type of research has produced interesting data, but the repeated use of similar methods has produced a very hyper-focused attitudinal understanding of language at the expense of other associations (Section 2.6). Consequently, it was not known what varieties of English young Korean adults were aware of, what associations may be made with known varieties, and if associations were even evaluative. Furthermore, the focus of attitude studies appears to have taken precedence over understanding what English actually means to young Korean adults, and which varieties, if any, are desired as a linguistic model and the reasons why. A further issue in more recent language perception research in general has been an imbalance in the gender ratio of survey samples. Thus, it is not clear if results are applicable as a whole or if certain aspects are more relevant to certain groups. To better understand English regard in the Korean context, the following research questions were asked;

1. What varieties of English are known and acknowledged by young Korean adults?
2. What associations are made with the stated varieties?
3. What is the importance of English to young Korean adults?
4. Which variety or varieties of English, if any, do young Korean adults regard as the most suitable user model and why?

8.1 Research findings

The main findings are summarized in this section. Personal commentary about the research findings and my expectations when beginning this project are offered throughout the section.

Background findings

The background findings have offered a more up to date understanding of the linguistic repertoires (Section 4.1) and English language use among these young adult participants (Section 4.2). While Korea may still be considered a monolingual country (Section 1.1), almost all participants identified as either bilingual or multilingual and therefore have the ability to communicate in a range of contexts. English was the most common additional language. This was unsurprising due to the language being a compulsory subject from the third grade of elementary school through to high school and often being a required subject in university (Section 2.3.2). The non-systematic sampling limits generalisability, but as 70% of young Korean adults go to university (Section 3.4.2), it is possible that such linguistic ability is common among this age group.

The data also showed the majority of participants had used English in varying contexts. The most common situation was while traveling abroad, but there were numerous instances of using English in Korea for informal communication, at work, on university campuses, and via technology. Therefore, English usage in Korea appears to be more prevalent than the literature suggests, among these respondents at least. However, at the beginning of this research I had anticipated that English usage via the internet would have been higher due to high smartphone ownership (Section 2.3.4). Such usage was not common though. Potential reasons for this are explained in (Section 4.4).

What varieties of English are known and acknowledged by young Korean adults?

Participants were most aware of AmE and BrE (Section 5.1). These two Englishes accounted for almost two-thirds of all responses. With the exception of AuE, there was more awareness of PhE and InE (OC Englishes) than CaE, NzE, ZaE, and IrE (other IC varieties) that are likely used by conversation instructors in Korea (Section 2.3.2). Most other varieties, including KoE were listed by a low number of individual respondents. This indicates that KoE is unlikely to be considered a variety of English. Furthermore, around one-fifth of participants were unable to list a variety of English. These findings suggest that with the exception of AmE and BrE, most young Korean adult participants in this survey have a low awareness of different varieties of English.

With the exception of AmE and BrE being the most known varieties of English, the limited awareness of some other varieties was surprising from a personal viewpoint. I had anticipated that there would be more awareness of other Englishes in general. For example, I had expected awareness of CaE to be much higher as Canada is popular with Koreans for travel, as well as short and long-term emigration. As stated in Section 5.1.1, this finding may be the result of participants being aware that English is used in Canada but unaware that the variety differs from the neighbouring AmE. I had also expected OEC varieties to have had a higher awareness due to travel and access through different media. The most unanticipated result, however, was only one person listing KoE as a variety. I had expected the variety to be listed by a larger proportion of the sample. In retrospect, I believe I may have had this assumption due to the number of articles focusing on Korean English or Konglish being viewed as a variety of English, while only a minority of researchers argued against this (Section 2.3.7). However, when considering the content of the articles, much of the work is not empirical, but rather theoretical.

What associations are made with the stated varieties?

The majority of participants who listed AmE and BrE were able to make associations with these varieties (Section 5.2). As a percentage, associations with other varieties decreased when moving from the inner circle to the expanding circle of Kachru's Concentric Circles model. Overall, participants were unable to make an association with almost 17% of listed varieties. These findings suggest that even when respondents are aware of different Englishes they lack familiarity, which appears to increase the farther away the varieties are located from the IC.

The types of associations also differed. Many associations were non-evaluative, which suggests the absence of attitudes. When evaluative associations were made, AmE and BrE associations were almost all positive, while associations with other varieties tended to be less positive. Overall, dynamism and status themes were most numerous. However, language learning and awareness of variation via comparison of different varieties were also common. These results also differed from what I had anticipated. I had not expected as many non-evaluative comments. Secondly, the themes and their saliencies differed considerably from the small groups of semantic differentials (Section 2.5.3) that are often used in language attitude research in Korea (Section 2.6.3). Consequently, I believe the keyword approach (Section 3.3.2) is a valuable data gathering method and should be adopted more widely in language regard research.

The follow-up survey results showed that the high awareness of AmE and BrE related to familiarity, status, and language learning (Section 5.3). Overall, most respondents stated they were only aware of these Englishes either in general or in the language classroom. This was followed by status comments, which mostly viewed AmE and BrE as the only two 'real' varieties of English. These findings were in line with reasons I thought AmE and BrE were the most known in Korea. However, as I had anticipated general awareness of

Englishes to be higher (Section 5.1), I had expected status to be the most prominent theme explaining why AmE and BrE were selected. The majority of participants lacking awareness of other Englishes indicate a need to introduce more varieties of English to the EFL classroom (Section 8.2).

What is the importance of English to young Korean adults?

The importance of English (Section 6.1) was found to be more complex and different to what has generally been thought (Section 2.3.1). Results from the first survey showed that the primary importance of English was for communication in a globalised world, while employment was much less prominent than expected. Additionally, it was shown there is belief that English for communicative purposes and English for employment are viewed as distinct, with the latter generally not being considered useful. The second survey, however, showed that communication and employment were not as distinct as they first appeared (Section 6.2). One group of respondents still valued English due to a general desire to communicate, but another group believed that communicative ability was linked to employment due to it being desired by Korean companies.

The initial finding that a much larger number of participants listed English being important for communication rather than employment was unexpected. Although there appears to be a lack of empirical research related to the importance of English in Korea, I still anticipated employment to be more salient. An increased emphasis on communication may relate to government ideology (Section 2.3.1), but based on other comments it seems that these young adults are aware of opportunities that English can provide rather than just securing employment. Both themes relate to globalisation in the form of greater interconnectedness, while the employment related comments also encapsulate the government narratives of greater interdependency and neoliberal philosophies of continual self-improvement in order to succeed (Sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2). It seems that while there may be evidence of societal

changes among these young adults affecting the importance of English, employment, quite understandably, remains significant.

Which variety or varieties of English, if any, do young Korean adults regard as the most suitable user model and why?

Most participants thought AmE was the most suitable linguistic user model (Section 7.1). BrE was second but much less prominent. There was some desire to speak clear English with a Korean accent or belief that variety did not matter, but nobody wished to speak KoE. Reasons why specific Englishes were desired differed according to variety. However, status was a prominent theme in general. The follow-up survey to better understand why AmE was desired (Section 7.2) and KoE was not desired (Section 7.3) showed that status was again a key theme. Respondents wanted to use AmE as it was regarded as 'real' English and would be respected, while KoE would not. Additionally, communicative ability was also a prominent theme related to KoE. The variety was thought to inhibit communication with the desired non-Korean interlocutors. Thus, participants do not learn English to use in Korea with Koreans, but rather to communicate interculturally using a defined autonomous variety of Standard English (most likely AmE) in order to achieve the desired symbolic capital and the belief it will be more intelligible and comprehensible to non-Korean users of English.

AmE being the most desired variety of English followed by BrE is in line with what I expected before commencing this project and is congruent with previous findings in Korea (Section 2.6.3) and in the wider East Asian context with regard to AmE's desirability (Section 2.6.2). One unexpected result, however, was the number of people choosing 'clear English with a Korean accent' being lower than I thought. When considering the globalisation literature and Korea's place in the world, which in many respects can now be considered as being in the core of the WSA model (Section 2.1.1), I thought that this

positioning may have given added confidence to participants who felt they may have sufficient capital (Section 2.1.3) to move away from NS pronunciation models. The data showed that this was not the case, however, as status and intelligibility issues, as well as familiarity were key themes affecting user model desirability. Thus, the Korean habitus and fields within which participants exist appear to strongly affect expectations and the values placed on the use of certain Englishes.

Comparison of results according to gender

This study has shown that participant gender may affect language regard. Evidence was found that males and females had a different awareness of Englishes and a tendency for different types of variety associations to be made (Sections 5.1.4 and 5.2.6). Regarding importance of English, there was again some variation as males placed more value on employment while females deemed education and travel to have more importance (Section 6.1.2). However, further investigation into why communication was deemed more important produced almost identical results (Section 6.2.2). This suggests the finding that English communication was desired for general communication and for employment applies equally to both genders. Finally, desired linguistic models also differed according to gender. Both males and females desired NS Englishes, but males appeared to be more open to speaking with a Korean accent (Section 7.1.1.7). There was also variation in the desired NS English model. Males preferred AmE mostly due to status. The majority of females also wished to use AmE, but twice as many females desired BrE mostly due to it being considered socially attractive. When examining why NS Englishes were desired (Section 7.2.2) status was a primary reason for both genders, but more females were concerned about communicative ability while more males mentioned familiarity. The data concerning why KoE was not desired as user model (Section 7.3.2) showed that status remained the most prominent theme for females, but males were much more concerned about communication issues.

The data indicate that gender may have some bearing on English regard. These findings do not appear to have been presented before in the Korean context. While these conclusions are tentative due to the number of participants and how they were recruited (Section 3.4.2), the findings have relevance to language regard research in Korea and in general due to much of the more recent work having an unequal gender ratio or not investigating if gender had any effect on participant data.

8.2 Teaching implications

Participants' general idolisation of NS Englishes is at odds with English usage around the world. However, the sociolinguistic realities of English affecting these respondents in Korea must also be taken into account. English for many participants still relates to social mobility through education and employment, and still plays a role in an individual's perceived competence. However, to only focus on AmE or IC Englishes more generally, would do a disservice to students as they will likely be ill-equipped when using English in real-world situations, including IC countries where many envisioned using the language. Furthermore, the findings in this research suggest that English use can happen in varied contexts such as while traveling, informally in Korea, at university, and at work (Section 4.2). These interactions are very unlikely to only be with 'native' speakers from the IC.

In order to meet the needs of learners but also help equip individuals for likely real-world interactions, the use of a pedagogic approach suggested by Baratta (2019) appears to be most practical. This approach involves predominately using Standard IC English in the EFL classroom, but also utilise the variety to introduce World Englishes as supplementary to classwork. Baratta notes it is important to recognise the importance of Standard IC English due to it being expected in contexts such as employment, standardised English tests, and university entrance exams – all of these factors were mentioned in this study. Therefore, the standard variety should be taught in the first instance (the results from this study

suggest that AmE would be most appropriate), not because it is inherently superior nor are its speakers, but due to the variety being more pre-supposable (Section 2.2.6) it allows learners to advance academically and professionally by having acquired the expected variety. Furthermore, such acquisition may be especially relevant for individuals wishing to study or work in contexts where IC English may be used. This means the English learned needs to be a mobile resource (Section 2.2.6). A standard variety of English may also be needed when communicating with foreigners who are not familiar with other varieties, which again matches the findings in this study. At the same time, however, the validity of Englishes beyond the IC need to be discussed not only to recognise their existence, but to understand their functions in the cultural context they are used.

By using a Standard English accent such as General American to learn about different Englishes and cultures, the needs and wants of learners are likely being met, while also introducing awareness of different varieties of English. Baratta admits such methods are in their infancy, but improved awareness and knowledge of a range of Englishes would hopefully change perceptions about OEC and some IC Englishes being deficient (Sections 2.6.3 and 5.2). Although participants desire to use English in countries where English is the primary language, increasing migration and Korea's globalisation push in combination with plans to increase MICE and medical tourism (Section 2.2.3) means that English is likely to be used as a lingua franca with an increasing variety of English speakers and not just 'native' speakers of English. Consequently, improving the norm, context, intelligibility, and familiarity driven factors affecting perceptions of English (Section 2.4.3) would likely be of benefit to individuals and for South Korea as a nation.

In addition to an enhanced awareness of different Englishes and their respective cultures, intelligibility of different Englishes could be improved by focusing on communication skills. Features of different English varieties, perhaps in combination with Jenkins's (2000) lingua

franca core, would likely help to improve learners' language repertoire and improve communicative competence by improving understanding of situated use, as well as recognizing individuals have multiple identities rather than a single identity when using English. Exploring how English is used in different contexts, such as travel, social, and professional situations, would also help individuals' communication skills by providing the knowledge and confidence of how to use English in different contexts. This would also match the findings that the young Korean adults in this study have used English in a variety of settings (Section 4.2). However, it is likely that considerable exposure to these different varieties will be needed. While this can be partly done in class, learners can be encouraged to seek out other Englishes. For many learners the internet can provide access to global news media, television shows, and music. Greater familiarity is likely to affect comprehensibility and intelligibility. It should also be explained that communication breakdown will occur at some point regardless of who is speaking. The teaching of strategies to repair communication breakdown such as repetition, comprehension checks, and requests for clarification can also be practised. Furthermore, these skills can be implemented by the use of task-based learning. By negotiating meaning in tasks with different contexts, learners' language production and interactions would more likely reflect real world English. One possible issue in the Korean context, however, is that most classrooms are not multicultural. Only interacting with Koreans may reduce the chances of communication breakdown. As a result, learners being exposed to other Englishes is an important method to supplement the language work done in class.

Spending time looking at KoE would also be beneficial. The data from this study has shown that KoE is not a desired variety and does not match the participants' needs. However, while looking at other Englishes, it is an opportunity to discuss the merits of Korea's indigenised variety. It may also be an opportunity to discuss the benefits of a linguistic

repertoire in order to communicate (Section 2.2.4). While discussing Korean English, it is also an opportunity for instructors and students to examine KoE vocabulary that may differ in meaning from other Englishes. By helping individuals to be aware of different meanings, learners can improve their language repertories, and this may help address the issue P54A had with unwittingly using KoE and having communication difficulties (Section 7.3.1.2).

High prestige varieties such as AmE and BrE also need to be analysed from an ideological standpoint. Learners need to be introduced to the variation in NS Englishes in general and even among the most prestigious accents of GA and RP. Furthermore, examples should be presented of communication breakdown by speakers of these varieties, and particularly when native speakers are communicating interculturally and are at fault for communicative issues. For example, learners could be presented with instances of NS speakers failing to accommodate their language use when communicating with both NS and NNS speakers by not adjusting speech rate, using unfamiliar vernacular or idiomatic expressions, and lacking clear enunciation. Wright (2015) discusses examples from English usage in the European parliament where monolingual native English speaker politicians perform poorly when interacting with multilingual politicians from other nations due to the monolingual English speakers' inability to accommodate and negotiate meaning. In my own teaching practice, I talk in class about examples of communication breakdown between myself and IC colleagues, particularly in informal talk, when one person uses vernacular the other individual is unaware of. These instances can be used to raise awareness of communication issues among NS English users, but more importantly learners would have a more realistic sociolinguistic understanding of how Englishes are used and that the use of AmE or BrE does not guarantee perfect communication. By understanding the plurality of English, a potentially reduced idolisation of NS Englishes, and strategies to repair

communication breakdown, individuals such as P17A may have greater confidence to travel abroad and use English as a lingua franca (Section 6.2.1.3).

The idea of introducing World Englishes through supplementary work may suggest these Englishes lack importance. In agreement with Baratta, however, making WE the main focus of class may cause discontentment if the student focus is likely to be the study of Standard IC Englishes. This may explain why Tanghe's (2014) study, which placed WE as the focus of a general English conversation class, caused resentment among some students (Section 2.6.3). A supplementary approach is also likely to be more realistic if a teacher has limited input into lesson planning or if an instructor's job is reliant on student evaluations. For teachers with more freedom, particularly at the tertiary level, students learning about WE varieties that they have selected out of interest or may come into contact with while travelling or working may enhance motivation and demonstrate real-world application. Such efforts could be combined with instructors facilitating and supporting IDLE outside of the classroom (Section 2.6.3), which may help to enhance perceptions of different Englishes and aid learning. The feasibility of using WE as supplementary work in the Korean context, however, needs to be considered. It is possible that there may be resistance by teachers who do not view OEC Englishes as legitimate varieties of English. Similar to Ahn's (2014, 2015) findings (Section 2.6.3), it is also possible that even if OEC varieties are accepted, teachers may wish to only teach Standard IC Englishes as a result of what they deem most useful for their learners who are generally studying English to pass standardised tests. It is likely that professional development may help to raise awareness of WE and how it can be incorporated into class curriculums, but such development opportunities may not be widely available or sought out.

Standard language ideology will not be changed quickly and government policy regarding the nationalities of English instructors is unlikely to change, nor is a move away from

standardised tests. The potential teaching implications based on the findings of this research listed in this section, however, are likely suitable ways to begin to raise awareness and appreciation of different Englishes while also meeting the learners' perceived needs. Furthermore, many of these ideas will be transferable to other Asian contexts, which have been found to have similar English language perceptions (Section 2.6.2).

8.3 Theoretical and methodological implications

A number of theoretical and methodological implications have become apparent during the completion of this study. Within the Korean context, as well as contexts where English awareness is low, changing the predominant focus of investigating language attitudes (Section 2.4.3) to language regard (Section 2.4.1) would be beneficial. This study has shown that around one-fifth of participants were unable to list a variety of English, and the majority of individuals who did list an English were unable to list a variety other than AmE and BrE (Section 5.1). In addition, some participants were unable to list any associations with the varieties they stated, and the number of non-associations grew according to whether the variety is positioned in the IC, OC, or EC (Section 5.2). Furthermore, many of the comments listed were non-evaluative. The low variety awareness and limited number of associations combined with non-evaluative comments indicates the absence of language attitudes in many cases. In positivist research, these non-evaluative comments have usually been discarded as have other important evaluative keywords that cannot be easily adapted to use in a semantic differential (Section 2.5.3). However, these responses are an important part of understanding language regard in specific contexts and need to be included for analysis.

As a significant proportion of participants appeared unaware of different Englishes and unable to list variety associations, this suggests that the common method of presenting researcher selected varieties in guise or conceptual form in combination with researcher

provided semantic traits (Section 2.5.3), which in some cases have been repeated from other research in very different spatiotemporal contexts (Sections 2.6.2 and 2.6.3), may limit improved understanding of language regard. The Keyword approach (Sections 2.5.3 and 3.3.2), which helps to ascertain the varieties of English participants are aware of and what evaluative or non-evaluative associations individuals may have, appears to be a more accurate way to understand English regard in Korea and more generally. Furthermore, this approach when using participants' primary language appears to be suitable for a wide range of individuals regardless of English ability. Related to data collection in general, the increase in the number of recent mixed methods studies is positive (Sections 2.6.2 and 2.6.3). This research has shown that an additional phase of qualitative data collection can provide a deeper understanding of initial results, which further helps to understand language regard in greater detail.

Another important implication is the composition of the survey sample. The majority of survey samples in previous language attitude studies, particularly in Korea, have been unbalanced in terms of gender. This study, with its relatively equal gender ratio, has shown that variety awareness, associations, importance of English, and desired English linguistic models may differ according to whether the participant is female or male. It is important for future language regard studies in all contexts to pay greater attention to achieving a more gender balanced survey sample to further improve understanding, and particularly in the Korean context to determine if the findings in this study are underlying differences.

A final point is future language regard studies placing more emphasis on the effects globalisation may have on individuals. With intensifying global flows affecting many societies, it is important to understand how these factors will continue to affect language beliefs. A move away from predominantly positivist methods of investigation to a more

pragmatic mixed methods view, which incorporates language regard, is likely to be able to better capture potential changes and how they relate to individual participants.

8.4 Study limitations

The findings of this research have provided a deeper understanding of young Korean adults' English regard, but the study has a number of limitations. The size of the sample, while larger than many previous language perception studies in Korea (Section 2.6.3), is still relatively small and specific. These factors combined with non-probability sampling limit generalizability. Furthermore, I had hoped to recruit a good balance of university students and employees. Unfortunately the number of employees was low and had a very unbalanced gender ratio, which severely limited comparisons. As a result, I decided to only focus on gender, which was well-balanced overall. This is a limitation as the potentially older employees have likely occupied different spatiotemporal contexts and so may have lived different experiences. Nonetheless, the study does provide a detailed snapshot of English regard among young Korean adults at the time of data collection. Another issue is that most respondents in the second phase of data collection were different from the first phase. This was due to only about one-fifth of the original participants who stated willingness to complete the follow-up survey doing so. This may have had some effect on the results. However, the sample of the second survey maintained a similar gender ratio and mean age (Section 3.4.2). While only speculation, additional participants may even be a strength due to greater potential for more varied opinions.

With regard to data collection methods, the choice of a self-reported online survey (Section 3.5) means that I cannot be certain that respondents were who they said they were. There is also the possibility that participants did not give truthful answers, as well as the potential for satisficing. However, in the context of language regard research, which has the potential

to be quite sensitive in nature, this anonymous method of data collection may also mean that individuals felt more secure to answer freely.

The use of the keyword method (Sections 2.5.3 and 3.3.2), while providing new insights, also has drawbacks. Participants with multiple ideas were overrepresented. However, it is this detail that has often been missing from previous positivist research. Another drawback of the approach is that brevity can sometimes mean detail is missing or it can be ambiguous. This was an issue a number of times in this study as particularly interesting comments had no further information. Nonetheless, the strengths of the keyword technique do outweigh these few disadvantages.

A further potential issue is my role as the researcher. While possible problems such as power imbalance or asking leading questions associated with interviews have been countered by using two anonymous online surveys, my role interpreting the data is a potential limitation. My background, experiences, and beliefs have inevitably affected my English regard. As the data is both manifest and latent, when working with the latent data, I have attempted to interpret the participants' responses as unbiasedly as possible. Nonetheless, this is a factor that needs to be considered.

8.5 Further studies

As this study has presented a number of findings that do not appear to have been presented before in the Korean context, there is a need for further research to test the validity of these data. A larger survey sample using systematic sampling would be most desirable as this would allow the results to be more generalizable. In particular, future language regard studies in Korea, and more generally, should endeavour to have a balanced gender ratio. Focusing on the results in this study, additional keyword studies are needed as it was shown that previous understanding of language perceptions may actually

be a result of one gender being overrepresented rather than being generally applicable (Section 5.2.6). Furthermore, additional research is needed to determine if certain associative themes and subthemes are more likely to be linked with different genders. Another area that would also benefit from further research is how gender may affect the perceived importance of English. This study has highlighted that there appear to be differences, but further investigation is needed to understand if these findings are replicable, and if so, why such differences exist. Additionally, investigating the importance of English in relation to university students' degree majors and workers' type of employment would potentially provide further details to help understand the reasons why English may be deemed important.

More research to understand what Korean English is and means to Korean layfolk is also needed. There is a lot of literature regarding what researchers believe KoE is or is not (Section 2.3.7). However, research is needed that investigates if Korean non-language specialists view KoE as a variety of English. By gaining such an understanding, it may help to address the negative perceptions associated with KoE as demonstrated in Section 7.3.

Finally, investigating English regard among different groups would also be valuable. The majority of work has focused on university students; most likely due to convenience. This study attempted to recruit young adult employees, but this proved difficult and the final number of employees prevented any meaningful comparison with university student data. The inclusion of additional social categories would allow for a more detailed understanding of English regard at the time of data collection. Ideally a real-time study, although more demanding in terms of complexity, time and expense, would also be useful to better understand if English regard changes over time, particularly with a future that is set to be technologically, environmentally, and socially very different from now.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Online questionnaire one (English)

1

Dear sir or madam

The English language is spoken all over the world by millions of people. As a result, I would like to investigate the attitudes of people in South Korea towards different varieties of English, and I would like to invite you to participate in this research project.

If you agree to participate, I will ask you to complete an online survey. You are free to skip any question that you choose and you can withdraw voluntarily at any time. All information provided will be stored securely and any reference to individuals will be anonymized. Only the researcher will have access to the full data.

The results of the study will be used for scholarly purposes only. The results may be presented at professional conferences and published in an academic journal.

If you have questions about this project or if you have a research-related problem, you may contact the researcher, Neill Porteous porteonj@aston.ac.uk . If you have any concerns about this study you may contact the Secretary of Aston University Ethics Committee by email j.g.walter@aston.ac.uk or telephone (+44)121 2044869.

If you are willing to participate, please carefully read the following information and click the "I agree button".

Thank you very much for your help.

I have read and understood the description of the research project to be carried out by Neill Porteous. I understand that I will be asked to participate in an online survey. I also understand that I can decline to answer any question and withdraw at any time. I understand that my identity will not be revealed. I also understand how my data will be used and who will have access to it.

By clicking "I agree" below I am indicating that I am at least 18 years old, have read and understood this consent form and agree to participate in this research study.

2

Please complete the following information:

age (year/month born),
gender (Male, Female, Other)
Student / employee

List languages you speak beginning with what you consider to be your first language.

3 **English is used in many countries and by many different people. What kinds of English do you know about?**
4 **Please write down any thoughts that you have about these varieties.**
5 **Please list reasons, if any, why English is important to you.**
6 **Which variety of English, if any, would you prefer to acquire?** I want to speak like a native speaker of English (if selected, participants will be asked to list their favored variety) I want to speak English clearly but maintain my Korean accent I want to speak Korean English (Konglish) Other (a textbox will appear if this option is chosen – respondents can write their ideas) The variety does not matter Please provide brief comments explaining your choice _____
7 **Have you used English outside of the classroom? (Non-educational setting)** (yes, no) If 'yes' is checked, the following will appear. How was your experience? (negative, satisfactory, positive) Please briefly comment about how you have used English and your experience(s) _____
8 **Would you be willing to answer any further questions by email or interview on this topic?** (yes, no) If 'yes' is checked , options to indicate if email or interview would be preferred will appear, as well as a box for the participant's email address
9 **Would you like to receive a summary of the research?** (yes, no) If 'yes' is checked , a box for the participant's email address will appear
10 Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

Appendix 2 – Online questionnaire one (Korean)

1

안녕하세요.

영어는 전 세계 수백만명에 의해서 사용되어지고 있습니다. 그래서, 저는 서로 다른 종류의 영어에 대해 한국인들이 갖는 태도에 대해 조사하고 여러분을 이 조사에 초대하고자 합니다. 여러분이 이 조사에 참여하는것에 대해 동의한다면, 여러분께 이 온라인 조사서에 동의해줄것을 요청합니다. 특정 질문에 대해서 그냥 넘어가도 좋고 하다가 그냥 멈추셔도 괜찮습니다. 여러분에 의해 제공된 모든 자료는 비공개로 진행되며 모든 정보는 익명으로 진행됩니다. 조사자만이 모든 데이터에 접근이 가능합니다.

조사의 결과는 학문적인 목적으로만 사용되어 질 것입니다. 또한 조사의 결과들은 전문적인 학술 대회 및 학술지에만 그 정보가 제공 될 수 있습니다.

이 조사에 대해 질문이 있거나 현 조사에 관련된 문제가 있다면, 조사자인, Neill Porteous porteonj@aston.ac.uk .와 연락하면 됩니다. 만약 여러분이 이 조사와 관련된 어떠한 우려가 있다면 Aston 대학교 윤리위원회 j.g.walter@aston.ac.uk 또는 전화 (+44)121 2044869 로 연락하시면 됩니다.

여러분이 참여하실 준비가 되었다면, 다음 “나는 동의 합니다” 버튼을 누르고 다음 정보들을 신중하게 읽어주세요.

여러분의 도움에 깊이 감사드립니다.

나는 Neill Porteous 가 만든 조사 프로젝트의 설명을 읽고 이해했다. 나는 온라인 조사에 참여요청을 받은 것을 이해했다. 또한 나는 언제든 질문을 넘어가거나 멈춰도 좋다는 것을 이해했다. 나는 나의 신분이 드러나지 않을것을 이해했다. 또한 나의 정보가 어떻게 쓰이고 누가 그것에 접근하고 사용하는지를 이해했다.

아래의 “나는 동의합니다”를 누른다면 그것은 나는 최소 18 세 이상을 의미하고, 내가 동의한다는 양식과 이 조사에 참여한다는 것을 읽고 이해했다.

나는 동의 합니다.

2

다음 주어진 정보를 완성해 주세요.

나이(년/월)

성(남성,여성,그외)

학생/직원

여러분의 모국어부터 시작해서 얼마나 많은 언어를 말할 수 있는지 나열해주세요.

3

여러분이 알고 있는 서로 다른 종류의 영어를 6 가지 나열해주세요.

4

위에서 언급한 서로 다른 종류의 영어에 대한 여러분의 생각을 적어주세요.

5

여러분에게 영어가 중요한 이유가 있다면 그 이유를 적어주세요.

6

어떤 종류의 영어를 여러분은 습득하고 싶나요?

나는 영어를 사용하는 원어민처럼 영어를 하고 싶다 (어떤 원어민 의 영어를 선호하는지 적어주세요.)

나는 한국 엑센트를 유지하되 분명하게 영어를 말하고 싶다.

나는 콩글리시를 하고 싶다.

기타 (다른 종류의 영어가 있다면 그 종류를 적어주세요.)

종류는 중요하지 않다.

당신이 위에 선택한 답에 대해 간단하게 설명해주세요.

_____

7

여러분은 영어를 배우는 교실 이외의 환경에서 영어를 사용해 본적이 있나요? (영어 수업 이외) (네. 아니오)

그 경험은 어땠나요? (부정적, 만족, 긍정적)

어디에서 어떻게 그 영어를 사용했고 경험했는지에 대해 간단하게 적어주세요.

_____

8 여러분은 이 주제에 관련해서 더 많은 질문에 대답하고 인터뷰에 참여하기를 원하십니까? (네, 아니오) 이메일 인터뷰 여러분의 이메일 정보를 이곳에 남겨주세요. _____
9 여러분은 이 조사의 간단한 요약본을 받아보는 것을 원하십니까? (네,아니오) 여러분의 이메일 정보를 이곳에 남겨주세요. _____
10 이 질문들에 대해 대답해 주신 여러분과 여러분의 시간에 대해 깊이 감사드립니다. **제출**(submit)

Appendix 3 – Online questionnaire two (English)

Background information

Age – (year/month)

Gender – (male, female, other)

Occupation – (student, employee)

Question 1

Have you heard of Konglish and/or Korean English?

A. Konglish B. Korean English C. Both D. Neither

If you answered yes to one of the options above (A-C), please describe what you think Konglish/Korean English is in the box below.

In the previous survey nobody wanted to speak a Korean variety of English. Why do you think nobody wanted to speak this variety? Please explain your ideas in the box below.

Question 2

In the previous study most people thought English is a global language that is most important for communication. However, most people wanted to speak a native speaker variety of English (particularly American English). Why do you think respondents wanted to speak this type of English?

Please explain your ideas in the box below.

Question 3

The vast majority of respondents only listed American English and British English as the different types of English that they knew about. Some other types of English were listed by a much smaller number of people.

Many language researchers think that there are many different types of English used in the world. Why do you think only a few different types of English were listed?

□ I am not aware of many different types of English

□ I do not think the other types of English are real English

□ Other _____

Please give some details to explain your answer in the box below

Question 4

It is generally thought that South Koreans learn English to get a good job. However, in the previous survey most people stated that communication was the reason that English was most important to them. Why do you think using English to communicate was thought more important than using English to get a job?

Please explain your answer in the box below.

Appendix 4 – Online questionnaire two (Korean)

다음 주어진 정보를 완성해 주세요.

나이(년/월)

성(남성,여성,그외)

학생/직원

Question 1

여러분은 한 번이라도 콩글리쉬 또는 한국식 영어에 대해 들어 본 적이 있나요?

A. 콩글리쉬
B. 한국식 영어
C. 둘 다
D. 둘 다 들어 본 적이 없다

여러분이 위 질문에 그렇다라고 답했다면(A-C), 여러분이 생각하는 콩글리쉬/한국식 영어란 무엇이라고 생각하시는지 아래 박스에 구체적으로 설명해 주세요.

첫번째 설문조사에서는 그 어느 설문 참여자도콩글리쉬를 하고 싶지는 않다고 대답했습니다. 여러분은 왜 아무도 콩글리쉬를 하고 싶지 않다고 대답했다고 생각하시나요? 여러분의 생각을 아래 박스에 구체적으로 설명해 주세요.

Question 2

첫 번째 설문조사에서 대부분의 사람들은 영어는 의사소통을 위해 가장 중요한 국제 공용어라고 생각한다고 대답했습니다. 그러나 대부분의 설문 참여자들은 원어민이 하는 영어(특히, 미국식 영어)를 하고 싶어하는 것으로 조사 되었습니다. 여러분은 왜 설문 참여자들이 이 형태의 영어를 하기를 원한다고 생각하십니까?

여러분의 생각을 아래 박스에 구체적으로 설명해 주세요.

Question 3

많은 설문 참여자가 여러분이 알고 있는 영어의 종류를 나열하세요라는 질문을 받았을 때 미국식 영어와 영국식 영어를 적어 주었습니다. 다른 종류의 영어는 아주 소수의 설문 참여자만이 적어 주었습니다.

많은 영어 조사자들은 전 세계에는 많은 종류의 영어가 있다고 생각합니다. 그러나 여러분은 왜 아주 적은 종류의 영어만을 사람들이 나열했다고 생각하시나요?

- 영어의 종류를 많이 알고 있지 않다.
- (미국식 영어와 영국식 영어를 제외한) 다른 대부분의 영어는 영어라고 생각하지 않는다.
- 그 이외 이유

여러분의 생각을 구체적으로 아래 박스에 설명해 주세요.

Question 4

일반적으로 한국사람들은 좋은 직장을 구하기 위하여 영어를 배운다고 생각 되어져 왔습니다. 하지만 첫 번째 설문조사에서 많은 수의 설문 참여자들이 영어가 그들에게 중요한 이유는 원활한 의사소통을 위함이라고 대답해 주었습니다. 여러분은 왜 원활한 의사소통을 하기 위하여 사용하는 영어가 좋은 직업을 구하는데 사용하는 영어보다 더 중요하게 여겨진다고 생각하시나요?

여러분의 생각을 아래 박스에 구체적으로 설명해 주세요.

Appendix 5 – Recruitment email for second online questionnaire

Email Subject – Language Attitude Survey

Hello

Previously you completed a survey about different types of English, and you stated that you would be willing to complete a follow-up survey. Thank you very much.

I would be extremely grateful if you could click on the link below and complete the short survey (four questions). It should only take about five to ten minutes.

(Insert survey link here)

If you have any questions or problems, send me a message using this email address. (My Aston email address)

Thank you very much for your help.

Neill

(설문) Language Attitude Survey

안녕하세요.

이 전에 여러분은 다양한 영어의 종류에 대한 설문조사에 응해 주었고 또한 여러분은 기꺼이 다음 설문조사에 응해 주겠다고 해주었습니다. 감사합니다.

여러분이 아래에 보여지는 링크를 클릭하고 짧은(4 문항) 설문조사에 응답해 주시면 정말 감사하겠습니다.

(Insert survey link here)

설문조사 도중 어떠한 문제나 질문이 있으면 아래 이메일로 메시지를 보내주세요.

여러분의 도움에 진심으로 다시 한 번 감사를 드립니다.

Neill

Appendix 6 – Aston University ethics approval

Student Research Ethics

Approval Form (REC1)

PLEASE NOTE: You MUST gain approval for any research BEFORE any research takes place. Failure to do so could result in a ZERO mark

Name	**Neill John Porteous**
Student Number	**139214040**
Module Name	**Applied Linguistics PhD by Distance Learning**

1. What are the aim(s) of your research?

The primary aim of the research is to better understand young Korean adults' (ages 18-30) acknowledgement of and attitudes towards different varieties of English in the context of South Korea in this age of globalisation.

The study will investigate which varieties of English are acknowledged by participants and what stereotypes are held about these stated varieties. In order to better understand why such attitudes may be held, the research will also investigate the reasons why the participants believe that English is needed, as well as if participants deem any varieties of English as pedagogically suitable for the Korean context.

2. What research methods to you intend to use?

An online questionnaire and semi-structured interviews will be the methodology used in this research. The online questionnaire will use the keyword/conceptual approach to determine acknowledgement and attitude towards different varieties of English.

A follow-up online survey and semi-structured individual and group interviews based on post-questionnaire data analysis will be conducted with participants in order to gain a deeper understanding of the results and aid triangulation.

3. Please give details of the type of informant, the method of access and sampling, and the location(s) of your fieldwork. (see guidance notes).

Informants in this research will consist of young Korean adults (aged 18-30). Convenience sampling and to some extent snowball sampling will be used for the online questionnaire.

The online post will outline the area of research and provide a link. This link will explain the purpose of the study, as well as provide sufficient information so that individuals can make a considered and informed choice as to whether they wish to participate.

Snowball sampling may then be used. Additionally, various Internet discussion boards and groups may be a useful way to recruit the desired participants. While there are also many groups that students frequent. I would, however, first seek permission with group/site administrators before posting any messages.

4. **Please give full details of all ethical issues which arise from this research**

Informed consent

Data protection/confidentiality/anonymity

Beneficence/avoiding harm

5. **What steps are you taking to address these ethical issues?**

Informed consent – A consent form will be presented to participants at the beginning of the survey and interviews. It will be written in both English and Korean. The form will give an overview of the purpose of the study, detail how the collected data will be used, how the data will be protected and confidentiality preserved, as well as how any personal information will be anonymised. The online questionnaire will register participant understanding of the research and informed consent by means of a check box that must be checked in order to continue with the survey. Informed consent for interviews will be collected by participants signing the consent form.

Data protection/confidentiality/anonymity – All data from the online surveys will initially be stored on a password protected account with an online survey company. The collected data will then be transferred to a password protected computer. The data will also be backed up on a password protected external hard drive that will be kept in my office. Digital recordings and any transcriptions will be stored on the same password protected computer and also backed up on the password protected external hard drive. Only I, as the sole researcher, will have the passwords and access to the raw data. All consent forms will be kept locked in a secure room.

As no names will be collected in the online questionnaire in connection with the data, this will help to retain a certain level of anonymity. When participants from the interviews are referred to specifically, culturally and ethnically appropriate pseudonyms will be assigned to individuals. In cases where a pseudonym may be insufficient to prevent identification a number will be used.

Participants who complete the online survey will be asked if they would be willing to complete a research interview at a later date. Additionally, participants will be given the option of receiving a summary of the research findings. For this to happen, an email address will be required. Participants' email addresses will also be stored in a password protected folder. Once all the data collection has been completed, the email addresses will be deleted. The file of email addresses of participants who request a summary of findings will be deleted once the summary has been sent.

Beneficence/avoiding harm – While I, as the researcher, am likely to benefit most from this study, steps will be taken to ensure that no harm or distress comes to anyone associated with this study. I will do my utmost to ensure that all data used is anonymised. As part of the informed consent, participants will be informed of how the data will be used and stored. In addition, participants will be informed that they can stop at any time, skip any questions that they deem inappropriate, as well as withdraw from the study if they wish.

6. What issues for the personal safety of the researcher(s) arise from this research?

During the online survey data collection, issues of personal safety are unlikely to arise as the only personal information that will be provided will be my university email address. During the interview stage, the level of personal risk is likely to be low to medium as I will need to travel to meet interviewees and conduct the interviews.

7. What steps will be taken to minimise the risks of personal safety to the researchers?

Interviews will be conducted in public places during standard working hours in order to maintain personal safety and reduce the chances of accusations of inappropriate behaviour. Should I travel to unfamiliar areas, I will arrive early to familiarise myself with the layout of the area and transportation links. Additionally, when I am conducting interviews someone will always be informed of where I am, and a time to check in will be arranged.

Statement by student investigator(s):

I consider that the details given constitute a true summary of the project proposed.

I have read, understood and will act in line with the LSS Student Research Ethics and Fieldwork Safety Guidance lines.

Name	Signature	Date
Neill John Porteous		05.03.2016

Statement by module convener, placement or project supervisor

I have read the above project proposal and believe that this project only involves minimum risk. I also believe that the student(s) understand the ethical and safety issues which arise from this project.

Name	Signature	Date
Urszula Clark		05.03.2016

This form must be signed and both staff and students need to keep copies.

Appendix 7 – Author's university ethics approval

승인확인서

날짜 2016. 6. 29
제목 연구제 승인에 대한 확인서

의뢰하신 다음의 연구가 본교 IRB의 심의를 거쳐 승인되었음을 알려 드립니다.

-연구제목: 대한민국, 영어 그리고 세계화 : 젊은 한국 성인들의 인지와 다양한 영어에 대한 자세를 조사

-연구책임자: 닐 포티어스

-IRB과제번호: 1040782-160527-HR-02-08

Appendix 8 – Keywords and thematic units associated with the varieties of English

	Variety	Number of times the variety was listed	Number of comments (no. of time listed)	Number of no comments and don't knows	Total number of Keyword comments	01 Dynamism	02 Status	03 Social Attractiveness	04 Language Learning	05 Awareness of variation	06 Culture
Inner circle	AmE	167	145 (86.82%)	23 (13.69%)	174	56 (32.18%)	52 (29.89%)	15 (08.62%)	41 (23.56%)	09 (05.17%)	01 (00.57%)
	BrE	152	137 (90.13%)	15 (09.87%)	177	54 (30.51%)	61 (34.46%)	17 (09.60%)	20 (11.30%)	14 (07.91%)	11 (06.21%)
	AuE	68	48 (70.59%)	20 (29.41%)	58	08 (08.62%)	12 (20.69%)	03 (05.17%)	15 (25.86%)	19 (32.76%)	01 (01.72%)
	CaE	16	11 (68.75%)	05 (31.25%)	14	01 (07.14%)	04 (28.57%)	00 (00.00%)	02 (14.29%)	05 (35.71%)	02 (14.29%)
	NzE	06	06 (100.00%)	00 (00.00%)	06	01 (16.67%)	01 (16.67%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	02 (33.33%)	02 (33.33%)
	ZaE	04	03 (60.00%)	01 (33.33%)	02	01 (50.00%)	01 (50.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)
	IrE	03	02 (66.67%)	01 (33.33%)	02	00 (00.00%)	01 (50.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	01 (50.00%)	00 (00.00%)
	OcE	01	00 (00.00%)	01 (100.00%)	00	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)
	WaE	01	00 (00.00%)	01 (100.00%)	00	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)
Outer circle	PhE	30	22 (73.33%)	08 (26.67%)	27	06 (11.11%)	06 (22.22%)	03 (11.11%)	05 (18.52%)	06 (22.22%)	01 (03.70%)
	InE	16	10 (62.50%)	06 (37.50%)	13	03 (07.69%)	03 (23.08%)	01 (07.69%)	02 (15.38%)	03 (23.08%)	01 (07.69%)
	AfE	04	02 (50.00%)	00 (00.00%)	02	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	01 (50.00%)	01 (50.00%)
	SgE	05	04 (80.00%)	01 (20.00%)	05	00 (00.00%)	02 (40.00%)	00 (00.00%)	01 (20.00%)	02 (40.00%)	00 (00.00%)
	SeaE	05	03 (60.00%)	02 (40.00%)	04	00 (00.00%)	01 (25.00%)	01 (25.00%)	02 (50.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)
	HkE	02	02 (100.00%)	00 (00.00%)	02	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	01 (50.00%)	01 (50.00%)
	GhE	01	01 (100.00%)	00 (00.00%)	01	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	01 (100.00%)	00 (00.00%)

Expanding circle

Variety	Number of times the variety was listed	Number of comments (no. of time listed)	Number of no comments and don't knows	Total number of Keyword comments	01 Dynamism	02 Status	03 Social Attractiveness	04 Language Learning	05 Awareness of variation	06 Culture
SaE	02	01 (50.00%)	01 (50.00%)	01	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	01 (100.00%)
ChE	01	00 (00.00%)	01 (100.00%)	00	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)
EuE	01	00 (00.00%)	01 (100.00%)	00	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)
JaE	01	01 (100.00%)	00 (00.00%)	01	00 (00.00%)	01 (100.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)
KoE	01	00 (00.00%)	01 (100.00%)	00	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)
NtE	01	01 (100.00%)	00 (00.00%)	01	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	01 (100.00%)
SpE	01	01 (100.00%)	00 (00.00%)	01	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	01 (100.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)
VtE	01	01 (100.00%)	00 (00.00%)	01	01 (100.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)	00 (00.00%)