THE SOCIALIZING ROLE OF CODES

AND CODE-SWITCHING

AMONG KOREAN CHILDREN IN THE U.S.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Page

I. INTRODUCTION 1

1.1. Language socialization on social identity construction ……………………..6
1.2. Social uses of code-switching 10
1.3. Social construction of gender identity through language 16
1.4. Primary theoretical analytic tools 22
1.4.1. Frame analysis 22
1.4.2. Situated activity types 26
1.4.3. Indexicality 30
1.5. Role-play and language socialization ………………………………………35
1.6. Playing your mama and cultural appropriation...……………………………38
1.7. First language use in an ESL classroom……………………………………..42
1.8. Chapter overview……………………………………………………………44

II. AN ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCH 47

2.1. Social and historical background of the Korean church 47
2.2. Members of the Korean community in Middle View 48
2.3. Physical features of the church 52
2.4. Routines and rituals...53
2.5. Patterns of communication 57
2.6. Children at the Korean church 58
2.7. Concluding remarks…………………………………………………………..61

III. RESEARCH DESIGN 63

3.1. Data collection: Ethnographic methods 65
3.2. Data analysis: Qualitative macro and micro analysis 71
3.3. Transcription 75

IV. CODE-PREFERENCES OF KOREAN BOYS AND GIRLS IN THE U.S. 77

4.1. Introduction 77
4.2. Primary code preferences by gender 80
4.3. Breaking code-preferences..89
4.4. Concluding remarks ……………………………………..……..……..…108

Chapter Page

V. THE USE OF CODES IN ROLE-PLAY 110

5.1. Introduction 110
5.2. Role-play using metacognitive verbs and deictics 112
5.3. Cultural identity formation 117
5.4. Concluding remarks 122

VI. "YOUR MAMA" ROUTINE AMONG PREADOLESCENT BOYS 124

6.1. Introduction 124
6.2. Dueling "your mama" 127
6.3. "This is better because of your mama!" 130
6.4. "Oh, my mom!" and "What the mama!" 131
6.5. "Your mama" and "That's funny" 134
6.6. "Your mama" and "That's not right" 135
6.7. "Can I have some milky mama?" 137
6.8. "Your mama, your mama, your mama" 139
6.9. Discussion 140
6.10. Concluding remarks 144

VII. THE USE OF KOREAN IN AN ENGLISH KINDERGARTEN CLUB 147

7.1. Introduction 147
7.2. Use of Korean for collaborative learning during a hand game 150
7.3. Use of Korean after teacher's instructions 152
7.4. Use of Korean to help a novice understand a topic in conversation 154
7.5. Confusion over the teachers' policy on speaking in English only 155
7.6. Teacher's challenges 159
7.7. Concluding remarks 162

VIII. CONCLUSION 163

REFERENCES 173

APPENDICES 183

A. Interview questions ……………………………………………………….....183
B. Transcription key…………………………………………………………........186
C. IRB forms……………………………………………………………….....187

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

2.1. Korean Student Association, 2007 49
2.2. Cells 51

4.1. Two young girls 82
4.2. Three young girls 83
4.3. Two preschool brothers 83
4.4. Two preadolescent boys 84
4.5. Four preadolescent boys 86
4.6. Four preteen girls 90
4.7. Two preadolescent boys 101

5.1. Two young girls 112
5.2. Two young girls 114
5.3. Three young girls 115
5.4. Five young girls 118
5.5. Two preadolescent boys and a Korean American female caretaker 120

6.1. Five preadolescent boys 126
6.2. The social meanings and functions of the use of Korean for boys 142
6.3. The social meanings and functions of the use of English for boys 142

LIST OF PICTURES

Diagram Page

2.1. Layout of the church 52

Picture Page

2.1. An example of Sunday worship 53
2.2. An example of Sunday school for children 54
2.3. A birthday party 56

7.1. Musical Chairs & a hand game 150
7.2. Sand jars 153
7.3. Drawing with chalk outdoors 157
7.4. Making an Easter egg 158

LIST OF TRANSCRIPTS

Transcript Page

4.1. I saw bubbles...82
4.2. Me, too. Me, three. Me, four...83
4.3. Attack! Destroy it! 84
4.4. Did you call me a psycho?...85
4.5. What have you got in science?...86
4.6. I miss Jeongsoo!...88
4.7. I'm SPEAKING, PEOPLE!..91
4.8a. I've got to feed and touch the dolphins...95
4.8b. I'M GOING TO BE IN AMERICA 97
4.9a. Hey, you are so ugly! 102
4.9b. Are you an idiot? 104
4.9c. You're playing with a gay, right? YOU SHUT UP! 105
4.9d. You called me a gay..107

5.1. Pretend. Here's a bug...112
5.2. Let's say we lost her 114
5.3. Now! These are little bugs...115
5.4. I'm gonna call the cops..118
5.5. Do you know what 'freaking' means?..121

6.1. Dueling "your mama"..127
6.2. This is better because of your mama! 130
6.3. Oh, my mom!/What the mama! 132
6.4. Your mama./That's funny..134
6.5. Your mama./That's not right..135
6.6. Can I have some milky mama?...137
6.7. Your mama, your mama, your mama 140

7.1. If you say the words, you'll see. 151
7.2. What did she say? 153
7.3. Right? We live in a building 154
7.4. Hey, girls, please speak in English 156
7.5. Hey, JENNY! Can you tell Julia how she is supposed to glue it?..................158

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study examines the code-switching habits of Korean children among their Korean peers in a Korean community and at a university sponsored club in the U.S. in order to understand the socializing role of codes and code-switching. Most early code-switching studies within sociolinguistics (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1972, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1988) explored the correlations between macro-social structures and codes. Correlational studies of code-switching in the sociolinguistic tradition often could not account for the fact that some members of a particular social ethnic group used a common symbolic code often, while others of the same group did not. These studies also could not explain why some people used codes symbolic of other social or ethnic groups. In order to fill these gaps, more recent conversational code-switching studies (Auer, 1995, 1998; Cashman, 2005; Gafaranga, 2001; Jorgensen, 1998; Sebba & Wooton, 1998; Wei, 1998, 2005) have emphasized micro-contextual effects and have revealed how roles and memberships are constantly changing and co-constructed through code-switching in highly dynamic conversational contexts. However, these studies have overlooked the impact of macro-social structures on code-switching. Conversational code-switching studies cannot explain how macro-sociocultural factors are related to the code-choices of certain populations because these studies mainly explore the ways

conversational sequences in a narrowly focused context (e.g. turn-taking sequences) affect an individual's code choices. Thus this study is positioned within an interdisciplinary combined approach, applying a language socialization approach which has a dual focus regarding the ways both macro-sociocultural contexts and micro-contexts are interrelated in code choices.

The basic question being asked in this study is: How does code choice in the midst of ongoing interaction index different layers of social identities that participants are co-constructing? In addressing this question, the study also examines whether code-switching contributes to the dynamic construction of local identities through moment-to-moment interactions, rather than revealing fixed identities associated with different codes.

The major data consist of 42 hours of ethnographically collected videotaped interaction among Korean children over the course of four academic semesters in both a Korean Christian church and a university sponsored Kindergarten Kids Club in the U.S. Informal interviews were also conducted with participants in order to supplement the videotaped data. Data analysis is qualitative and focuses primarily on the micro-analysis of videotaped interactions including code-switching in situated activity types (Levinson, 1993). For data analysis, the selected scenes were transcribed to examine whether and how the specific sequences exhibit the roles that codes and code-switching play in socialization and more specifically their roles in constructing social identities. In addition, macro-analytic techniques are incorporated into data analysis, identifying sociocultural situations of the participants through observations and interviews.

The situated findings of this study indicate: a) that there are basic code preferences which construct the unmarked participation frameworks and thus also

identities within those frameworks: boys primarily prefer to use Korean, whereas girls primarily prefer to use English, in both cases to signal their power and solidarity and thus construct their identities and b) that despite the primary code-preferences by gender, there are situations in which the Korean children use a marked code signaling that the children reconstruct multilayered identities. The code-switching practices analyzed provide evidence that code choice through emergent context indexes multilayered identities including complex gender roles, Korean vs. American identities, and power relations rooted in age and English proficiency.

The findings also have ramifications for theoretical issues related to code-switching and indexicality. The code-switching interactions analyzed in this study suggest: a) that code-switching contributes to dynamic construction of local identities through emergent context, rather than revealing fixed identities associated with different codes; b) that code-switching has a social indexing function that signals particular features of social identities and contexts; and c) that the social meanings of code-switching are always (re)constructed based on the relationships between local contexts and multiple intentional meanings and characteristics of different people, so the social meanings of code-switching can be creative and emergent.

Some background information on the status of English and English learning in Korea is helpful in understanding the kinds of associations that English has for Koreans in the U.S. In a general sense, the English language is highly valued in South Korea. Knowledge of English is necessary to study in Korean schools. Korean parents send their children to the U.S., so they can come back to S. Korea with a high level of English which will guarantee them success in the Korean system. The Institute of International

Education reported in 2005 that Korea ranked third among countries that send students to the U.S., following India and China (The Institute of International Education, 2005). In a 2007 Korean news article, Park reported that "the annual number of Korean students taking TOEFL tests accounts for 20 percent of a total of 550,000 test takers throughout the world" (p. 1). The Korean applicants consist of not only undergraduate and graduate students; about half of the Korean applicants are presumed to be students attending primary, middle, and high schools. According to Park, even some students in third or fourth grade rush to take the TOEFL test because their parents want their children to be well prepared for future university enterance exams. This zeal for learning English propels Koreans of all ages to study English in English-speaking countries.

One of the problematic social phenomena in Korea right now is that because of early English education, children in Korean public schools are polarized between children who have studied English abroad and those who have not. Some returnees have difficulty readjusting to Korea after one or two year of residence in English-speaking countries. According to Kim (2007), many families in Korea are separated: mothers usually go abroad with their children whereas fathers stay in Korea for work. In examining cases of Korean families living apart for their children's education, Ha (2007) reported hardships, divorce, and even fathers committing suicide because of loneliness or financial problems. Early English education is an important social issue in Korea. In spite of the recent boom in sending children to English-speaking countries, there are not many studies which examine the language development and socialization process of Korean children who study English for a relatively short period of time (one or two years) in English-speaking countries. Nor do we have information on how this early second language learning relates

to first language use in constructing Korean children's social identities. This study, therefore, explores the socializing role of codes and code-switching between English and Korean among a specific group of Korean children (preschool through middle school) in the U.S and the ways in which code choices contribute to constructing their social identities.

For the rest of this chapter, I give an overview of the remaining chapters. In Sections 1.1 through 1.4, I begin by reviewing the theoretical foundation of language socialization, focusing on identity construction (Goodwin, 1990; Minoura, 1992; Ochs, 1993; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Second, I review theoretical approaches to code-switching including contextualization cues (Gumperz, 1992), footing (Cromdal & Aronsson, 2000; Goffman, 1979/1981), the application of markedness theory to code-switching, (Myers-Scotton, 1988, 1998), the conversational code-switching approach (Auer, 1998), and what I will refer to as an interdisciplinary combined code-switching approach (Bailey, 2001; Rampton, 1996, 1998; Stroud, 1998). Third, I discuss literature on the social construction of gender identity through language and locally-situated activities (Bucholtz, 2004; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Goodwin, 1990). Fourth, I review my primary theoretical tools: a) frame analysis (Bateson, 1972; Goffman, 1974), b) situated activity types (Goodwin, 1990; Levinson, 1993), and c) indexicality (Hanks, 1992; Silverstein, 1976, 1993, 1996) in relation to understanding how the children may code-switch to construct and reconstruct identities. And lastly, in Sections 1.5 through 1.7, I provide an overview of the literature for the analysis in Chapters 5 through 7.

1.1. Language socialization on social identity construction

Language socialization is a concept that Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) developed to study how children are socialized "through the use of language" and "to use language" (p.163). One of the most important contributions of the language socialization approach, in relation to constructing social identities, is the idea that people are not passive agents in following social conventions but active participants in negotiating and reconstructing their identities through the use of appropriate language in local situations. In order for novices to function as members of a society, they need appropriate social competence including communicative competence. Social competence encompasses the appropriate use of certain linguistic forms in a particular context in order for speakers to achieve their goals. Ochs (1996) argues that, through socialization processes, novices learn how to assign situational and indexical meanings (e.g. temporal or spatial meanings or identities) into particular linguistic forms (e.g. choices of tenses and aspects, deictic terms, or choices of codes). As a result, social identities are linguistically constructed through interactional processes in particular contexts.

Ochs (1993) defines social identity as an outcome others infer from linguistically constructed social acts and stances. Here social identity is used as an umbrella term that encompasses all social personae including social roles and relations. According to Ochs (1993) social acts are goal-oriented behaviors of speakers (e.g. requesting, complaining, or teasing) whereas social stances include points of view or attitudes of speakers. Attitudinal stances include epistemological and affective attitudes. Ochs suggests that, in order to conduct language socialization research focused on constructing social identities, language socialization researchers must first look at what kinds of social acts and stances

are constructed through recurrent language routines and patterns. Then they must pay attention to any variations of social acts and stances. If there are any variations, researchers must examine why particular groups of speakers attempt to challenge or change particular social and conventional acts and stances and how their goals or positioning are achieved through particular linguistic forms.

Early language socialization research focused on how children are socialized through interactions with their care-takers (usually mothers) in order to become functional members of a society (e.g. Clancy, 1986; Miller, 1986; Ochs, 1986; Schieffelin, 1986). For example, Ochs (1986) examined the ways in which children in West Samoa are socialized. She found that the first word of most children in West Samoa was a curse term, ‘tae,’ literally meaning ‘eat shit.’ The children probably do not know the meaning of the word but say it because they repeatedly hear the word from their care-takers and learn to say the word in order to ask for food. Ochs (1986) argues that “this conventional interpretation of a child’s first word reflects the Samoan view of small children as characteristically strong-willed, assertive, and cheeky. Indeed, at a very early point in their language development, children use the curse frequently and productively to disagree, reject, and refuse and to prevent or stop some action from being carried out” (p.265).

Children in Kaluli are socialized in teasing and shaming contexts through rhetorical questions which their care-takers frequently use (Schieffelin, 1986). American children in working-class families are also socialized to use and understand teasing (Miller, 1986). Their mothers enact teasing roles with exaggerated singsong voices and non-verbal behaviors. According to Miller (1986), to tease is to turn a real dispute into a

mocking dispute. In the process of teasing, children learn how to interpret utterances as teasing, not real disputes, through metacommucation cues. In teasing, there is always tension between seriousness and playfulness (Goffman, 1974). This means that teasing should resemble a real dispute in order for teasers to enjoy playing, but at the same time they must recognize it is as not a real dispute. As a result, through teasing, children in West Samoa or working-class U.S. families are socialized to argue with others, assert themselves, or play with languages. Most middle-class American mothers may tend to accommodate their children through 'baby talk' by simplifying their sentences; however, according to Schieffelin (1986) and Miller (1986), the Kaluli or working-class American mothers in their studies do not.

On the other hand, children in Japan are socialized differently. Clancy (1986, 1999) investigated the ways Japanese children are socialized through language. She found that Japanese mothers socialize their children to conform to others and to say "no" indirectly. As a result, Japanese children may be more likely to construct their identities as conformers. As we can see from these examples, children develop different identities as a part of their early language socialization processes in order for them to be functional members of their societies.

Peer group-based research (e.g. Goodwin, 1990; Kyratzis, 2004) argues that competence refers to the ways children participate in peer group activities by using peer group specific language appropriately and strategically. For example, Goodwin (1990) conducted an ethnographic study of African American children in Philadelphia neighborhood peer groups. Through frequent disputes and gossip, the children learn how to transform their peer groups and formulate different social orders through the strategic

use of reported speech in he-said-she-said confrontations. These kinds of confrontations require complex linguistic skills including the ability to reframe what others have said depending on desired goals and stances of speakers. In order for the children to function as competent members in the neighborhood groups, they must be able to participate in these kinds of disputes appropriately. Therefore, competence not only means that speakers should be able to produce clearly formed language but also refers to the ways people function as competent members in a particular society. As competent members of a society, people sanction, assert, reject, manipulate, or challenge their social goals, stances and positioning in the process of constructing “occasion-specific identities” (Goodwin, 1990, p. 195) through appropriate linguistic skills.

Minoura (1992), in looking at Japanese children growing up in the U.S., investigated 1) what one needs to know to become a functional member of a society and how that knowledge is incorporated into one’s cultural meaning system and 2) when and how the cultural meaning system becomes a part of an individual’s behavior system. She found that children who stayed in America after age 9 for more than four years and then returned to Japan felt that it was difficult to function as a Japanese societal member in Japan. That is because, for example, the socialization in America contradicts Japanese ways of saying “no” indirectly and conforming to others even when one does not want to. She concluded that there is a critical period for children to acquire a cultural meaning system, between age 9 and age 15. During this critical period, children develop a cultural meaning system and incorporate it into their affective system. According to Minoura, below age 9, children are socialized to the home culture, in this case Japanese; after 15 they maintain their connection to the home culture; and in between, they become more

socialized to the external society (e.g. what was at school, on TV). Peer group studies (Minoura, 1992; Goodwin, 1990; Kyratzis, 2004) support Minoura's findings, suggesting that the peer group relationship is a more powerful socialization tool than parents are.

1.2. Social uses of code-switching

In this section, I review the code-switching literature positioned within sociolinguistics, which attempts to explain what roles code-switching plays in conversation. Because of inconsistent usage of the term *code-switching* among scholars, the term is used in a broad sense in this study. For the purpose of this study, a code means any style, variety, dialect or language. Following this broad definition of code, the boundaries of codes include between turns, within turns, and within constituents of single sentences. I will first review foundational code-switching studies by Gumperz (1982, 1992) and Goffman (1979/1981). Then, I will discuss three recent trends in code-switching studies: the application of markedness theory to code-switching research, the conversational code-switching approach, and an interdisciplinary combined code-switching approach.

1.2.1. Gumperz: we/they codes, situational/metaphorical code-switching, and contextualization cues

Gumperz's (1972) study set up the foundation for early code-switching studies, which were devoted to examining what social roles code-switching served in conversation. First, Gumperz established that code-switching should be considered as a type of social phenomenon. Blom and Gumperz (1972) investigated why people in Hamnes, Norway switched between two dialects, Bokmal and Ranamal, in certain situations. They found that the local dialect Ranamal was used between local people as an

in-group code ("we code") in order to establish solidarity within the group. On the other hand, the standard Bokmal was used as an out-group code ("they code") when the local people talked to outsiders. As a result, when the local people used Ranamal among themselves, it was unmarked because it was a common code; however, when the local people used Bokmal, it was marked because it signaled something uncommon. According to Blom and Gumperz (1972), situational code-switching signals changes in situations including participants, topics, or events. However, this concept of situational code-switching cannot explain the other type of code-switching, which does not involve changes in situations. As a result, Gumperz (1982) found that there was another type of code-switching, called "metaphorical code-switching" (p. 62). For example, sales clerks in Hemnes greeted their clients in Ranamal to show familiarity and solidarity, but they switched to Bokmal during business to express more formal and less personal relations. This kind of metaphorical code-switching does not involve changes in situations but implies some other social meanings, e.g. superiority or formality.

Later, Gumperz (1992) developed another concept related to code-switching and suggested that instances of code-switching can be viewed as *contextualization cues*, which signal changes in contexts. According to Gumperz, typical examples of contextualization cues are prosody, rhythm and tempo, and shifts in pitch register and selection of a linguistic code. This concept made it possible to investigate dynamic and contextual effects of code-switching. As a result, this concept has recently been used by many researchers of code-switching (e.g. Cashman, 2005; Cromdal, 2001; Woolard, 2004; Zentella, 1997). For example, Cashman (2005) examined the functions of code-switching of Spanish-English bilingual adults in a senior citizens' program in the U.S.

The coordinator in the program switched to Spanish to talk about mistakes that the participants made in a Bingo game and then switched to English to continue to play the game. In this situation, instances of code-switching can be regarded as contextualization cues that signal the boundaries of the main activity and the side activities of the game.

1.2.2. Goffman's footing

Goffman (1979/1981) pointed out that code-switching could be an example of footing shifts. For Goffman, footing includes stances or positioning. He characterized code-switching as "changing available hats" (p. 145) to signal different stances or positioning of participants. Many code-switching scholars (e.g. Cromdal, 2004; Cromdal & Aronsson, 2000; Rampton, 1996, 1998; Zentella, 1997) started to apply the concept of footing to their analyses of code-switching to explore dynamic and multiple effects of code-switching. According to this approach, participants can align themselves through their code choices for different stances or positioning in the construction of contexts. For example, Cromdal and Aronsson (2000) analyzed code-switching of Swedish and English bilingual preschool children in Sweden. They found that the children switched between the two codes as an example of footing shifts that signal different stances. For instance, one child switched to Swedish and said, "I hate you" during mock play, which was held in English, in order to express her anger about her partner in the play.

1.2.3. Myers-Scotton's application of markedness theory

Myers-Scotton (1988, 1998) followed Gumperz' notion of we/they codes and applied markedness theory[1] to the analysis of code-switching. According to Myers-Scotton, speakers are aware of social roles of each code in relation to the power and

[1] For more information about markedness theory, refer to Trubetskoy, Jakobson, and the Prague School in Toman (1995) and Vachek (1996).

solidarity dimensions of a particular situation. As a result, speakers know which code is unmarked in a social situation and normally choose an unmarked code in order to establish solidarity or power. However, when they do not know which code is unmarked, they switch codes in order to find out which code is unmarked. She called these phenomena of code-switching speakers' *rights and obligations* (RO) sets. Later, Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001) developed another concept, "a rational code choice," meaning that speakers rationally choose a code or switch to another code in order to optimize their rewards and minimize their costs. Bolonyai (2005) demonstrated that Hungarian English bilingual girls switched between Hungarian and English depending on their desires and purposes. For example, two girls role-played with one of the girls' mothers. One of the rules during the play was to speak Hungarian only. But the daughter asked her mother who was the best player in English again and again because English was the unmarked and preferred code between the mother and the daughter. Bolonyai concluded that even young children already know and rationally choose a more beneficial code for a better outcome.

Many scholars (e.g. Auer, 1995, 1998; Cashman, 2005; Gafaranga, 2001; Jorgensen, 1998; Wei, 1998, 2005) have criticized the application of markedness theory in Myers-Scotton's research. For example, Auer (1995, 1998) argues that Myers-Scotton (1988) assumes that speakers or researchers have preexisting knowledge of the social roles of each code and that such knowledge comes from external social situations; however, Auer believes that a situation is created by the use of codes and we cannot predict which code has a certain social role until we analyze talk-in-interaction during an ongoing discourse.

1.2.4. Conversational code-switching approach

Auer (1995, 1998) also criticized Gumperz' notion of we/they code for the same reason he criticized Myers-Scotton: speakers or researchers cannot predict participants' social roles in relation to codes because "talk" creates social situations in different social contexts. Therefore, Auer argued that code-switching takes place as a result of ongoing discourse sequences and turns. He found that subsequent speakers preferred to follow the code of the previous speaker. According to him, code-switching occurs when speakers identify which code is preferable when strangers talk for the first time. Code-switching also takes place in order to bracket a sentence for repairing or holding the floor. Wei (1998, 2005) followed Auer and examined the code-switching of Chinese English bilingual adults in Britain. He found examples of code-switching as a tool of turn selection. The participants in his study tried to select their preferred codes and continued to switch codes until they were able to speak in their preferred code. Meanwhile, Cashman (2005) and Gafaranga (2001) examined how codes relate to the construction of identities and argued that code-switching functions as a membership category device. For example, the participants in their study switched between two codes when they identified themselves with different roles, e.g. facilitators or players while playing a game.

1.2.5. Interdisciplinary combined code-switching approach

Stroud (1998) argues that conversational code-switching scholars contributed dynamic contextual effects to the analyses of code-switching studies; however, by overlooking culture in their analyses and methods, they missed important information from macro-sociocultural effects of code-switching. Therefore, he asserts that in order to gain a better understanding of the social meanings and functions of code-switching, code-

switching researchers should combine macro-social contexts with micro-social contexts. He suggests that ethnographic and longitudinal observations would help researchers to understand the social roles of code-switching clearly.

An interdisciplinary combined code-switching approach has been recently developed under the tradition of interdisciplinary fields such as sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and language socialization. Through ethnographic, longitudinal, and cross-cultural studies, interdisciplinary combined code-switching researchers examine how speakers assert, challenge, or manipulate their given social roles through the use of a certain code. For example, ethnic identity constructions through code-switching are prominent in many recent studies including Bailey's (2001) study of Dominican American adolescents; Rampton's (1996, 1998) exploration of language crossing among Asians, Afro-Caribbean's, and Anglo British adolescents; Chun's (2001) study of black-white-Korean identities through the use of African American Vernacular English (AAVE); and Reyes's (2005) exploration of Asian speakers' use of AAVE. All participants in the studies mentioned above appropriate the codes used by others in order to minimize interethnic differences or to resist mainstream culture (for more detailed discussions of these studies, refer to Section 1.6). For example, in Bailey's (2001) study, the Dominican American participants switched among Non-standard Dominican Spanish, Standard Spanish, AAVE, and Standard English in order to deal with the black/white dichotomy that is found in the U.S. and to reconstruct their ethnic identities.

It is neither easy nor desirable to figure out the social meanings and functions of code-switching until we observe and analyze the phenomena in social and ongoing contexts. However, the body of code-switching literature identifies factors code-

switching researchers should consider when they design and analyze their studies. The literature tells us that it is important for code-switching researchers to consider both macro-sociocultural factors and narrowly focused micro-contextual factors in order to gain a better understanding of the meanings and functions of code-switching.

1.3. Social construction of gender identity through language

Because there are differences in code preferences between boys and girls in my study, in this section, I discuss the literature on the social construction of gender identity through language in locally-situated activities (Bucholtz, 2004; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Goodwin, 1990, 2003; Ochs, 1992; Tannen, 1990). First, I discuss the Separate World Hypothesis (Maltz and Borker, 1982) and the sex-segregated subculture difference approach (Tannen, 1990) contrasted with Goodwin's study of the social construction of occasion-specific gender identity through language activities. Second, I review Ochs' argument on how gender is indexed in particular linguistic forms. Third, I discuss Eckert & McConnell-Ginet's (1992) community of practice and locally-situated approach. Fourth, I review Bucholtz' (2004) social construction of interaction-specific gender identity through moment-to-moment linguistic performance.

1.3.1. Subcultural differences vs. gender identity socially constructed through activities

In relation to the interaction between language and gender, there has been a methodological shift from deterministic assumptions on biological gender differences between men's and women's speech to social constructionist assumptions of gender identity, treating gender as the accomplishment and product of social interaction through language. Maltz and Borker (1982) proposed the Separate World Hypothesis which states

that norms of peer relations are learned in segregated preadolescent peer groups and these norms are different for boys and girls. Tannen (1990) elaborates on this hypothesis by describing sub-cultural differences between the culture of American males and females. She points out that boys play in large groups and establish hierarchies, which is accepted by the boys; adult men continue to see social relations in terms of hierarchy, and they maneuver for power, seeing themselves either in a superior or inferior status to others. On the other hand, according to Tannen, girls play in smaller groups of friends, and they look for friendship and solidarity in their social relations. Although some girls have higher social status than others, which the girls accept, they do not view social relations primarily in terms of hierarchy. Adult women continue to see social relations in terms of supporting relationships, and they also continue to be sensitive to social status.

However, these views of subcultural differences between men and women ignore important aspects of people's active engagement and negotiations in cross-gender linguistic practices. These views also miss other important variables such as context, ethnicity, and social class that simultaneously influence constructing gender identities. Goodwin (1990, 2003) points out that boys and girls are not always segregated and that boundaries between genders are not always salient. Instead, Goodwin suggests that the basic unit of analysis for language and gender be locally situated activities, following the Vygotskyan tradition of activity theory. In terms of social categories, the Vygotskyan tradition argues that different types of activities constitute different layers of social boundaries such as cultures, ethnicities, social class, and gender. For example, Goodwin found that boys and girls systematically construct different gender identities in different activities. In terms of play activities, Goodwin found that boys often made slingshots

whereas girls often played house. On the other hand, the boys and girls developed similar gender identities in different speech activities through their use of talk. For example, both the boys and girls used directives and arguments when building social organization and opposition. This is very different from Tannen's (1990) findings in relation to the differences between boys and girls based on their exposure to different subcultural groups. According to Tannen, boys are more competitive whereas girls are more cooperative. However, when different types of activities, including play activities and speech activities, are examined, stereotypes about boys' and girls' speech collapse (Goodwin, 1990, 2003). Thus we need to examine gendered identities through situated activities rather than as segregated gendered groups as a whole.

1.3.2. Indexing gender

Ochs (1992) proposes that indexing gender through certain language forms is not a direct mapping of forms onto gender; rather it is *non-referential indexing* (for the discussion of non-referential indexing, see Section 1.4.3). Similarily, Silverstein (1976) argues that many linguistic forms in any given community are not referential indices but socially constructed non-referential indices. A linguistic form can have different meanings for different interlocutors in different social contexts. Thus the social meanings of particular linguistic forms are situated in social interactions in moment-to-moment contexts. Furthermore, Ochs argues that the reason a particular group of people adopts a particular form of linguistic features relates to the ideology that is pervasive in a society. For example, a male speaker might appropriate a certain form because he believes that the form signifies masculinity, or a hearer might interpret that the reason a male speaker is using a form is because he believes that the form indicates masculinity. Therefore,

Ochs concludes that there can be many different interpretations of the ways that people construct their identities, including gender identity, if researchers carefully analyze non-referential indices.

1.3.3. Locally-constructed and situated gender identity through practices

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) take *a community of practice and locally-situated approach* to social construction of gender identity through language. They argue that it is necessary to think practically and look locally in order to examine the relationship between language and gender. This means that we should give up some assumptions: "that gender can be isolated from other aspects of social identity and relations, that gender has the same meaning across communities, and that the linguistic manifestations of that meaning are also the same across communities" (p. 462). Instead, they propose that we should look at "the interaction of gender and language that roots each in the everyday social practices of particular local communities and sees them as jointly constructed in those practices" (p.462). Whereas Goodwin (1990), Goffman (1979/1981), and Levinson (1993) focus on situated *activities*, Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1992) place their emphasis on *practices*. They define a community of practice, following Lave and Wenger's (1991) definition, as "an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor. Ways of doing things, whys of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short practices – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor" (1992, p. 464). Emphasizing practices, rather than activities, in the communities allows researchers to connect issues of language and gender into larger macro-social structures and other aspects of identities such as social class, ethnicity, and age. At the same time, the notion of looking locally suggests that people belong to

different groups so their memberships in different groups are constituted in various ways in various local communities of practice. Thus looking at language and gender as community-based practice makes it possible to examine how gender identity is constructed in relation to other aspects of identity because “people’s access and exposure to, need for, and interest in different communities of practice are related to such things as their class, age, and ethnicity as well as to their sex” (p. 472).

1.3.4. Interaction-specific gender identity through performance

While Eckert and McConnell-Ginet focus on social practices in the construction of gendered identities, Bucholtz (2004) extends their arguments and places more emphasis on *performance* by agents in the use of language. She argues that many gendered concepts such as masculinity, heterosexuality, or femininity are achieved in practice through performance. Thus socially constructed gendered identity and ideology are constituted by practices, and at the same time, practices constitute gendered identity. This interactive phenomenon between linguistic practice and construction of gendered identity is explained by the notion of *indexing*: “identities form around practices and, conversely, practices develop around identities” (Bucholtz, 2004, p.423). If a form indexes a certain type of identity, the form evokes an association with that identity. For example, the “your mama” routine was first used among African Americans, but it has become a symbol of popular youth culture that indexes urban, cool, and hip-hop types of masculinity. Then, anybody who uses the routine constructs that kind of identity. However, Bucholtz warns that we should be careful when applying indexicality to examine identities: “A practice approach looks at how individuals use language and what sort of identity this constructs for them as a result. *Interaction-specific identities* may then

take precedence over broader identities. Or the most salient identities in a given interaction or setting may be local and specific" (Bucholtz, 2004, p. 423). Thus Asian boys who use some features of African American English may speak differently not only from white or black American boys but also from white or black American girls, and at the same time, not all the Asian boys who speak African American English construct the same identity.

Bucholtz differentiates performance from practice. According to her, "Performance is the enactment of an identity that may or may not conform to the identity assigned to the performer by others" (2004, p. 424). By making this distinction, Bucholtz raises questions about fixed social categories including gender and draws attention to the fluidity of social categories and the social construction of interaction-specific identities in moment-to-moment performance. According to her, identities are performed and constructed, so there is no monolithic identity (e.g. no single masculinity or femininity). Because people locally construct their identities, we need to carefully examine different communities of practice, different types of activities, and agent-constituted moment-to-moment performance. In this sense, "the use of language in the construction of identity thus becomes a much more complex problem than simply mapping linguistic behavior onto given social categories" (Bucholtz, 2004, p. 425).

Following Bucholtz' argument, I discuss how marked and unmarked code preferences among the population of my study are related to constructing gendered identities (Chapter 4) and to performing interaction-specific, and thus different, types of masculinity (Chapter 6). When the Korean boys in my study take up powerful masculine identities using an African American "your mama" routine, each boy may construct

different types of masculinity depending on not only their ethnicity and gender identities but also locally constructed contexts including their English proficiency, age, and residence status in the U.S.

1.4. Primary theoretical analytic tools

I apply a language socialization approach to understanding children's code-switching, using frame analysis (Bateson, 1972; Goffman, 1974), situated activity types (Goodwin, 1990; Levinson, 1993), and indexicality (Hanks, 1992; Silverstein, 1996) as my primary theoretical tools. These three theories are interrelated in a triangular way. Frame analysis allows researchers to analyze micro- and macro- levels of language use by providing organizational guidelines for how participants and researchers understand what is going on around them. Situated activity types serve as a micro-application of frame analysis into a particular context in which situated frames are co-constructed through activities in locally constructed moment-to-moment contexts. Indexicality functions as linguistic glue between the macro frame and the micro-situated frame. This theoretical orientation will add a new dimension to interdisciplinary sociocultural studies of code-switching, allowing me to explore (a) whether code-switching can be viewed as indexical behavior, for which meaning varies according to certain features of the context; (b) which codes index different aspects of identity; and (c) how the children code-switch to construct and reconstruct their identities in their speech community.

1.4.1. Frame analysis

How do we know, interpret, and understand what is going on around us? Why do people have different understandings and interpretations of the world around them? According to Bateson (1972), human verbal communication operates at many contrasting

levels of abstraction. When people recognize or are aware of others' utterances as signaling something, they may have different interpretations of the same utterance within the same context. Bateson attributes the possibility of constructing multiple realities to the different frames people apply in order to grasp meanings of reality. Bateson views frames as psychological concepts and sets of messages that include some degree of physical existence. Similarly, Goffman (1974) defines frames as organizational guidelines or principles for the event in which people are involved. According to Goffman, we first tend to perceive what is going on in reality in terms of a primary framework which helps us understand concurrent occurrences. A primary framework is an essential schema that we believe governs events. Thus it guides our subjective involvement in the events.

There can be consciously recognized frames such as movies, campaigns, or sports games. But in many cases, frames are hidden because we subconsciously project our frames of reference onto the world around us. There can also be frames without any explicit verbal reference to them, which may cause subtle levels of frame confusion. For example, how is it possible for children to differentiate a playful fight from a serious fight? As observers, we may not always know whether it is play as an unserious act or a real fight as a serious act. According to Bateson, there is always tension between frames, and multiple layers are always being co-constructed together between frames.

Due to the tension between frames at multiple levels of abstraction, a frame is almost always metacommunicative. Bateson (1972) defines metacommunication as something that signals different meanings at different levels (e.g. tropes such as irony and antonyms). For example, when somebody says, "I don't care about money," that

utterance may contradictorily reveal that the person really cares about money and therefore he/she continues to dwell on the subject of money. Or some utterances such as "trust me!" may contradictorily mean that "you don't trust me." There can be even more multilayered levels of frames. In the movie *the Wizard of Oz* (Frank Baum wrote the book in 1900), when Dorothy said to her dog that she has a feeling they are not in Kansas anymore, she signals her psychological frame that implies they are now in a foreign land in her psychological reality. Through this metacommunicative signal, tornado scenes, and sound effects, movie watchers are relocated to perceive, identify, and label future occurrences as contextualized not in Kansas but in a foreign land. But, movie watchers are also aware that the utterance happened in Dorothy's dream when she wakes up in her bed at the end of the film. Therefore, the movie watchers are also able to understand the event through the frame of Dorothy's dream. In another sense, the dream also reflects Dorothy's desire or dream of a better place, "somewhere over the rainbow." Through the movie, people develop multilayered matrixes or frames for watching the movie: Dorothy not being in Kansas, Dorothy's desire, and Dorothy's dream. Thus people understand what is going on through multilayered frameworks.

Frame confusion and/or metacommunicative characteristics of frames sometimes make it difficult to determine what is going on but at the same time enable us to understand that a particular person's current world can be different from others' current worlds simultaneously in the same situation. In order to understand different and thus multiple realities among people, we first need to understand the primary frameworks that people develop in particular contexts.

According to Goffman (1974), a frame organizes not only meaning but also involvement. If participants in an activity have developed a shared frame, they get involved in an activity more spontaneously. Breaking frame can occur when an individual in the activity withdraws appropriate involvement on his/her turn either in an authorized manner, such as an official time-out, or in an unauthorized manner, such as verbal fighting. Similar to Goffman, Silverstein (1985) analyzes poetic structures of semiotic cues that collectively presuppose a particular interpretation of a conversation such that patterns of semiotic cues can shift dynamics in the process of constructing and reconstructing positioning during the course of discourse.

Goffman (1979/1981) explains the phenomenon of breaking frame as a change in our frame for events and a change in *footing*, which is very commonly language-linked. Goffman defines footing as stances, positionings, or alignments that an individual takes within interactions. He explores multifaceted characters of a speech event by looking at changes in purpose, context, or participant role. This theory of multiple positionings enables us to understand that participants may display multiple stances. Face-to-face interpersonal involvement or withdrawal requires the interlocutors to signal and interpret cues that will help the participants identify the appropriate footing for the interaction. Therefore, it is important to understand changes in alignments or cues in language use during the moments of talk by questioning what those changes project or signal. Goffman explains footing shifts as “a change of gears” (p. 126). According to him, footing shifts may involve such changes as shifts in who is addressed or in alignments of speakers to hearers. In addition, changes in footing or the primary framework are usually

accompanied by paralinguistic markers of language such as changes in pitch, volume, rhythm, stress, or tonal quality.

Gumperz's (1982) contextualization cue theory is similar to Goffman's idea of footing shift. By applying Goffman's theory of footing, it is possible to identify how code-switching may serve to mark multiple shifts in footing. By applying his contextualization cue theory, Gumperz also argues that, "code-switching signals contextual information equivalent to what in monolingual settings is conveyed through prosody or other syntactic or lexical processes" (p. 98). Gumperz defines contextualization cues as "constellations of surface features of message form that are the means by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is and how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows" (p. 131).

1.4.2. Situated activity types

While frame analysis is used in this study as a theoretical tool for analyzing micro- and macro-levels of language use, the concept of situated activity types is used to apply frame analysis to local contexts in which people co-construct situated frames through activities. Levinson (1979/1992) develops a notion of *activity types.* According to him, an activity type refers to:

> a fuzzy category whose focal members are goal-defined, socially constituted, bounded, events with *constraints* on participants, setting, and so on, but above all on the kinds of allowable contributions. (Levinson, 1979/1992, p. 69)

Levinson argues that activity types play an important role in understanding the meanings and functions of utterances as well as the intentions of participants because the meanings

and functions are dependent on the nature of the activity and the goals that the activity assigns participants.

In his theory of the ethnography of speaking, Gumperz (1972) delineates social and cultural boundaries of practice into a speech community, which he defines as "a community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety" (p. 54). Although Gumperz's concept of a speech community acknowledges the sociolinguistic boundaries of different groups of people, it fails to address social relations and differentiation among members of a single speech community; individuals may develop competence in different practices and activities characteristic of a specific speech community. Different from Gumperz, Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998) propose a theory of situated learning through participation in communities of practice. The theory of communities of practice provides a flexible framework for analytic approaches because it is based on routines and activities within groups of people who regularly participate in the practices in a community. Similar to Lave and Wenger, Wertsch (1991) proposes a sociocultural approach that considers the ways human cognition and other forms of human mental functioning are socially and culturally situated. This sociocultural approach is heavily grounded in Vygotsky's (1978) socioculturally oriented theories of learning. A basic tenet of the sociocultural approach is that human learning is inherently situated in social-interactional and cultural and historical contexts, and is mediated by tools (e.g. artifacts, technology) and signs (e.g. language). Vygotsky argues that human language includes any goal-oriented action that mediates a fundamental transformation of higher mental functioning through joint and collective activity between novices and experienced speakers.

According to Levinson (1979/1992), structural properties of an activity constrain the meanings and functions of utterances in an activity. For example, Levinson exemplifies an activity type called *sounding* using the analysis of Labov (1972). Sounding is a ritualized insult among African Americans. It has two structural constraints as follows:

> The first part is that "sounds" or turns at ritually insulting should be constructed in a specific fashion, which Labov (1972, p.153) represents as follows:
>
> T(B) is so X that P
>
> T is the target of the sound, normally a relative (typically the mother) of B, the addressee, X is a pejorative attribute like *fat, poor, dirty,* etc., and P is some proposition that must, when applied to T, be false (otherwise the ritual insult would become a genuine insult). The second type of structural constraint governs appropriate sequencing: if A sounds on B, B should reply with a sound based on A's sound but which "tops" it and, if possible, A should then try to top that, or alternatively try another kind of sound. After each stage the audience makes a vocal assessment of the sound. So an exchange might begin as follows:
>
> A: your mother so old she got spider webs under her arms.
> C: awwww!
> B: your mother so old she fart dust
> C: Ho lawd!" (Levinson, 1979/1992, pp.71-72)

The first structural constraint of sounding as an activity is the ritual insulting turn followed by the vocal assessment of the audience. The second structural constraint is the sequential exchange of insulting the other's mother, which is based on exaggerated descriptions. The first constraint and the second constraint limit language use in the activity type. Thus it is important for participants in an activity to know what the constraints are and what they are allowed to say in order to successfully participate in an activity.

Activity types also allow individuals to interpret what one says, using “activity-specific rules of inference,” which are also crossculturally distinctive (Levinson, 1979/1992, p. 97). How is it possible to understand the meaning of a certain utterance? Levinson argues that it is simple to understand others’ utterances because utterances within the context of an activity are predictable based on the participants’ understanding of the main function of an activity. He gives as an example the sentence, “That’s a nice one” (p. 74). According to traditional semantics, we can classify that utterance as a statement; however, within the activity of shopping in a grocery store, this utterance, accompanied by a pointing gesture, was understood as choosing a head of lettuce and asking to have it wrapped. Thus Levinson argues that an utterance invokes inference schemata “by virtue of the expectations governing activity types” (p. 74). In other words, meanings are contextually driven in different types of activities rather than by the goals of speech acts themselves. For this reason, Levinson emphasizes activity types that allow analysts to fully understand how language is used and understood in locally situated contexts. At the same time, he warns that analysts should not limit their analysis to sequential turns because meanings are only understood through the main purpose of an activity type. Levinson, therefore, leaves open the possibility of a multiplicity of dynamic meaning constructions in different locally situated activities and by different participants.

In addition, situated activity types make it possible to analyze utterances linking macro-sociocultural contexts to micro-interactional contexts. In a recent article, Levinson (2005) summarizes his approach as follows:

> A few key parameters of social relationships are the key to the ‘micro-macro link’: the nature of verbal interaction is tied to culture and social institutions through the way in which social relationships are conducted…Interaction, grammar, and culture as systems in their own right make essential reference to

> one another, as when social institutions, grammar, and interaction come together in specialized activity types or speech events, as in a law court where the system of social sanctions, the grammar of questions and the special turn-taking interact to form a micro-system…Thus types of social relationship link linguistic systems to social systems, inferential heuristics link cultural systems to linguistic systems, while cognitive styles link interaction systems, cultural systems and linguistic systems. (Levinson, 2005, pp. 433-434)

Therefore, this study applies both frame analysis and situated activity types to analyzing code-switching behaviors within a macro-micro link grounded in a sociocultural approach. By doing so, this study attempts to broaden understanding of the meanings and functions of code-switching habits within situated activities. The next section will review indexicality and discuss how frame analysis and situated activity types are integrated into the use of language, especially code-switching phenomena.

1.4.3. Indexicality

Silverstein (1976) defines indexicality as "the property of sign vehicle signaling contextual existence of an entity" (p. 29). Sign is defined as something (the signifier) that stands for something else (the signified), so the term sign vehicle refers to the physical entity or marker which displays the part of the sign that stands for the signified. The basic tenet of indexicality is that language and context are interdependent and meanings of language are socially constructed through language use in a situated context. Indexicality as described by Silverstein (1976, 1996/2003) is grounded in Jakobson's[2] theory of markedness and shifters (1957/1971). Indexicality and markedness are similar in that both concepts refer to the way two contradictory linguistic signs are developed, selected, and transformed to signal a special meaning. Jakobson defines unmarked and marked linguistic features as follows:

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[2] Although Jakobson is generally considered the main proponent of markedness theory, the theory owes much to Trubestkoy and others in the Prague School.

> One of two mutually opposite grammatical categories is “marked” while the other is “unmarked.” The general meaning of a marked category states the presence of a certain (whether positive or negative) property A; the general meaning of the corresponding unmarked category states nothing about the presence of A, and is used chiefly, but not exclusively, to indicate the absence of A. (Jakobson, 1957/1971, p. 76)

In his article, “Shifters, linguistic categories, and cultural description,” Silverstein (1976) extends Jakobson’s discussion of shifters. By shifters, Silverstein means that the meaning of a deictic term shifts as the context shifts. For example, in terms of traditional semantics, *this* is used to indicate somebody or something present or close by, especially as distinct from somebody or something further away, referred to as *that*. On the other hand, *this* and *that* may also be used to differentiate social relationships in the actual rules of use so that, for example, *this* may index equality while *that* may indicate inequality in a certain context. In this usage, the pure referential meanings of *this/that* are shifted to pragmatic social meanings.

Traditionally, the term shifter referred to what Silverstein and most other scholars call deictics (e.g. person, place, and time deictics such as personal pronouns, demonstratives and temporal expressions). However, Silverstein (1976) argues that indexicality is a broader concept than deictic terms because it includes not only deictic (i.e., referential) indexes but also pure (i.e., non-referential) indexes. Silverstein further extends his argument by making a distinction between referential and non-referential indexes. According to Silverstein, while referential indexes contribute to referential meanings through references in a particular context, non-referential indexes only signal particular values and meanings (e.g. social relationships) without referential meanings. With a referential index, one can find that which is being indexed in the concrete

environment; with non-referential indexes, what is being referred to can not be so easily found as these terms index more abstract entities and meanings. Thus, non-referential indexes are socially constructed deixis without concrete references. Typical types of non-referential social deixis include contextualization cues (Gumperz, 1972, refer to Section 1.2.1) and footing shifts (Goffman, 1979/1981, refer to Section 1.2.2). Other types of non-referential social deixis include pragmatic particles functioning as honorifics. For example, Korean particles attached to the ends of questions, such as “ka” and “yo” function as honorific markers by indexing social relationships, particularly deference, based on age.

From the functional point of view of analyzing speech events, Silverstein (1976, 1996/2003) explains multifunctional and dynamic aspects of speech events. According to him, when speakers accomplish socially constituted ends, social functions of speech are mostly non-referential and create socially constructed relationships from moment to moment. In order to find out how groups of people construct social meanings of certain linguistic forms, Silverstein (1976) argues that “the pragmatic aspect of language, which is constituted by its indexical mode, can depend upon metapragmatic uses of speech itself in only very limited areas” and “regularities of pragmatic form and function will ultimately define the orderliness and integration of cultural meaning system” (p. 53-54). Therefore, social meanings are created through multiple layers of indexicality including pragmatic and metapragmatic meanings in both macro and micro contexts in language use.

Silverstein (1996/2003) later introduces the concept of *indexical order*, which helps explain how people connect macro-social features in local micro-social contexts.

According to him, semiotic agents use particular linguistic forms, so they transform and thus create their dynamic social identities in moment-to-moment interactions. By indexical order, Silverstein means that in the process of constructing social identities, indexicality is not unstructured but ordered. He explains that indexical order can be conceptualized as a dialectical relationship between micro-contexts (n^{th} order) and macro-contexts (1st order). 1st order presupposes that patterned language forms index particular social personae and roles shared with interlocutors in a culture in predictable directions. However, 1st order indexicality is not fixed but is related to the other multiple layers (e.g. 2nd order, 3rd order, etc.) of indexical order in micro-contexts. Thus he argues that every indexical order is created in the interactional use of language through discursive practices in a local context.

Woolard (2004) applies indexical order to the analysis of code-switching phenomenon and argues that current code-switching models are lacking because they do not take into account multiple indexical meanings of code-switching: "analysis of code-switching allows only a single order of indexicality when they treat the macro-social order as embodied in fixed rights and obligations sets or in-group/out-group dichotomies" (p. 89). Woolard (2004) emphasizes that it is important to know "how and when indexicality emerges and when it is reaffirmed, amplified, reformulated, or even dissipated" (p. 90). Thus this study focuses its analysis of code-switching behaviors on how multiple layers of indexical meanings come into play in the combination of macro- and micro- contexts.

In this study, I propose that occurrences of code-switching between different codes can be regarded as non-referential indexes (pure indexes) because code-switching

may function as a social index by signaling particular features of social identities and social contexts. Through choices of particular codes, speakers may transform and thus create similar or different social meanings among speakers who share particular pragmatic meanings and functions associated with different codes. Then, a question arises: if codes are indexical of certain social contexts, do all the speakers in a speech community share a particular code for an index in a particular context? Are social meanings of certain codes fixed or fluid? In order to answer these questions, I explore the concepts of subjectivity and intersubjectivity in relation to indexicality.

Lyons (1982) characterized subjectivity as indexical. According to him, subjectivity refers to "the way in which natural languages, in their structure and their normal manner of operation, provide for the locutionary agent's expression of himself and of his own attitudes and beliefs" (p. 102). We create shared meanings between interlocutors by proposing who we are in relation to contexts that are limited in space and time and by our own attitudes and beliefs. As a result, there is no universal, neutral, objective truth because everything we perceive is filtered through the language that speakers choose. For example, as Lyons argues, tense itself is ultimately subjective because "past, present, and future are all located in the experiential present" (p. 121). The choices of tense forms by speakers indicate the relationship between entities and situations, including references limited in space and time, from the speakers' viewpoints, which are also indexical of the speakers' subjective experiential worlds. Similarly, social meanings are co-constructed at least in part through linguistic subjectivity and intersubjectivity between interlocutors because there are no fixed social meanings of certain linguistic forms, including choices of codes, but only indexical meanings in

particular social contexts. Therefore, in relation to code-switching phenomenon, it is important to explore which social meanings and identities are created through the code choices and code-switching used by different participants in different macro- and micro-contexts.

In the following sections, Sections 1.5 through 1.7, I review literature relating to linguistic behaviors in specific situated activity types, including the role-playing activities, playing "your mama" speech activities, and classroom activities, in which my participants frequently switch from unmarked codes to marked codes. I begin with role-play activities in Section 1.5. Second, I provide background on a speech activity, the "your mama" routine, in Section 1.6. Third, I review the literature on first-language use in an ESL classroom in Section 1.7. Then I give the chapter overview of this study (Section 1.8).

1.5. Role-play and language socialization[3]

In this section, I review literature that provides background on the discussion in Chapter 5 which explores the meanings and functions of code-switching within role-play activities.

Children use metacommunication to construct their joint fictitious space in role-play (Andresen, 2005; Bateson, 1972). They use specific verbs such as *pretend* or *suppose* to construct a specific play frame through metacommunication that marks the boundary between play and reality. Bateson (1972) argues that metacommunication is very important for children's development and learning because, through the use of metacommunication, children learn that meaning is determined in relation to its context.

[3] Section 1.5 is part of an article published in the journal of *Simulation & Gaming, 32,* 2, 240-252 under the title, "Role-play and language socialization among bilingual Korean children in the United States." It has been slightly revised, and appears in this dissertation with the journal's permission.

Andresen (2005) points out several functions of metacommunication:

1. to "lay out the boundaries between play and reality"
2. to "transform meanings of things, persons, actions, and the whole situation"
3. to "plan the next steps of the plot by leaving the play and then speaking about what to do next" (p. 390)

In Andresen's data, 4- and 5-year-old children frequently present explicit markers of a fictitious character in the ongoing action, whereas the 6-year-old children produce much less explicit metacommunication. In the developmental changes, the pretend play of older children becomes more complex and contains a lot of transformations (Andresen, 2005). Andresen proposes that the older children become able to produce and understand more implicit metacommunication determined much more by inner plans and processes of interpretation rather than handling concrete objects and communicating explicitly about the fictitious roles, actions, and transformations. The change from explicit to implicit metacommunication is in line with Vygotsky's concept of transition. According to Vygotsky (1986), internal mental processes arise out of external, interactive, and communicative processes in the developmental processes from interpsychic to intrapsychic functions. This study applies Vygotsky's approach by investigating the ways in which the younger and older children co-construct their social identities in role-play activities through codes and code-switching.

Contexts of role-play activities are constructed through metacommunication, so contexts are multi-layered between fiction and reality. According to the framework of pragmatics and linguistic anthropology (Putnam, 1975; Silverstein, 1976), contexts in role-play activities are constructed in dynamic and ongoing processes using metacommunicative verbs through the processes of contextualization, recontextualization, and decontextualization. In this sense, interaction in role-play does as much to construct

context as context does to influence situated interactions. As a result, contextual meanings of language use are not fixed but indexical in a specific context of language use within the role-play. Deictics (i.e. I, you, we, here, there, this, that, now, then) are typical examples of indexical features of language use in role-play. Deictic expressions draw the attention of the addressee to a referent given in the situation in which the utterance is made. Social meanings of language use are not fixed but indexed in multi-layered levels of meaning construction (e.g. a situated activity type; macro-social level or speech community level). The addresser and the addressee construct a shared context in the ongoing process of role-play. In a broad sense, the process of indexicality also mediates the connection between identity and ideology in the process of role-play using referent frames as semiotic tools.

Vygotsky (1978) proposes that each child has an actual developmental level and a potential developmental level. Whereas Piaget poses individual constructive processes under biological cognitive developmental constraints, Vygotsky emphasizes open possibilities by developing his concept of the zone of proximal development (ZPD). Vygotsky (1978) defines the ZPD as "the distance between the actual developmental level determined by individual problem solving and the level of development as determined through problem solving under guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (p. 86). Vygotsky emphasizes the importance of the social and cultural contexts of the collaborative process of learning. Vygotsky's ZPD explains the ways in which more experienced children provide scaffolding for less experienced children. Vygotsky explains that children use specific aspects of language as mediating tools to develop their cognition. Children through role-play activities construct their joint

fictitious space out of real contexts using specific linguistic expressions such as metacommunitive verbs and deictic terms and act in the ZPD through collaboration and co-construction.

It is also important to think about children's learning through role-play activities in the frame of communities of practice. A social theory of learing that Anthropologists Lave & Wenger (1991) articulate involves a dynamic model within communities of practice. They define communities of practice as groups of people who share a concern or a passion and, consequentially, an identity as they learn by regularly doing something collectively and interacting. Communities of practice integrate the components of learning that characterize social participation as a process of learning. In the domain of communities, people value their collective competence and learn from each other. Members of communities get involved in joint activities, help each other, and share information. They cultivate relationships through regular interactions, which are essential to constituting a community of practice. People who form a community of practice develop a shared repertoire of resources including their shared experiences and stories. Stories play an important role in decision making in communities of practice because learning in communities of practice occurs through conversations and stories. Newcomers get involved in a community of practice from a peripheral position at the beginning of their participation. But as they participate in the community longer and gain more experience, they become able to play central roles in the community. In this way, communities of practice transmit their cultural knowledge to new members.

1.6. Playing your mama and cultural appropriation

In this section, I review literature that helps explain the discussion in Chapter 6 on the use of the "your mama" routine by the Korean boys. The Korean boys in my study appropriate an African American language play tradition. I call this speech activity "your mama" throughout my study because that is the terminology the boys use. Although the term "your mama" is actually used by the small Korean community I observed, either "yo mama" or "yo momma" is used in the larger linguistic community and the originating African American English community.

Abrahams (1962) and Smitherman (1997) argue that playing "yo mama" (also called *signifying, sounding,* or *playing the dozens*) originates from African slaves who were forcibly imported into the U.S. by the dozen. The slaves played the "yo mama" routine that was rooted in oral traditions of West African cultures in order to defuse resistance and conflict nonviolently using indirect expressions. According to a 1962 article by Abrahams, African American boys in inner-city Chicago established and maintained male-bonding by practicing and playing the "yo mama" routine in the "street world" (p. 242). In the street world, the boys learned how to maintain tensions between seriousness and playfulness through play. Successful play included an ambivalent message (this is play-this is not play) that showed the blurry boundaries between play and seriousness (Abrahams, 1962, p. 245). "Yo mama" exchanges are a type of signifying or sounding. Adams (1984) describes signifying as follows:

> Signifying is the process of semi-witty insults by which black American male adolescents attempt to cut their buddies down to size. The exact definition of signifying (also know, in various times and places, as sigging, sounding, woofing, wolfing, burning, icing, joning, etc.) is a bit vague. To some it means any kind of ritual insult; to others, it must include an element of indirection—i.e., the victim doesn't realize he's being insulted, you egg the victim into a fight with somebody else, or in general you just lay on the BS. One form of signifying is "doin' the

> dozens," which usually means making fun of the other guy's relatives, particularly his momma. (Adams, 1984, ¶ 1-2)

Regarding this kind of "verbal play," Ochs (1979/1999) argues that "in sound play, the shape rather than the content of utterances is foregrounded and the function of language is playful and phatic rather than informative" (p. 168). This type of African American verbal play has persisted and spread into hip hop culture, where it is associated with masculinity, verbal skill, and the ability to defend oneself. Today, the "yo mama" routine is a form of verbal sparring common among a larger group than just African American boys. For example, now the "yo mama" routine is incorporated into hip-hop and pop culture in America, such as MTV's "Yo-Mama" and the recent ad campaign of AMP energy drinks, representing the image of masculine toughness and youth culture. How has this routine become popular in the current American youth culture? In addition to African American children, why do American children appropriate the African American "yo mama" routine?

Ochs (1992) argues that the reason a particular group of people adopts a particular form of linguistic features is related to the ideology that is pervasive in a society. She suggests that there can be many different interpretations of the ways in which people construct their identities through socially constructed non-referential indices (for more detailed discussions of non-referential indices, refer to Sections 1.3.2 and 1.4.3). According to Silverstein (1996), when a specific form is used in a particular social context, the use of that form may transform the social context and thus create a form of indexicality. Silverstein argues that "in this kind of creative projection, it comes to be real in the way that all performative language can be real" (p. 267). The use of this type of

signifying indexes a whole way of assigning identities and status within the speech community in which the routine is used. Individuals construct their identities through language, so the language used by a particular ethnic group becomes indexical of that ethnicity (Ochs, 1992). Then, an important question arises: what kinds of linguistic features are used by different social groups to reconstruct identities in their own group, or perhaps to construct a multiethnic community?

For example, in Rampton's (1996, 1998) study of language crossing, crossing refers to the use of codes associated with others' ethnicities. In his study among multiracial high school adolescents in Britain, Indian Panjabi is used by Afro-Caribbean or Anglo British adolescents; Afro-Caribbean Creole is used by Indian or Anglo adolescents; and Stylized Asian English is used by Indian and Afro-Caribbean adolescents. The use of these different ethnic languages by different ethnic groups creates social meanings and contexts. For example, Panjabi is primarily used by the adolescents to insult other peers whereas Stylized Asian English is mostly used by the adolescents to identify themselves with marginalized youth culture. This crossing has the effect of reducing interethnicities. This phenomenon of linguistic crossing can be called "iconization" (Irvine and Gal, 2000, p. 37) if the code becomes an image of a different social group.

In Chun's (2001) study of the use of African American slang by a Korean American male student, the use of the slang constructs a new Asian American ethnicity that challenges the mainstream stereotype of Asian American men as passive and feminine. Similarly, Reyes' (2005) study examines how southeast Asian American teens in South Philadelphia appropriate African American slang terms, *aite* (meaning all right)

and *na mean* (know what I mean). She discusses how the teens achieve multiple social purposes through the use of slang that is indexical of race, age, and social positioning. Her study shows how identities are locally constructed through subtle discursive practices which are constituted by multiple indexicality and the participants' denotationally explicit and implicit metapragmatic (speakers' descriptions of use) evaluations (Hanks, 1992; Silverstein 1976, 1993).

1.7. First language use in an ESL classroom

In this section, I briefly review literature for Chapter 7 (the use of Korean in an English after-school kindergarten club) on the functions of first-language use during classroom activities in an ESL classroom. Some research findings (Collier, 1987; Cummins, 1981; Klesmer, 1994) claim that young novice English learners may acquire basic interpersonal communication skills very quickly after six months and up to two years of their arrival in English-speaking countries because children seem to have more flexibility in adapting themselves to new environments than adults do. According to language socialization research, acquiring a new language requires more than exposure to a new language environment. The literature on language socialization (e.g. Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Goodwin, 1990; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986;) demonstrates that linguistic and sociocultural knowledge are acquired simultaneously and are intertwined with one another; thus language socialization is largely a matter of the child's or novice's acquisition of the particular configuration of socially and culturally specific behavioral tendencies in a particular environment. Therefore, in the consideration of the role of first-language use in an English classroom,

it is important to note that learning a language involves not only learning linguistic knowledge but also learning simultaneously sociocultural and interpersonal skills.

Both pros and cons have been identified in relation to the use of the first language in learning English in an ESL classroom. The arguments that discourage first-language use in an ESL classroom involve stronger and weaker forms. While a stronger form claims that the classroom use of the first language should be banned, a weaker form argues that first-language use should be minimized and second-language use should be maximized in the classroom. Both forms that support discouragement of first-language use have spurred an English-only policy in most ESL classrooms. Phillipson (1992) summarized three basic tenets in the history of English as a medium of instruction: “English is best taught monolingually,” “the more English is taught, the better,” and “if other languages are used too much, standards of English will drop” (p. 185). Advocates of an English-only policy in the ESL classroom argue that such a policy maximizes students’ exposure to English. According to Cook (2001), reasons for avoiding the first language in an ESL classroom originate from the beliefs that: (1) second language learners should follow the ways monolingual children acquire their language, which means they should speak one language; (2) successful second language learning relies on separating the second language from the first language; and (3) teachers should maximize their input in the second language. However, these arguments have been challenged by empirical research (for example, Anton & DiCamilla, 1998; Auerback, 1993; Cook, 2001; Cromdal, 2001, 2004).

Cook (2001) argues that first-language use by students makes it possible to open up collaborative learning between students and to optimize their linguistic resources,

ultimately maximizing learning environments. Under a Vygotskian framework, which emphasizes learning as a social enterprise and scaffolding between novices and more experienced learners, Anton & DiCamilla (1998) also claim that first-language use is a powerful linguistic tool which fasciliates learning. They argue that the use of first language between learners in an ESL classroom enhances children's collaboration to solve tasks, participation, and task completion. For this reason, Cromdal (2001, 2004) views bilingualism as an emergent and interactionally managed feature of discourse through which children accomplish actions. This means that bilingualism should be viewed as a set of contingent practices within joint activities, and thus it is a socially distributed nature managed and accomplished within interactional exchanges. Cromdal views code-switching between first and second languages as a type of collaborative practice that is essential to bilingual children in accomplishing activities. Therefore, code-switching to first language affects both language acquisition and socialization and helps children become active members in their playgroups in an ESL classroom.

1.8. Chapter overview

- Chapter 2: An Ethnographic Sketch: A Korean speech community under construction in the U.S.
- Chapter 3: Research Design
- Chapter 4: Code-Preferences of Korean Boys and Girls in the U.S.: Constructing multilayered identity through code-switching
- Chapter 5: The Use of Codes in Role-Play among Korean Children in the U.S.
- Chapter 6: "Your Mama" Routine among Korean Preadolescent Boys
- Chapter 7: The Use of Korean in an English After-School Kindergarten Club
- Chapter 8: Conclusion

This section gives an overview of the remaining chapters. Chapter 2 presents an ethnographic sketch of the Korean church, my major research site, including a) who the participants in the Korean church community are; b) the space in which activities take

place; and c) the kinds of activities and habitual practices the participants are routinely engaged in. Chapter 3 describes the research design including data collection and analysis.

Chapter 4 gives an overview on what the preferred or unmarked code-switching practices are in this community; then Chapters 5 through 7 give examples of how these preferences are altered, and identities thereby co-constructed, during specific instances and type of interaction.

Chapter 4 examines code-preferences of Korean girls and boys, demonstrating how their code choices affect the ways in which they (re)construct multilayered gender identity. It explores the meanings and functions of both the primary code-preferences (the boys mainly prefer to use Korean whereas the girls primarily prefer to use English) and breaking the frame of code-preferences by the boys and the girls.

Chapter 5 investigates role-play: a) how do bilingual Korean children in the U.S. establish the context of role-play; b) within a general developmental perspective, what are the observable changes in role-play between preschool/kindergarten children and elementary school-age children; and c) who socializes whom, and what becomes socialized in the frame of role-play? Chapter 6 explores identity by examining the ways Korean preadolescent boys (re)construct multilayered identity when they break the primary code preferences and code-switch between Korean and English. It focuses on Korean preadolescent boys' use of a modified African American routine, the "your mama" routine, by analyzing the functions and effects of their playing "your mama" and the functions and meanings of code-switching through the play. Chapter 7 examines the code choices of the Korean preschool learners during club activities. It investigates: a) when they switch languages between English and Korean; b) what activities they are

doing when this occurs; and c) whether their use of their native language, Korean, facilitates or inhibits their participation in the club activities.

In the concluding chapter of this study, I discuss the socializing role of codes and code-switching with respect to the ways code-switching is used in highly dynamic, complex ways to construct identity among speakers of the same ethnic/linguistic backgrounds.

CHAPTER II

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCH:
A KOREAN SPEECH COMMUNITY UNDER CONSTRUCTION IN THE U.S.

This chapter presents an ethnographic sketch of my research site, a university town situated in a Midwestern state in the U.S., a town I will refer to as Middle View. I observed a mainstream Christian Korean church there every Sunday for about two years, and I videotaped thirty hours of activities over a year's time. This ethnographic sketch is based on my observations, logs, and videotaped data. First, I will describe some aspects of the Korean church, including its history, functions, members and physical features. Then I will discuss its routines and rituals, patterns of communication, and the children who attend the church and are the focus group of my research.

2.1. Social and historical background of the Korean church

The Korean Church which I observed was established in 1985 and acquired its current building in 1990. Its mission was to preach the gospel to Korean students and residents in the town. The current pastor has served the church since 2005 as the seventh pastor. Compared to many other Korean speech communities in America, where many Korean people form neighborhoods and transact their business mainly in Korean (e.g. Korean communities in L.A. or in New York), there is no large-scale, stable Korean speech community in Middle View. Nor is there a Korean market or restaurant in the town. For this reason, the Korean church functions as a center of the Korean community,

where Korean people form their social networks and share many things with other Koreans. Almost every Korean who moves to Middle View attends the church at some point even if he or she is not Christian. In fact, I know of some Koreans who moved to Middle View and became Christians.

2.1.1. The church functioning as a central Korean community

As soon as newcomers prepare to move from Korea to Middle View, they begin to settle themselves in a new environment with the help of active members of the church. The first contact usually consists of email exchanges; newcomers will often contact church members before their arrival to ask for a ride from the airport to the town. Newcomers are very much dependent on active church members as they begin to settle into Middle View. Most new people register as members at the church within a couple of weeks after their arrival.

As a result, the Korean church has become the center of the social network for the Korean people in the town. In addition to its ordinary function as a church, the Korean church also functions as a temporary and transitional Korean speech community. Because they can communicate in Korean, many Korean people attend the church in order to make friends and get information in a safe environment. This is important because they often feel alienated and marginalized by mainstream American cultures.

2.2. Members of the Korean community in Middle View

There is a university in Middle View and the university is in some ways the center of Middle View. Thus most of the people in this community are somehow involved with the university. The Korean community, in Middle View consists mainly of four groups of people: 1) undergraduate and graduate students, 2) professors, 3) visiting professors or

postdoctoral researchers, and 4) residents. There are approximately 124 Korean adults who are registered as members of the Korean church. Attendees also include 23 of their children, six American men who married Korean women, eleven Korean-American young adults whose Korean mothers married American men, and four American adults who are friends of the Korean-American adults. The church consists of about 170 adults altogether. Table 1 indicates the total number of Korean students and residents in the town in 2007, according to the directory of the Korean student association at the university.

Table1. Korean Student Association, 2007

		Total
University faculty and staff	16 professors 6 staff members 13 visiting scholars and postdoctoral researchers	35
Graduate students	41 Ph.D. students 30 master students	71
Undergraduate students	31 undergraduate students 16 ELI (English Language Institute) students 14 exchange students	61
Residents	11 Korean residents 17 American spouses	28
		195

Of the total number of Korean people who live in the town, 75% are members of the Korean church. In addition, there is a Korean Catholic association in the town, including about 20 people with their spouses and children.

2.2.1. Joining and leaving the church community

Since most of the church members are temporary residing students or visiting scholars, there are always people who join and leave the community. Especially at the beginning and end of each semester, the church has special events for people who are coming and going. The pastor introduces new people during the worship service. New

people are asked to introduce themselves and their family members during lunch time at the church. They automatically belong to *a cell* (the English translation of a Korean word, *Mokjang*), a Christian church structure centering on the regular gathering of cell groups, which are organized according to individuals' occupations, ages, and families.

At the same time, the pastor announces that some people are leaving the community, so that all members of the church have a special event to send them back to Korea. This fluctuating nature of the membership in the community results in instability of relationships among members. Even though some people form good relationships with others, they often have to say goodbye sooner or later because most people do not stay in the U.S. permanently. However, it is different for faculty members and residents. Since they have jobs in the town, they usually stay longer and become the most experienced members, while playing the central roles in the community.

2.2.2. Roles and relationships of the members

The church manages its members based on nine cells. A cell consists of people grouped together on the basis of their ages, occupations, stages of academic career, and marital status. Active church members serve as leaders of each cell. The leaders of cells are usually residents, postdoctoral researchers, or Ph.D. students who participate in almost every activity at the church. Table 2 displays who constitutes each cell.

Most of the relationships at the church are based on the cell. Each cell has a dinner together or has a potluck party every Friday evening. After they have a dinner together, they worship for one hour and then talk for another two hours. The cell is the very basic sub-organization which makes it efficient to manage church members. In addition to the Friday events, church members visit other people belonging to their cell

often. Children also enjoy playing with other children during the cell meeting. Cell leaders play the role of mentor for other cell members. They have a meeting with the pastor weekly to report and talk about how their members are doing.

Table 2. Cells

Cell	Members
Happy Cell (total: 15)	9 graduate students and their spouses and children; and 1 couple, both graduate students, without children
Green Cell (total: 48)	48 graduate and undergraduate students who are in their twenties including three American students; and one Korean middle school student
Belief Cell (total: 16)	1 university staff member; and 4 graduate students who are in their thirties with their spouses and young babies
Love Cell (total: 28)	6 Korean women who married American men; their children (in their twenties) who don't speak Korean; and their American friends
Shalom Cell (total: 9)	1 graduate student; and 8 undergraduate exchange students
Morning Cell (total: 13)	4 postdoctoral researchers and their spouses and young children
Our Cell (total: 26)	a couple, both of whom are residents; 7 professors and their spouses and young children; and 2 graduate students
Blessing Cell (total: 14)	4 graduate students who are in their late thirties with their spouses and children
Seventh Cell (total: 10)	1 postdoctoral researcher, his spouse and children; and 6 graduate students

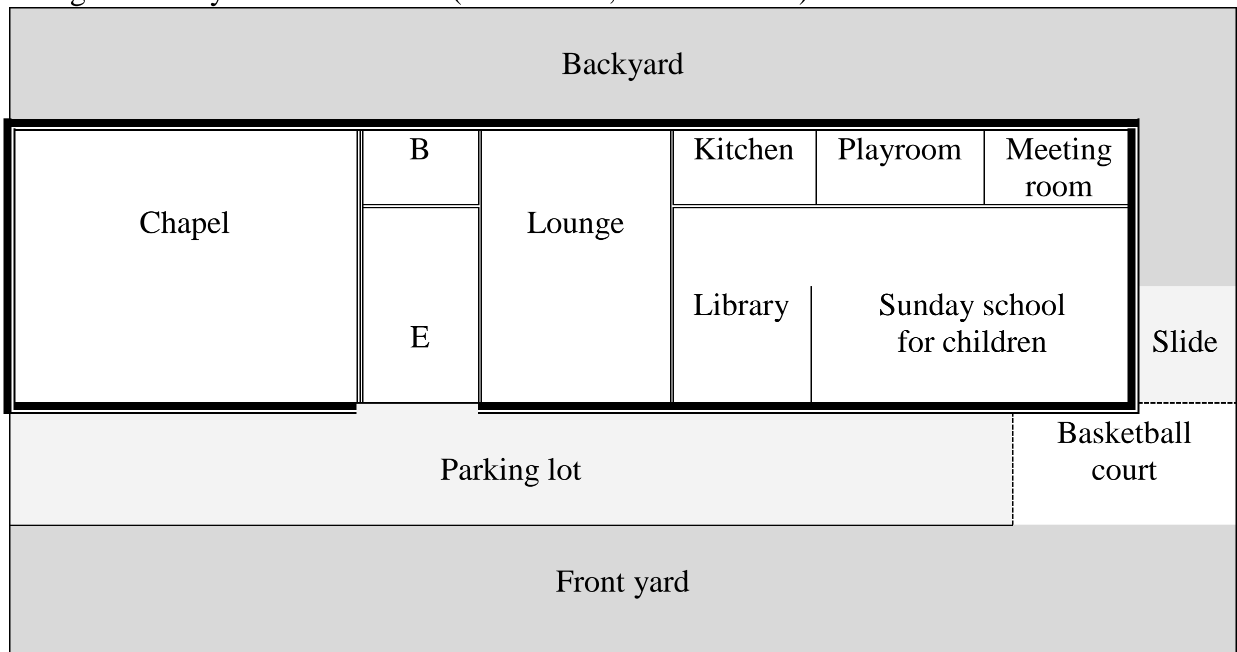
Active church members usually serve as a member of certain groups such as cell leaders, choir members, Sunday school teachers, Korean literacy school teachers on Saturday, food managers, etc. Other than the active members, it is hard to know how often other people participate in the Korean church. Those who do not play any active roles in the church are marginalized since they do not know each other and may not have opportunities to get to know each other. They are sometimes criticized because they do not devote their social life to the church events, and other church members, usually cell leaders, encourage those people to attend many events. Those who are not Christians but wish to meet other Korean people often feel uncomfortable with other active church

members. Once newcomers become more experienced as church members, they are expected to play central roles in the church; however, if they do not have strong Christian beliefs, it is difficult for them to become active members of the community. Many of those people, as a result, choose to exclude themselves or become excluded from the church until they stop going to the church at all.

2.3. Physical features of the church

The Korean church is located about 25 blocks from the university. Most Korean church members drive to the church. Some people give a ride every week to those who do not have a car. Thus, they develop a close relationship. The church is spacious; it has a wide front yard and a back yard covered with grass. In front of the church, there is a parking lot for more than 40 cars. The church has a basketball court and a slide outdoors. Inside of the church, there is a place for worship on the left, a lounge for lunch time and meetings in the middle, and a small library, a room for Sunday school for children and a kitchen, a playroom, and a small meeting room on the right side.

Diagram 1. Layout of the church (E=entrance, B=bathrooms)



The lounge is used for many purposes. It is mainly used for meal times including Sunday lunch time for adult members, but it also serves as a worship place for non-Korean speaking American members during Sunday service, and as a meeting place for cells. Children eat their lunch in the room for Sunday school. The choir sometimes practices songs in this room as well.

2.4. Routines and rituals

2.4.1. Sunday activities

There are many activities in which the members of the church are routinely engaged. First of all, there are two major worship services on Sunday. One is called a Rainbow worship, which is held in English at 9:45 a.m. on Sunday for the American members and their children. The other one is the major Sunday worship at 11:00 which most church members attend; however, singing hymns starts at 10:30 so some of the members join the Sunday worship earlier. Between 10:30 and 11:30, members sing psalms accompanied by musical instruments. Two preadolescent boys serve as a pianist and a base guitarist. At around 11:30 until 12:30 or 1:00, the pastor preaches a sermon including time for the choir, one or two church members' testimonies, praying together, and a church offering. Attendance at the Sunday worship usually ranges between 100 and 150 people. Picture 1 below shows a typical time for singing psalms before the pastor starts to preach.

Picture1. An example of Sunday worship

While adults participate in Sunday worship between 11:00 and 12:30 or 1:00, children go to Sunday school. Two female and two male teachers now lead the Sunday school activities. Children learn how to sing psalms and pray, and they listen to Bible stories for about an hour. Then, they have snack time for about 10 minutes. After that, they have an activity time when they usually do a hands-on activity such as arts and crafts. The number of children who participate in the school varies. It ranges from about 10 to 20 children during the school year. Picture 2 below demonstrates prayer time at the Sunday school. Both the children and their teachers sit on the floor with folded legs, in the Korean style.

Picture2. An example of Sunday school for children

After Sunday worship, most of the church members have lunch, which is provided, for about an hour. Lunch time is a very important time for socializing. Adults usually have lunch in the lounge while children do so in the Sunday school room. Members of each cell take turns preparing the lunch food. Some volunteers help set up the lunch tables. Many people say that they like to eat lunch at the church because very traditional Korean food is served; however, it is not an easy task for those who cook food and wash the dishes, since more than 120 people usually have lunch. Some young adults take leftovers home. An American volunteer care-taker and the pastor’s wife usually have lunch with the children. Lunch time is noisy and crowed.

2.4.2. Five important routines and rituals

Besides Sunday activities, there are five other important events for the church members. First, there is evening worship Wednesday night at 7:30. Active church members attend the worship. Second, there is time for prayer starting early in the morning at 5:30 Monday through Friday. The pastor leads the time for about half an hour by reading aloud a part of the Bible together with the congregation, preaching briefly, and then praying together. After that, the participants are free to end their praying, but many people stay and pray until 7:00 a.m. People who are suffering and those who are the most active members participate in the morning prayer. There are usually about 30 people who go to morning prayer on a regular basis. Third, there is time for collective praying for others at 10:00 a.m. every Thursday. Cell leaders usually attend this prayer session. Fourth, there are cell-church meetings held at nine different homes of church members between 6:00 and 10:00 every Friday night. This cell meeting is one of the most important socializing times. Many members give up other important social gatherings in order to participate in the cell-church meeting. All family members usually participate. The number of the participants varies depending on each cell; for many cells, more than 20 people crowd together for dinner at a house. Fifth, there are three Korean literacy classes between 9:00 and 12:30 every Saturday morning. Most of the Korean parents send their children to the Korean literacy classes. The classes are considered very important for those children who were born or raised in the States; but there are great differences in children's levels of Korean literacy development, especially between children who stay in America for only a year and those who were born and/or raised in the States.

2.4.3. Other important seasonal events

Once per month, the church has a birthday celebration for those who have their birthdays within that month. A birthday cake is set up on a table and others sing a birthday song. The pastor announces names of those people with birthdays during his sermon. It is an important event since many members are separated from their families and feel lonely on their birthdays. Since the pastor announces the names of people who have birthdays, others prepare birthday presents for them. Picture 3 shows a birthday party at the beginning of lunch time.

Picture3. A birthday party

In addition to religious activities, other types of activities for fun and solidarity are co-hosted by the Korean church and the university-based Korean student association. Even though the two organizations are different from each other, most people who participate in the events by the Korean student association are members of the church and vice versa. The pastor announces those events during worship and encourages the members to participate in those events. There are some seasonal events that the two organizations co-host, including spring and fall field trips, barbecue parties for welcoming new people, the International Students' World Cup, New Year's Day parties, Thanksgiving, Easter, and Christmas events.

2.5. Patterns of communication

The use of Korean and English varies among church attendees. Most Korean adults speak in Korean while American adults speak in English. These two groups of adults do not communicate with each other very often. During the two years that I was a member of the church, I never talked to the American people at all, and other Koreans rarely talk to them. During lunch time, the American adults sit at separate tables for their lunch. But when the church has special events such as baptizing ceremonies and worship services on Easter, Thanksgiving, or Christmas, the pastor preaches and prepares slides both in Korean and in English.

Young girls mostly speak in English with each other whereas young boys mostly speak in Korean; however, there are many moments in which both girls and boys switch between English and Korean. These instances of code-switching will be examined in detail in later chapters. For now, I will report on some general patterns. Young American adults who are the children of American fathers and Korean mothers very often talk to young children in English because these young American adults do not speak Korean. Young children, particularly the girls, like to talk to them and play with them. When children interact with these young American adults, they speak both languages back and forth. During lunch time, when Korean parents check to make sure that their children are eating right and behaving, children typically talk to their parents mostly in Korean, although sometimes they respond to their parents in English. There are sometimes American visitors who are the friends of the American young adults. When there are American visitors, some Korean children enjoy playing and talking with them in English.

In terms of a written mode of communication, the members of the church receive a pamphlet written in Korean when they enter the church every Sunday. The pamphlet includes information such as schedules of Rainbow services, Sunday service, and Wednesday service. It also reports on ministry for each month, provides a recommended reading list for the month, and gives the names of volunteers to lead prayer, collect an offering, clean up and so forth. The pamphlet also includes the amount of the offering from the previous week. With respect to offerings, the pastor expresses pride in the level of donations. The annual income of the church last year amounted to about 100,000 U.S. dollars, a substantial sum for a campus-based church. The back of the pamphlet provides services such as welcoming new people, announcing meetings, and other important upcoming events, and identifying people who have birthdays that month. The church also provides an updated church directory at the beginning of each university-based semester.

2.6. Children at the Korean church

There are children of various ages. Children at the Korean church attend school in Middle View. School age children are all in regular mainstream classes although some students take ESL classes in addition to mainstream classes. Lunch time and free time after lunch are usually very noisy, with many of the children talking at the same time either in English or in Korean. The children form four subgroups based on their ages and gender: preadolescent boys' group, younger boys' group (preschoolers), preteen girls' group, and younger girls' group (either kindergarteners or first graders). Same-sex children usually spend time together.

2.6.1. Preadolescent boys' group

There are six preadolescent boys in the upper elementary grades and junior high school. These boys are unique in many ways. First of all, they are too old to fit in Sunday school with other young children but are too young to join adults' activities. As a result, these boys always hang around the church together. Two of them serve in the church band. The preadolescent boys sometimes shout at each other, but adults pay little attention to them, since the adults are busy getting together with other adults. One of these boys has been in Middle View for a number of years. The other boys are less able to maintain long-term relationships, because some of them are the children of visiting scholars, who usually stay for a year. The preadolescent boys usually bring their video games and play together in a separate room while sharing information about how to better play the video games. They also often play basketball outdoors. They know how to make use of resources at the church. They are the ones who get their lunch first, finish it earlier than others, and then either play outside or go to a small room in order to play computer games in a quiet environment. I did not videotape them when they were in the room because they didn't like to be videotaped while playing games. They usually visit other boys' houses and play together for two or three hours after church every Sunday. They mostly speak in Korean in public. When they do speak in English, they bring in routines and phrases from American culture such as playing "your mama" or using formulaic expressions like "back off," "make me," and "in your face."

2.6.2. Younger boys' group

There are five younger boys who are preschoolers, kindergarteners, or in lower elementary grades. Some of them are not very verbal but are very active. They often play

tag, hide and seek, engage in play fighting, or slide on the slide outdoors while mostly speaking in Korean. Their actions are very quick, so it was difficult for me to keep up with them.

2.6.3. Preteen girls' group

There used to be a junior high school girl, but since she left, there have been no older girls the same age as those in the older boys' group. However, there is a girl who is in the fourth grade. She has no girls her age in the church, so she usually takes care of other younger children.

2.6.4. Younger girls' group

When I first began my research, there were more than 10 younger girls. But now, there are only five younger girls, who are either kindergarteners or first graders. They are very verbal and talk a lot in English. However, they switch between English and Korean quite often. Many times they repeat what others say or conform to others' speech in English. They typically speak in English with each other while role-playing (e.g. pretend play). The English used by the girls was easier for me to understand than the English used by the boys. This is probably because of the boys' use of African American and slang expressions.

2.6.5. Interaction between boys and girls

When boys and girls interact with each other, Korean is the dominant language; however, code-switching also occurs quite often. Younger boys and girls sometimes play tag or hide and seek together across the church. Older boys sometimes make fun of young children or distract their activities, but overall they don't interact with young children very often.

2.6.6. Interaction between children and adults

Adults usually use Korean to instruct children during and after lunchtime. The parents decide when to go back home. Their children sometimes resist going home because they want to play longer. Children often ask their parents to allow them to visit other friends' homes or ask for a ride to friends' homes. Parents negotiate these matters with their children while speaking in Korean. In addition, some adults use Korean to tease young children or help them to solve conflicts between friends. Whenever adults talk to children, they mostly speak in Korean and children respond mostly in Korean.

2.7. Concluding remarks

What I have described is a surface-level sketch. As most cultural practices are also co-constructed on a micro-interactional level, and thus to some extent emergent and complex, it is difficult to fully explore them in a sketch; however, this ethnographic sketch gives a broad view of what is going on in the Korean speech community I observed. I would say that the most salient feature of this community is its temporary and transitional nature. Because most of the members stay in the community temporarily, there is always a shift in terms of their memberships and relationships. In a sense, everything is very fluid, although the community is based on a shared ethnic group and Korean background. At the same time, the community is built with the help of the Korean church so that it has many religious components. However, the function of the Korean church is beyond that of an ordinary church; it is the center of Korean people in the town. Many church members are passionate about spending most of their time together even outside of the official church events. I have seen many Korean people study together at the library and have meals together. The children make close friends through the church

and get involved in actively learning what to do at the church in order to build their friendships. They practice both Korean and English at the church and in many activities. They are socialized how to use both languages appropriately through language practices, and they acquire cultural norms that are indexed in the two languages in the community.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN

Language socialization research focuses on the relationship between macro-sociocultural structures vs. micro-processes which tend to be emergent based on local contingencies and individual personalities (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004). The characteristics of language socialization are that people learn to know social behaviors through social interactions using all verbal practices in situated and repetitive events, activities, and routines. All verbal practices in a speech community provide a good socializing environment for learning important linguistic and sociocultural conventions and structures. According to Kulick and Schieffelin (2004), language socialization research employs three distinct research methods. First, it is ethnographic in perspective because it is mostly concerned with the ways language is used in situated activities in a social context of a speech community. Second, it is longitudinal in research design because language socialization research has been interested in the developmental processes of how novices are socialized through language over their developmental courses. Third, it is cross-cultural because it is interested in how different cultures influence different formulations of social and linguistic conventions. Although language socialization draws on micro-analytic Conversation Analysis with sequences of talk-in-interaction, it also differs from conversation analysis because it takes into consideration macro-level phenomena and closely examines language-mediated interactions in a

situated context. Following these criteria, my research is designed to be ethnographic, longitudinal, and cross-cultural. In order to maintain a balance between the subjectivity of an insider's perspective and the relative objectivity of an outsider's perspective in my fieldwork, I attempted to participate in a Korean speech community both as a member and as an observer in different types of speech events and activities over an extensive amount of time.

For analysis of my research, I use qualitative methods. Qualitative research is used to gain a deeper understanding of people's experiences. Qualitative findings (e.g. themes, patterns, concepts, insights, understanding, etc.) are uncovered in the process of data collection and analysis. The most frequently used data collection methods in qualitative research are: 1) direct observations using recordings of naturally occurring interactions, such as video, audio, and photographs, 2) open-ended interviews, and 3) collection of artifacts such as written documents, music, and pictures. Direct observations allow access to the participants' actions and behaviors, as well as their interactions with others. Through interviews, we can understand what people experience and how they perceive the world. Written documents such as program records, publications and reports, or artifacts may support or contradict research questions. Qualitative research can tell us what it means for somebody to do something through his/her own voice, something that quantitative data is not able to reveal. To fully understand the complexity of many situations, direct observations are often required to capture what actually takes place. Qualitative research involves a process of discovery that requires researchers to use many strategic skills. For example, through my fieldwork, I attempted to divide my time equally among different groups of children and made no effort to systematically elicit any

particular speech activities. Instead, I tried to record as accurately as possible whatever the children did. I will describe how I utilized these strategies when I discuss the processes of data collection, coding, sorting, and analysis. In this chapter, I will discuss my data collection methods and analytic methods. First, in the following section, I will describe my ethnographic data collection and methods, in chronological order.

3.1. Data collection: Ethnographic methods

3.1.1. FRC, Spring 2006

Even before I came to America, I was interested in studying everyday activities of Korean bilingual children who temporarily lived in an English-speaking country. Working as an English teacher and a school coordinator at language institutes in S. Korea, I was well aware of the difficulties faced by Korean children who were forced to speak English. Many of the parents chose bilingual kindergartens as an alternative to sending their children abroad. They told me they believed that the best way to educate their children was to send them to an English speaking country. But not everyone could afford that, so bilingual kindergartens became popular. Although the parents expected their children to become fluent English speakers by attending bilingual kindergartens, I saw some children who had difficulty coping with everyday situations in English-speaking environments. Some children were even resistant to speaking English in English classes. I wondered how Korean children survive in English-speaking environments and what roles Korean and English play in those settings. I wanted to know what meanings and functions two languages, Korean and English, may have in school settings if Korean novice English learners attend school in the U.S.

First, I chose a university-sponsored family resource center (FRC) as my research site for a semester project. I observed the club activities for preschoolers during the spring semester of 2006. I chose the FRC as my research site because I heard from many Korean parents that they sent their children to the FRC after-school club activities. I made an appointment with the school coordinator of the FRC and asked her permission to conduct my observations. We also discussed which clubs I might be able to observe. She recommended one preschool club and one elementary school club, which some Korean children attended. I took field notes when I observed the two clubs for the first time and then selected the preschoolers' club as my research site. The elementary club had more students scattered in a wider room, which might have made it difficult for me to capture their activities on video. In the preschoolers' club, there were three Korean girls and a Korean boy with about twenty other international children. From my observations, I noticed that code-switching between English and Korean among those Korean children was pervasive even though the two club teachers who are monolingual Americans instituted an English-only rule. My first research questions, which I investigate in Chapter 7, emerged from my observations: a) When do the Korean preschoolers switch codes between English and Korean during the club activities? b) What activities are they doing when this occurs? and c) Does their use of their native language, Korean, facilitate or inhibit their participation in the club activities? After receiving permission from the school coordinator, the manager, and the two club teachers of the FRC, I applied for and received approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB).

I explained my project to the teachers and parents and received consent from the teachers and 17 parents. Only one parent did not consent, and I did not videotape that

child. I then started to videotape the natural interactions of children and teachers during the club activities, focusing on the code-switching of the children in the club. I videotaped twice a week, Mondays and Fridays between 4 p.m. and 5.30 p.m. for one and a half months for a total of 12 hours. In addition, I conducted informal interviews with teachers and some parents and talked with the participants during break times to supplement the data. The types of questions I asked related to the language choices of the participants. (For a complete list of the questions, see Appendix A.) I asked the teachers the following questions in English:

(1) What kinds of games are the children playing?
(2) How long has each child attended the club?
(3) Are there any difficulties communicating with each child due to his/her lack of English competence? If yes, in what situations does this usually take place?
(4) What do you think of children's use of their first languages during the club activities?

I also asked questions in Korean of parents whose children spoke their first language the most in the club:

(1) How long have your children been in America?
(2) What language is used the most in your home?
(3) Do you supplement your children's English learning at home? If so, how is this done?
(4) Do your children express their feelings or ideas about speaking English? If yes, what do they say?
(5) What do you think of your children's use of their first language during the club activities?

In addition, I asked some of the children questions in Korean:

(1) What activities did you like the most and the least today?
(2) Did you have any difficulty participating in any activities? If yes, what were they?

I made every effort not to affect any club activities and stayed in the corner of the club room. I planned to inform the teachers or the coordinator if any child appeared

uncomfortable with my videotaping but that did not happen. I transcribed and analyzed only interactions in which code-switching took place. To ensure confidentiality, I converted the videotapes into DVDs which were secured in my house. The videotaped data from the FRC is analyzed in Chapter 7.

3.1.2. Interviews, Fall 2006

I conducted five formal interviews with three Korean girls, a former FRC teacher, and a mother during fall 2006. I spent a total of seven hours on these interviews. First, I asked questions (See Appendix A, Table 1) individually to three Korean girls, Jenny, Yunjung, and Julia (all names in this study are pseudonyms), who were my focused participants at the FRC. I also interviewed Jenny's mother (Appendix A, Table 2) and a former FRC teacher (Appendix A, Table 3) to supplement my data.

3.1.3. Challenges and changes

I wanted to extend the semester project at the FRC to my dissertation project; however, the coordinator and the manager of the FRC did not want the children videotaped over an extended period of time. They told me that the club room was too small for me to continue to videotape the club activities and did not want the children to be observed for a long period. I understood, so I looked for another research site. First, I contacted some of the elementary schools that had Korean children, but the approval process was very slow and complicated. As a result, I moved my research site from the FRC to a Korean Christian church of which I had been a member for approximately a year and a half. First, I talked to the pastor of the church. He agreed to let me videotape children's interactions to study Korean children's code-switching habits between English and Korean with other Korean friends at the church. I hoped to videotape interactions of

children during lunch time and play time every Sunday at the Korean Christian church of Middle View from January 2007 to December 2007. My research purpose was slightly modified from the previous purpose; I intended to examine the language choice of Korean children in America while they were interacting with their Korean friends and to examine when they switched languages between English and Korean, noting the context in which this switching occurred. The first study informed and became a basis for my second study because it provided insight into Korean children's code-switching behaviors. Once again, I sought and received approval from the IRB. I explained my research to church members in Korean and obtained permission from all of them. It seemed easier to gain consent from the parents at the church than those at the FRC, probably because I was a member of the church.

3.1.4. Korean church, Spring and Fall 2007

Having obtained permission from all the parents, I started to observe and videotape Korean children at the church, including the four children I had observed at the FRC. I began by explaining the videotaping process to the children. I did not discuss my research questions because I did not want the children to consciously consider their code choices or alter their code-switching behavior when I was present. I just told them I wanted to study how children were playing with each other. I started to videotape children's interactions at lunch time and play time between 1:00 p.m. and 2:30 p.m. every Sunday. Eventually, I observed about 48 participants (approximately 25 children, a few parents, and some Korean adults) at the church during 2007. To supplement my data, I interviewed parents in Korean, including the following questions:

(1) How long has your child attended the church?

(2) Does your child have any difficulty communicating due to his/her lack of English or Korean competence?
(3) What do you think of your child's use of Korean or English during the activities?
(4) How long has your child been in America?
(5) What language is mostly used at home?
(6) Do you supplement your child's English or Korean learning at home? If so, how is this done?
(7) Does your child express his/her feelings or ideas in relation to speaking English or Korean? If yes, what does he/she say?

The videotaped data from the church became my primary source of research and are analyzed in Chapter 4, 5, and 6.

3.1.5. Children's homes, Spring and Fall 2007

During the spring 2007 semester, I added some of the children's homes to my research sites (with IRB approval), hoping to occasionally videotape interactions of children either at home or in their front yards on Saturday or Sunday afternoons. In my visits to the homes of other church members, I found that the children's linguistic behaviors differed from those they exhibited at church. During most visits, I videotaped for approximately two hours. I have incorporated the data videotaped at the children's homes into the analysis in chapters 4, 5, and 6.

3.1.6. Undergraduate research assistant, Spring 2008

I finished my data collection by the end of 2007. At that time, I had videotaped the children's interactions for approximately 42 hours and audiotaped interviews with a former FRC teacher, a mother, and three girls for about 7 hours. At that point I began analyzing my data. I was fortunate in that one of my professors provided me with an American undergraduate research assistant, who was majoring in Psychology and I gained IRB permission to grant her access to my data. The assistant worked with me once

a week during the spring semester of 2008. She helped me transcribe about 30 minutes of my English data during the semester.

To summarize, the major data consist of 42 hours of videotaped interaction among Korean children over four academic semesters in both the Korean Church and the FRC. During the spring semester of 2006, I observed the code-switching habits of four Korean preschool learners between Korean and English and videotaped them for 12 hours during their club activities at the FRC. I also conducted audiotaped informal interviews for 7 hours with three children, a mother, and a former teacher of the club, asking the questions in Appendix A. I moved my research site from the FRC to a Korean Christian church in Middle View and to some children's homes in order to study Korean children's code-switching habits with other Korean friends. With the permission of the Korean pastor at the church and parents' consent, I videotaped children's interactions at some of their homes and at the Korean church during lunch time and play time during the spring and fall semesters in 2007.

3.2. Data analysis: Qualitative macro and micro analysis

I apply a language socialization approach to understanding how the young bilingual children observed and recorded in my data use language to construct their identities through codes and code-switching. Data analysis involves sorting scenes into types of situated activities. It focuses on the micro-analysis of videotaped interactions by transcribing relevant situated activity types to examine how the specific sequences present socializing codes, code-switching, and social identities. First, data were sorted by *situated activity types* (Chapter 1, Section 1.4.2) and I noted information about language choices and code-switching for each activity type in order to figure out what are the

unmarked and marked codes of the participants in each situated activity type. To figure out the unmarked and marked codes in each activity type, I examined the logs and noted the relative frequencies of use of the two codes. Second, scenes that included code-switching were selected from different types of situated activities. Next, I transcribed the code-switching scenes and analyzed related sequences of code-switching interactions. As a result, this study examines code-switching behaviors within different situated activity types, including role-play activities (Chapter 5), "your mama" speech activities (Chapter 6), and ESL classroom activities (Chapter 7) within macro- and micro-frameworks. In addition, I incorporate macro-analytic approaches, including the ethnographic analysis of informal interviews with children and parents as well as my interactions in the community as a member, participating in different cells and church events. I use this ethnographic information in order to identify those cultural values and practices commonly expressed and enacted by members of the community. In this section, first I discuss triangular data sources and analytic perspectives. Next, I explain the processes of data coding and sorting. Later, I describe the methods and notations of transcription.

3.2.1. Triangulation

I attempted to enhance the accuracy of qualitative analysis through triangulation of multiple data sources and analytic perspectives: (1) videotaped interactions and logs, (2) participant observations and field notes, and (3) supplementary interviews and documentation. Through inductive analytic coding processes, I have identified several significant themes directly related to my hypotheses and research questions by capturing and verifying multiple perspectives from emergent patterns and themes. My hypotheses are: 1) There might be more conflicts or changes in situations where the children break

their code-preference frames and code-switch to a less preferred code, and 2) code-switching situations may reveal more subtle, complex, and dynamic processes of constructing identities, rather than revealing fixed identities, because identities might be constructed through emergent contexts based on local contingencies and individual personalities.

3.2.2. Coding through selecting themes

3.2.2.1. Videotaped interactions and logs

Each time I videotaped, I watched the DVDs and kept a log, including 1) date, time, and place I took each video, 2) participants and focused participants, 3) situated activity types (Levinson, 1993), 4) languages used in the activities, 5) repetitive routines and patterns, and 6) noticeable and important code-switching events. The logs I kept to supplement the video data helped me identify thematic code-switching events and scenes in the data. Then, I repeatedly watched these parts of the DVDs that related to important code-switching events, considering the following questions: 1) When are they code-switching? 2) What are they doing? and 3) Who speaks each language in what situations?

When I selected scenes to transcribe, I focused on “conflict sequences” that might show “an essential impetus to change, adaptation, and development” (Shantz, 1987, p. 284) in order to test my hypotheses. While coding data in my logs, I recognized many emergent, recurrent, and underlying patterns of code-switching activities in relation to the children’s identity construction, such as preschoolers’ role-play activities (presented in Chapter 5) and gendered and ethnic identity constructions in situated activities (e.g. boys’ playing “your mama” and girls’ dispute about their residence status in America, which are presented in Chapters 4 and 6).

3.2.2.2. Participant observations and field notes

In addition to videotaping and logs, I wrote field notes each time I participated in Friday night cell meetings and other church events. I gained knowledge about each participant's family and life story, which helped me better understand each family's situation and experiences in America. When I attended significant events, I kept notes in a log, including my initial thoughts, questions, and interpretations. I also kept notes about significant stories parents shared with me. For example, I took notes when one of my participants' mothers told me that her daughter (Jiyun) preferred living in America to living in Korea whereas her son (Doosoo) wanted to go back to Korea as soon as possible. I also kept field notes about informal interviews I conducted with the children before and after videotaping. For example, I jotted down what Kangkook told me when I asked him about playing "your mama" at school (presented in Chapter 6). Near the end of the spring 2007 semester, many parents expressed concerns that they had to move to different places. I kept notes about their conversations and my reflections on the problem of transient communities characterized by fluctuating membership (described in Chapter 2). These field notes helped me to understand the situations with which my participants were confronted and to enhance my analytic insights about my participants. I attempted to incorporate important aspects of my field notes when interpreting my data.

3.2.2.3. Supplementary interviews and documentation

As indicated above, I transcribed the audiotaped interviews I conducted with three girls, a mother, and a former club teacher. I asked the mother and the teacher to check my transcripts. These supplementary interviews are used to interpret research questions about the code choices of the Korean preschool learners during club activities and to explore

whether their use of their native language (Korean) facilitates or inhibits their participation in the club activities. After transcribing the interview data, I coded and sorted quotes that related to my research questions. I attempted to understand from the participants' viewpoints how they perceived their situations. For example, I identified certain themes such as the teacher's confusion about and difficulty with the language policy (Speak English only) of the club, Jenny's understanding of code-switching, and her mother's difficulty raising children in a foreign country (presented in Chapter 7). I also looked at artifacts including school policy, children's school work, and Sunday pamphlets from the church. I read them, focusing on issues of language (described in Chapter 2 and Chapter 7).

3.3. Transcription

Transcription[4] involves analytic, interpretive, and descriptive processes. It also requires the researcher's subjective selectivity in relation to which portions of data to transcribe and what to include in the transcription such as gestures, backchannels, etc (Ochs, 1979/1999). Selected scenes relating to the construction of identity through code-switching were transcribed. I adopted Jefferson's transcript notation style as presented in Atkinson and Heritage (1984/1999) but simplified the notation style for my research goals to reflect the importance of the use of different codes between English and Korean. I separated English and Korean in my transcripts in order to display which codes are used in which parts of speech. Thus the transcription separates communication in English in the left column of the table and communication in Korean in the right column of the table. Romanized Korean is ***italicized and bolded*** and the English translation of Korean is [<u>bracketed and underlined.</u>] When there is overlapping in turns, I use a {brace to indicate

[4] A detailed transcription is included in the appendix B.

where the overlap begins. When there is a latch, I use an equals symbol (=). Any additional explanations about situations are presented (in parentheses). When children say certain words LOUDER, I capitalize the words. Underlined parentheses denote (inaudible speech). Serial dots (…) indicate a hesitant response. The transcriptions in chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 follow this notation style, though the transcriptions in chapter 5 are divided by activity rather than code. I will discuss this in more detail in that chapter.

CHAPTER IV

CODE-PREFERENCES OF KOREAN BOYS AND GIRLS IN THE U.S.: CONSTRUCTING MULTILAYERED IDENTITY THROUGH CODE-SWITCHING

4.1. Introduction

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the unmarked code-preferences of the participants and the marked code-switching practices in the Korean community and explores how code choice indexes gender roles, Korean vs. American identities, and foundation of power relationships (e.g. age vs. English proficiency). In other words, this chapter investigates what it means to the children to prefer one code over the other or to switch from one code to the other. First, the chapter presents general tendencies of code preference by gender. Next, it focuses on the situations where children code-switch to change something in a way that is more beneficial personally/interpersonally or in a group. It focuses on what kinds of keys, cues, signals, or alignments are used to break the primary code preferences when the children code-switch. Consequently, it examines whether their attempt to change the situation is successful or not.

I will apply *frame analysis* (Bateson, 1972; Goffman, 1974) as one of the ground theories of my data analysis because current code-switching approaches (Auer, 1995, 1998; Cashman, 2005; Gafaranga, 2001; Jorgensen, 1998; Sebba & Wooton, 1998; Wei, 1998, 2005) cannot fully explain some of the phenomena I see in my data. This chapter examines the meanings and functions of both the primary code-preferences and the

breaking of these code-preferences by the boys and girls. I also use other relevant theories such as *indexicality* (Silverstein, 1996), *footing* (Goffman, 1979/1981), and *contextualization cues* (Gumperz, 1992) in integrated ways to analyze the data of this chapter.

In my data, I found a general tendency for the Korean boys and girls in this community to use different codes to construct their identities. These tendencies reveal the primary code-preferences by gender. According to these primary code-preferences, boys primarily prefer to use Korean, whereas girls mainly prefer to use English once they have reached sufficient level of English proficiency. On the surface level, the boys' primary code-preference may point to their desires to maintain their Korean identities, while the girls' code-preference may index their desires to manipulate their given Korean identities and to fit in with American culture.

The condition of the Korean community in the U.S. appears to be double-layered, at least on the surface level, in terms of language use and language value. The Korean children in the community examined here use both Korean and English in complex ways to construct their identities and help them achieve their communicative goals. Then why do the boys generally use their native language, not English? One of the possible reasons is that Korean is the dominant language in the Korean community because most adults communicate in Korean and the way they instruct their children to behave follows Korean norms embedded in Korean. Therefore, in terms of language dominance, adults' and children's interactions show that Korean has more power than English to get things done in the Korean community because Korean is the dominant language. Moreover, Korea has long traditions of preferring boys over girls (Park and

Cho, 1995). Therefore, boys seem to stick to Korean identities because they may be able to achieve more things using Korean.

On the other hand, although Korean is the dominant or preferred language in the Korean community, one of the biggest challenges is that this Korean community is built in the U.S., where English is the dominant language that invokes a majority identity. Outside of the community, English is dominant and required for communication. Even though Korean adults use Korean all the time in the Korean community, they seem to value English highly because one of the most important reasons many of them reside in the U.S. is to educate their children in English. In addition, American cultures seem to treat boys and girls more equally, compared to the Korean cultural and social preference for boys. As a result, girls may prefer to use English because English might be more beneficial for girls to construct their desired identities.

Despite the existence of primary code-preferences by gender, there are specific contexts in which the Korean children break their primary code-preferences and code-switch to a less preferred code. The breaking of these code-preferences may signal different needs that cannot be achieved by using the preferred code. The breaking of code-preference may help the children reconstruct their solidarity and power relationships, which results also in their reconstructing multilayered identities. I hypothesize that there might be more conflicts or changes in situations where the children break the code-preferences and code-switch to a less preferred code. The breaking of the code-preference may show that we cannot predict fixed group membership based on primary code-preferences by gender or ethnicity. This complexity conflicts with the findings of some code-switching researchers who argue that codes are causal with gender

or ethnicity. I also hypothesize that code-switching contributes to the dynamic and multi-layered construction of local identities embedded in macro-sociocultural identities through moment-to-moment interactions.

To sum up, the chapter investigates the following research questions:

1. What are the primary code-preferences of the children studied here, and when do they break these code-preferences?
2. What are the functions of code-switching? Are there any benefits to be gained by switching from one code to another?
3. How does code-switching contribute to constructing identity among the given population in a Korean community in the U.S.?

In the following discussion, I will first describe general tendencies of language preference by gender with examples. Then I will present the examples that show children breaking the primary code-preferences by gender in the construction of their identities. Sections in 4.2 and 4.3 are divided into the different participant frames in terms of their age, gender, and the number of participants.

4.2. Primary code preferences by gender

This section attempts to provide evidence for the following statement: in the locally situated contexts analyzed here, Korean indexes socializing Korean cultural norms, values, and ethnic identities, and English indexes typically American language practices and second language development through peer talk. One of the interesting phenomena revealed through my observation is that the Korean boys mostly prefer to use Korean whereas the Korean girls mainly prefer to use English. I call this phenomenon primary code preferences by gender; these primary code preferences are broken when the

children code-switch. However, these gendered code preferences of the Korean children cannot be generalized into other communities. For example, in Zentella's (1997) study of Puerto Rican bilingual study in New York, contrary to my study, girls prefer to use their first language, Spanish, whereas boys prefer to use their second language, English, in general. The girls play pre-eminent roles in child rearing so they are immersed in Spanish-linked activities at home in order to build group solidarity and construct Puerto Rican identity. In contrast, the boys are socialized with African American boys much more outside of the house away from Spanish and are immersed in English. Zentella also points out that there are some boys and girls who have distinctive socialization patterns different from stereotyped male and female roles and as a result their code preferences are not predictable from the general tendencies. Therefore, in order to explore how children construct their identity through their code choices, it is important to examine who participates in which activities in which codes in order to achieve what specific goals in what situations. That is because there seem to be multiple variables that function together in unpredictable ways and challenge neat classifications.

In this section, I will show some tendencies of the children's code choices by gender. First two transcripts (Transcripts 1 and 2) exemplify scenes in which the preschool girls role-play and play with language in English. On the contrary, Transcript 3 presents the preschool boys' playful fighting in Korean, in which they imitate Japanese animation dubbed in Korean. The last three transcripts (Transcripts 4, 5, and 6) display some conversations between the preadolescent boys in Korean about verbal fighting, information exchange about grades, and missing a friend by talking about their past experiences of fighting with an old friend. I present these examples by gender, by age,

and by the number of participants such as dyadic or triadic conversation. These divisions partially represent grouped linguistic behaviors in relation to their code choices.

4.2.1. Dyadic conversation between young girls

Transcript 1 shows two young girls playing with water balloons in the bathroom at Pam's house.

Table 1. Two young girls

Jihae	1st grader, 7 years old; has lived in America for one and a half years
Pam	preschool, 5 years old; born and raised in America

Jihae and Pam pretend the balloons are babies so they pretend to bathe the "babies." This kind of pretend play in English is very common among the young girls. Jihae puts some soap on the balloons. Pam repeats Jihae's saying "Oh, my gosh," showing her interest or surprise. These young Korean girls usually speak together in English. In general, for newly arriving young girls, it seems to take about a year to prefer to speak in English with their female peers. Jihae has been in the U.S. for about one and a half years. She likes to lead activities and socialize with others, speaking with simple English expressions. In this example, Jihae is socializing Pam in how to use English and she is successful. In line 3, Jihae relieves Pam's concern about bubbles and explicitly says to Pam, "I said that's good" and then instructs Pam on where to put the bubbles.

Transcript 1. I saw bubbles. (05-19-07 No.1)

Speaker		English	Korean
1	Jihae:	I saw bubbles. Oh, my gosh.	
2	Pam:	Oh, my gosh.	
3	Jihae:	That's good, that's good. I said that's good. Put that here. (Jihae is instructing Pam.)	
4	Pam:	This is gonna get soapy.	
5	Jihae:	This is gonna be really good.	
6	Pam:	Come on, come on, come on.	

4.2.2. Triadic conversation among young girls

Transcript 2 presents three young girls talking in the backyard of the Korean church after lunch.

Table 2. Three young girls

Hyeyoung	Preschool, 5 years old; born and raised in America
Jihae	1st grader, 7 years old; has lived in America for one and a half years
Pam	preschool, 5 years old; born and raised in America

Hyeyoung, Jihae, and Pam play with language by counting after "me, too" like a pun. American young girls may do the same thing. This simple interaction shows how they develop their social conventions by following others' examples. This kind of activity directs them to conform to others and learn how to behave in a particular situation. This is a way for them to construct solidarity. It is very commonly observed in my study that young Korean girls speak simple English when playing together.

Transcript 2. Me, too. Me, three. Me, four. (05-20-07 No.2)

Speaker		English	Korean
1	Hyeyoung	I wanna go to (the) swimming pool.	
2	Jihae	Me, too.	
3	Pam	Me, three.	
4	Hyeyoung	Me, four.	
5	Jihae	I'm hot.	
6	Pam	Me, too.	
7	Hyeyoung	Me, three.	
8	Jihae	Me, four.	

4.2.3. Dyadic conversation between preschool boys

Transcript 3 displays two preschool brothers playing outside of the church after lunch time.

Table 3. Two preschool brothers

Kyungho	preschool, 5 years old; has lived in America for about two years
Seokhee	preschool, 4 years old; has lived in America for about two years

Kyungho, the older brother, initiates a pretend fight, and Seokhee, the younger brother, responds appropriately in the play situation. They use Korean words and sounds as they pretend to destroy things quickly with big handed motions. The boys imitate a fighting scene from a Japanese cartoon which they watched in Korean. This is a typical behavior where preschool Korean boys practice fighting in Korean as a pretend play.

Transcript 3. Attack! Destroy it! (04-19-07 No.1)

Speaker		English	Korean
1	Kyungho		***Kongkyuk!*** [Attack!]
2	Seokhee		***Busheo! Pasha!*** [Destroy it! (destroying sound)]
3	Kyungho		***Busheo! Pasha! Pasha!*** [Destroy it! (destroying sound)]
4	Seokhee		***Pasha! Pasha! Pasha!*** [(destroying sound)]

4.2.4. Dyadic conversation between preadolescent boys

Transcript 4 presents a scene in which a seventh grade boy, Kangkook, verbally fights with a fifth grade boy, Doosoo, in the yard of the church after lunch.

Table 4. Two preadolescent boys

Kangkook	7th grader, 14 years old; temporarily resides in America with his mother and sister for the purpose of learning English; has been in America for about 10 months; poor at English
Doosoo	5th grader, 11 years old; temporarily resides in America with his mother and sister for the purpose of learning English; has been in America for about 8 months; poor English but eager to learn

Kangkook is very upset because he believes Doosoo called him a psycho. I have seen this kind of tense verbal fighting in Korean between Kangkook and other boys quite often. Kangkook seems to have had difficulty adjusting to life in the U.S. and has often caused trouble. The wife of the pastor said that Kangkook also has had discipline issues in Korea as well. Doosoo sometimes gets hyper and wild so he seems to be the target for

Kangkook's verbal harassment. The utterances between Doosoo and Kangkook sometimes reveal a complex power-play and bullying for power situation. Doosoo had behavioral problems when he first moved to the U.S. but by the time of this study, his mother reported that his behavior had gotten better. Around that time, I also noticed that Doosoo was behaving better. He responded to Kangkook loudly but also used a Korean honorific marker ("HYUNG" meaning brother in lines 2 and 4) to address the older boy as a brother following a Korean tradition. This scene shows Korean boys disagreeing with each other using Korean. The situation quickly dissipated right after Kangkook's threat. Doosoo backed off and left.

Transcript 4. Did you call me a psycho? (05-20-07 No.2)

Speaker		English	Korean
1	Kangkook		***Neo, nahantae psycho-rago buleojji?*** [Did you call me a psycho?]
2	Doosoo		***ANGURASSEO, HYUNG*** [NO, I DIDN'T, BROTHER]
3	Kangkook		***Neo, graejjana, naega bunmyunghee duleotnundae?*** [You said so. I just heard it, didn't I?]
4	Doosoo		***ANGURADDANIGGA, HYUNG*** [I TOLD YOU I DIDN'T, BROTHER.]
5	Kangkook		***NEO, HANBEONMAN DEO PSYCHO-RAGO HAMYUN JUKNUNJUL ALEO.*** [IF YOU SAY PSYCHO ONE MORE TIME, I'M GONNA KILL YOU.]

4.2.5. Conversation among four preadolescent boys

Transcript 5 shows a conversation at lunch time among the four boys in Table 5. Sunchul frequently spends time with Jeongsoo. Sunchul asks about his science grade, but Jeongsoo does not understand. Then, Sunchul uses the term "grade" mixed with Korean words. Jeongsoo stays silent. Sunchul gives examples of grades such as A, B, C, D. Then, Jeongsoo just says, "A" and then stays silent. After that, Kangkook, Sunchul, and Doosoo

start to brag about their excellent grades. Kangkook and Sunchul speak about their good grades by excluding bad grades in certain subjects whereas the youngest boy in this group, Doosoo, includes that he received a C in one subject. This kind of information exchange in Korean is very common among these boys, as well as sharing information about sports and computer games. This is an example of how these boys build solidarity and develop competition with each other by exchanging factual information about themselves or their interests. Sometimes they seem to exaggerate or show off their accomplishments.

Table 5. Four preadolescent boys

Kangkook	7th grader, 14 years old; temporarily resides in America with his mother and sister for the purpose of learning English; has been in America for about 10 months; poor at English
Sunchul	6th grader, 12 years old; son of a prominent family; moved to America at the age of 5; more proficient in English than in Korean
Doosoo	5th grader, 11 years old; temporarily resides in America with his mother and sister for the purpose of learning English; has been in America for about 8 months; poor English but eager to learn
Jeongsoo	4th grader, 10 years old; temporarily resides in America for his father's occupation as a visiting professor; has been in America for about 17 months; improved his English since coming to America

In the following example, they speak in Korean. This example shows a common use of "borrowing" words (e.g. grade, history, A, B, C, D in grades), mixing some English letters or words embedded in Korean sentences. The choice of borrowed words implies that the boys are exposed to the American school system.

Transcript 5. What have you got in science? (05-19-07 No.1)

	Speaker	English	Korean
1	Sunchul		***Neo, guahak mueo batkoo innya?*** [What have you got in science?]
2	Jeongsoo		***Guahak Mueo?*** [What is it about science?]
3	Sunchul	grade	***Guahak*** [science grade.]

4	Jeongsoo		…………………………..
5	Sunchul	A, B, C, D,	***Gureongeo.*** [I mean A, B, C, D, something like that.]
6	Jeongsoo	A	
7	Doosoo	A	***Nan*** ***ya.*** [I've got an A.]
8	Kangkook	A history	***gugeotman bbaego da*** ***ya.*** [Except for history, I've got straight A's.]
9	Sunchul		***Nan duge bbaego da 100eya.*** [Except for two subjects, I've got 100 full marks.]
10	Doosoo	A	***Nan hange bbago da*** ***ya.*** [Except for one subject, I've got all A's.]
11	Sunchul	A	***Nan duge bbago da*** ***ya.*** [I've got all As except for two subjects.]
12	Doosoo	C	***Nan hange*** ***majeosseo. Guddae sookje anhago gamehaegajigo, ddak haruman ahn haenundae, guraeso na 85jeom majeosseo. Ddak harue.*** [I've got one C. That was because I didn't do my homework. Instead, I played computer games. That was only one day I didn't turn in my homework. As a result, I've got 85 for my average score. Only one day!]
13	Sunchul		(Laughing)

4.2.6. Triadic conversation among preadolescent boys

In Transcript 6, Sunchul speaks of an old friend, Jeongsoo, who went back to Korea a couple of months ago. He expresses regret that he missed the opportunity to fight with him. This utterance shows how boys build solidarity or intimacy through playful fighting. Then, Kangkook talks about his past experiences of fighting with the old friend,

Jeongsoo, and getting scolded by the pastor. Sunchul corrects Kangkook, pointing out that Mr. Pastor was not angry but only scolded Kangkook because he had misbehaved. Throughout this conversation, they spoke in their preferred code, Korean.

Transcript 6. I miss Jeongsoo! (09-17-07 No.1)

Speaker		English	Korean
1	Sunchul		***Jeongsoo bogosipda! Hanbeondo anssaungae hoohoedoe.*** [I miss Jeongsoo! I regret I had never fought with him.]
2	Kangkook		***Nan ssaunjeok itnundae Jeongsoorang***! [I fought with Jeongsoo!]
3	Doosoo		***Majeo! Guddae hyung honajjana moksanimhantae.*** [Right! At that time, brother, you were scolded by Mr. pastor.]
4	Kangkook		***Moksanim guttae yolbatassesseo.*** [Mr. pastor was pissed off at that time.]
5	Sunchul		***Anya. Uriabba hwanangeo. Jalmothanaedul honnaejunkeoji.*** [That's not right. He was not pissed off but just instructed you because you misbehaved.]

Transcripts 1 through 6 above give some clues about the Korean children's primary frameworks of code-preferences. Two distinctive behavioral differences are found in these interactions (transcripts 1 and 3) in relation to activity types (Levinson, 1993) and selected code choices. Both young girls and boys very often get involved in pretend play; however, boys create playful fighting types of role-play, while girls build various pretend role-play contexts (e.g. playing homemaker roles, farmers, or teachers) by assigning certain roles to concrete objects (e.g. indicating balloons as babies in their pretend play) and specifying a pretend situation (e.g. giving a baby a shower). Their distinctive activity types are also associated with their distinctive unmarked code choices: girls mainly use English and boys mostly use Korean. These gendered sub-cultural

differences are reflected in the older boys' direct verbal fighting (e.g. "Did you call me a psycho?" or "IF YOU SAY THAT ONE MORE TIME, I'M GONNA KILL YOU." in Transcript 4) or guy-bonding with fighting (e.g. "I miss Jeongsoo! I regret I had never fought with him." in Transcript 6).

However, there are many unpredictable cases in which it is difficult to say that unmarked code choices do the expected work. Rather, it is when participants make either a code switch or a marked code choice that we can see how participants locally construct identities. Therefore, we need to take a close examination of cases in which these sub-cultural differences between the boys and the girls are not predictable to see what is going on between these gendered sub-cultural groups. In the following section, I explore those cases in which breaking the primary code-preferences takes place.

4.3. Breaking code-preferences

Breaking code-preferences refers to the children's code-switching between an unmarked code and a marked code. In the case of the girls, the unmarked code is English because English is used more commonly and preferably across most activities. On the other hand, in the case of the boys, the unmarked code is Korean. However, there are situations when the girls and boys switch their codes to marked ones. I call these incidents breaking the primary code-preferences. I assume that code-switching shows examples of breaking the primary code-preferences through which the children reconstruct their stances, positioning, or alignments in order to achieve something important, when it is not possible to use an unmarked code or when it is more beneficial to use a marked code. Therefore code-switching may signal footing shifts (Goffman, 1979/81) or contextualization cues (Gumperz, 1992).

An important concept in frame analysis is *the key* Goffman (1974) defines as "the set of conventions in a primary framework (p.43)." Through analysis of keys, we can understand a primary framework. For example, playful fighting has distinctive keys such as exaggeration, repetition, competition like a match, occasional role reversal, etc. Code-switching may reveal changes in keys through which a given frame is transformed into something quite different. As a result, analysis of code-switching may reveal both a primary framework and a new framework construction. Following conversations among preteen girls (4.3.1.) and preadolescent boys (4.3.2.) exemplify when they break their code-preference frames and what they are doing at that moment. Through these conversations, I want to explore how code-switching, regarded as dynamic shifts in footing through patterns of changes in semiotic cues or keys, contributes to constructing the children's identity in their social groups. I also want to test the hypotheses: 1) there might be more conflicts or changes in the situations where the children break the code-preference frames and code-switch to a less preferred code and 2) code-switching contributes to the dynamic construction of local identities through moment-to-moment interactions, rather than revealing fixed identities associated with different codes.

4.3.1. Conversation among four preteen girls

Transcript 7 shows a sequence within a longer conversation in which four preteen girls predominantly use Korean when they talk about their past experiences of riding roller-coasters at Six Flags Over Texas during spring break. They talk together in the church yard after lunch. The four girls have different residence periods in the U.S.

Table 6. Four preteen girls

Soowon	2nd grader, 8 years old; born and raised in America; more proficient in English than in Korean
Sungah	2nd grader, 8 years old; has lived in America for two and a half years

Jiyun	3rd grader, 9 years old; has been in America for 8 months
Taehee	5th grader, 11 years old; older than other girls; has been in America for 8 months

Sungah was very close to Soowon before Taehee and Jiyun came to America, and they usually spoke in English. The unmarked code for Sungah and Soowon is English. However, in this conversation in Transcript 7, Soowon tries to narrate the experience in Korean most likely because she knows that Jiyun and Taehee rarely speak in English and do not understand English very well. The unmarked code for Jiyun and Taehee is Korean. Soowon's Korean is very messy, including a lot of deictics, such as "this" and "that," and spatial adverbs, such as "up" and "down." Sungah does not seem to have ridden on any roller-coasters and mostly listens to what others say. At the beginning of the conversation, there are a lot of overlapping of turns between Soowon and Taehee. Toward the middle of the conversation in line 20, Taehee brags about her ticket with which she could ride on anything by interrupting Soowon's speech. Soowon quickly code-switches to English and says very loudly that "I'm SPEAKING, PEOPLE!" in line 21. Sungah laughs loudly. Right after that, Taehee responds in English but very softly, "Be quiet," in line 23 and then she stays away from Soowon by asking Sungah in Korean to move away with her.

Transcript 7. I'm SPEAKING, PEOPLE! (03-25-07 No.1)

Speaker		English	Korean
15	Taehee		***Hoksi, dariae hoksi daenungeo?*** [<u>probably, something probably attached on an ankle?</u>]
16	Jiyun		***Ananja ikko tanunkeo?*** [<u>the thing we don't sit and ride on?</u>]
17	Soowon		***Ani kugeo {anya*** [<u>No, not that</u>]
18	Taehee		***{Anja itnundae itnundae darika bakuro naohnungeo?***

			{[While sitting, something that our legs are out of the ride?]
19	Soowon		***Kukeo kukeo nan kiga Great White-geo{dun?*** [My height fits in Great White.]
20	Taehee		***{Nan paransaekira Datanungeo{geodun*** {[My ticket was blue so that I was able to ride on anything.]
21	Soowon	{I'm SPEAKING, PEOPLE! (shouting while holding her fists up firmly)	
22	Sungah		Hahaha
23	Taehee	Be quiet… (speaking very softly and putting her left hand down quickly)	***Kaja*** (holding and pulling Sungah's hands and staying away from Soowon) [Let's go.]
24	Soowon		(talking to Jiyun only) ***Kundae guke, ije dolahgajiko roller-coster-ka ileoke kageodun kuraeseo ike dariya ileoke kuraeseo kanundae ileoke kaku ileoke kaku ileoke kaku ileoke kaku ileoke kaku kudaumae dubakui dolah.*** [Then, the roller-coaster turned around and, it ran this way, let's say, this is the leg of the roller-coaster, it went this way, it went this way, it went this way, it went this way, it went this way, and then it made two rounds.] (She's gesturing to indicate direction as she speaks.)

This conversation shows how Sungah and Soowon break their primary code preference, English, by talking in Korean. They talk in Korean in order for Taehee and Jiyun to get involved in the conversation because Taehee and Jiyun do not speak English very well. As Soowon narrates the past event of riding on a roller-coaster in Korean, others respond in Korean as well. However, when Soowon perceives Taehee interrupting her speech frequently, Soowon code-switches to English in order to get the other girls to

pay attention and listen to her rather than interrupting. In a way, Soowon's code-switching utterance, "I'm SPEAKING, PEOPLE," breaks the frame of narrating the past event and attempts to get others to pay attention to her ongoing narration. She attempts to realign her footing to emphasize her message and to control others. However, her breaking the frame was not successful since Taehee took Sungah and moved away from her. This is an example of the ways breaking frame relates to involvement and thus restructures a participant framework.

It is also interesting that Taehee responded to Sungah in English, "be quiet," and then code-switches to Korean saying to Sungah, "Kaja" meaning "let's go." In this context, "be quiet" might mean "don't yell," "shut up," "don't show off (meaning I can speak in English as well)," or "I don't want to talk to you any more." For Soowon, English is a more proficient language so it seems natural that she switches to English to control and keep holding the floor through a contrastive code. Because Taehee is speaking quietly, "be quiet" in English, it might show her inferiority of speaking in English because she lacks confidence. But at the same time she also wants to show others that she can also speak in English. Then she switches back to Korean to show her intimacy or solidarity with Sungah. Taehee speaks confidently in Korean, which also shows her desire to wield power in the situation and achieves what she wants.

This whole sequence shows a conflict between the primacy of age and the primacy of length of residence in the U.S. in determining social status. The whole conversation is constructed primarily through the use of a marked code-choice, Korean, for Soowon and Sungah. First, the primary language preferences are broken (Soowon and Sungah speak in Korean). Soowon breaks the frame of talking about the past experience

in Korean and switches into English in order to get others to pay attention to her speech (e.g. a contextualization cue). Third, code-switching to English for Soowon (e.g. "I'm SPEAKING, PEOPLE!") and for Taehee (e.g. "Be quiet.") have different meanings and functions. Soowon makes her unmarked code-choice, English, in order to compete to hold the floor, revealing her holding power of talk, and to recontextualize the situation. Therefore, Soowon's code-switching to English functions as a contextualization cue and helps her shift from the social order based on age to the social order as given by time in the U.S. On the other hand, Taehee shows her shift in footing first in English in line 23, "Be quiet" and then shifts her code back to Korean, saying "Kaja" meaning "let's go." In Korean, Taehee withdraws her participation in talk, aligns herself in a different participation framework, and thus transgresses the social order that Soowon has established. Taehee's codeswitching to Korean helps her shift from the social order as given by time in the U.S. to the social order based on age. Both cases of code-switching to different codes function as shifts in their footing to reconstruct their positioning and contextualization cues to reconstruct an ongoing context. This code-switching is also accompanied with distinctive prosodic features and gestures: Soowon's louder speech with a gesture, holding her fists up firmly in line 21 vs. Taehee's soft speech with a gesture, putting her left hand down quickly in line 23. Because the girls were separated from each other after the conflict, it is difficult to tell from this sequence which one has more seniority, age in Korean or time in U.S. and English proficiency.

Transcripts 8a and 8b show a part of a long stretch of conversation continuing after the previous example. After Taehee took Sungah and moved away from Soowon, Soowon finishes her speech and approaches Taehee and Sungah. Then, Taehee starts to

ask whether the other girls have watched "Shamu," a killer whale. After that, they hold a long conversation about dolphins and an aquarium. They mix English words such as "dolphins" or "pool" with Korean words. In line 4, Soowon suddenly code-switches to English and talks about the experience in which she fed and touched dolphins. Then, in line 5, Taehee mixes an English word, "touch" with Korean particles. Jiyun doesn't understand what Soowon says in English so she asks for clarification in line 6. Then Soowon clarifies what she said in English again.

Transcript 8a. I've got to feed and touch the dolphins. (03-25-07 No.1)

Speaker		English	Korean
1	Taehee		***Hoksi neoheedul Shamu boasseo?*** [Have you ever watched Shamu?]
2	Soowon		***Uh!*** [Yep!]
3	Taehee		***Geogiseo dolphin-dulee nawagajigo {ggoriro hawk cheo gajigo...*** [There, dolphins showed up, used its tail and hit…]
4	Soowon		***{Ah, Madda! (raising her hand) NA, (shouting) Na, eoditnunji alah,*** [Ah, Right! (raising her hand), ME, (shouting) Me, I know where it was.]
		I've got to feed and touch the dolphins.	
5	Taehee		***Touch-hanungeo, {touch-hanungeo,*** [touching, touching]
6	Jiyun		{Meo?= [What?]=
7	Soowon	=I've got to feed the dolphins and pat them.	
8	Taehee		***Ibeoneh ibeonbuteo manjilsu iddago haesseo.*** [They said this time, from this time, we can touch them.]

After the conversation (Transcript 8a), there is a lot of confusion about what the girls say. I don't display this part because it includes a long stretch of discourse, but I will

summarize what happened briefly before I talk about Transcript 8b. The talk between Transcripts 8a and 8b shows Taehee's and Soowon's utterances are parallel in terms of the content and the context. Taehee talks about the experience of touching dolphins whereas Soowon talks about the experience of feeding dolphins. Moreover, Taehee refers to an aquarium, Lotte World, in Korea, whereas Soowon talks about Sea World in Texas. Soowon does not have any background knowledge about Lotte World even though it is the biggest aquarium in Korea, because she was born and raised in America. Even though Soowon asks for clarification ("where? what?"), Taehee continues to talk about the future plan of Lotte World in which children can feed and touch dolphins and swim together starting next year. Again, Soowon shows her confusion about the aquarium at Lotte World (Lotte World in Korea actually does not have an aquarium – Taehee must mean the Koex Aquarium close to Lotte World).

After that, in line 23 in Transcript 8b below, Sungah suddenly gets involved in the conversation and holds the floor for the first time by saying, "I will not be here next year." Her utterance seems to imply she feels like it is the end of the world. After Sungah states that she will not be in America anymore next year, the other three girls express their future plans. Except for Jiyun, the other three girls will move to different places a couple of days after this conversation. Sungah will return to Korea, Taehee will move to Seattle, and Soowon will move to New York. This kind of temporary residence causes lots of changes in making friends in the Korean community because many Korean families stay only for a year or two and then go back to Korea or move to another city in the U.S.

Transcript 8b. I'M GOING TO BE IN AMERICA. (03-25-07 No.1)

	Speaker	English	Korean
23	Sungah		***Nan next year-ye upsseo...*** [I will not be next year (implying here)…]
24	Taehee		***Nan next year-ye ahjikdo issulgeondae…*** [I will still be here next year…]
25	Jiyun		***Issulji upseolji {mola*** [I don't know whether I will be or not.]
26	Soowon		***{nan issul geo{ya*** {[I will be (here).]
27	Taehee		***{guraega-jigo, nan next year-ye Seattle-ro move-ga.*** {[so, I will move to Seattle next year.]
28	Sungah		***{Move-ga?*** {[Are you moving?]
29	Soowon		***{Nan New York-uro gagajigo ije dashi Texas-ro galggeoya.*** {[I will move to New York and then go to Texas again.]
30	Everybody		………………………………………..
31	Jiyun		***Oe da umjikyeo? (all children looking at the ground)*** [Why has everybody got to move?]
32	Soowon	(raising her right hand high) I'M GONNA MOVE TO NEW YORKS=	
33	Jiyun &Taehee	=move to New Yorks?	
34	Sungah	You ARE NOT GONNA BE HERE NEXT YEAR!	
35	Soowon	OH, YES I AM. (putting her hands on her waist and approaching Sungah) I'M GOING TO BE IN AMERICA. (folding her hands)	
36	Sungah	Ya, but not in Middle View!= (staring at Soowon)	
37	Soowon	=I'm going to be.	

		(approaching Sungah more closely)	
38	Sungah	You're gonna be in New York!	
39	Soowon	Yes, I will go back to Kansas, California, or (looking directly at Sungah)	
40	Taehee	Shhhhhhh Shhhhhh Okay, California, and Texas and Seattle have still world..still world...just?	
41	Sungah	StillWORLD	
42	Taehee	Stillwoooooooooorld (taking off Sungah's glasses and turning around)	
43	Sungah	Ehehehehe that's not! I'm gonna get my eyes checked.	
44	Jiyun		***Hanbunman sseobo…hanbunman hanbunman*** [Let me try it on…just once, just once]
45	Taehee	You have glasses.	
46	Soowon	Ya, I might get glasses. Ya, I might have glasses. I might… Get out of here (Soowon suddenly noticed I videotaped them and then all of them ran away).	

This whole sequence presents that the definition of "here" is central to this conflict over defining also power/solidarity. Referring back to Dorothy's definition of what world is here, now, and consequential (see Section 1.4.1), these girls define their words in different frames, indexing multilayered definitions of "here." Dorothy's dream consists of multilayered levels including Dorothy not being in Kansas any more,

Dorothy's desire or dream of a better place, and Dorothy's dream. With these girls in the above scene, seniority and continuity have power/solidarity implications.

In line 32, Soowon code-switches to English and says loudly, "I'M GONNA MOVE TO NEW YORKS." "New Yorks" that Soowon said instead of New York is probably just a developmental mistake. Then, Sungah and Soowon verbally disagree about their residence status in America between lines 32 and 39. Soowon's code-switching breaks the frame of talking in Korean, and Sungah reacts to her utterance in a vicious way. It is not very clear what motivates Soowon's code-switching in line 32, but it shows her excitement with a gesture (raising her right hand high) and recontextualizes what they already said in Korean about their moving to different places. This code-switching follows lots of overlapping turns in Korean between lines 25-29 and silence in line 30. Therefore I assume Soowon's code-switching into English may imply her excitement, bragging about moving to New York, or recontextualize and emphasize her residence status in America.

Then, Sungah's overreaction in line 34, "You ARE NOT GONNA BE HERE NEXT YEAR!" establishes another frame of verbal argument. Children's gestures and prosodic features in these scenes seem to be very important in interpreting what is going on among them, but I roughly included some noticeable gestures and prosodic features such as loudness. Sungah seems to express her sad feelings about leaving America and her jealousy of Soowon's staying in America. Soowon fights back in line 35, saying very loudly and viciously, "OH, YES I AM. I'M GOING TO BE IN AMERICA." This utterance is the climax of the verbal argument, showing Soowon's pride to be in America. This utterance can be interpreted that Soowon is showing off her continuous social status

as a resident in America or possibly her American identity (She is actually an American citizen because she was born in America). On the contrary, Sungah tries to emphasize that Soowon will also not be in Middle View anymore.

Defining “here” in this whole sequence is also important for contextualizing the world that is most consequential for the participants’ co-construction of community and community membership, including power and seniority. This whole sequence clearly shows that among these girls, their American residence corresponding to their English proficiency plays the most significant role in socializing others. By “here,” Sungah includes only Middle View in her concept of “here” to equalize her status with Soowon; however, by “here” Soowon meant America, so it does not matter which part of America she lives in.

Then Taehee in line 40 tries to reconcile the tension between Soowon and Sungah by saying that they are in the same world anyway, implying that they should not argue with each other. Taehee does not include other cities in Korea as part of her world although Sungah returns to Korea. Her utterance reveals that Taehee’s perception of the world is the same as Soowon’s. The interesting thing is that her reconciliation is not very successful because Taehee’s English is not very good. Sungah corrects her mispronounced word, “world,” implying Sungah speaks better English. The last part of this conversation shows how the girls try to fit into American society and construct their desired identity with a relevant code, English. Therefore, this whole sequence presents that the meaning of “here” and the definition of the “world” for the girls depend on their social and residential status in America.

4.3.2. Dyadic conversation between preadolescent boys

The following examples in Transcripts 9a through 9d present the ways two boys break their primary code preference, Korean, by speaking in English a lot. Sunchul shows Jeongsoo that he is older and more powerful by speaking in Korean, which indexes the Korean social norm that younger people should always show great respect to older people, even though older people might be only one month older than younger people. But at the same time, Sunchul code-switches to English whenever he needs to tease and insult others better using English, signifying that he identifies himself as being cool, hip, and urban. He also uses expressions, such as “Make me!” as a joke key to tease younger boys including Jeongsoo.

Table 7. Two preadolescent boys

Sunchul	6th grader, 12 years old; son of a prominent family; moved to America at the age of 5; more proficient in English than in Korean
Jeongsoo	4th grader, 10 years old; temporarily resides in America for his father’s occupation as a visiting professor; has been in America for about 17 months; improved his English since coming to America

The way Sunchul and Jeongsoo code-switch between English and Korean shows different functions. Sunchul, the older boy, uses Korean to tease the younger friend and show off his power. In contrast, Jeongsoo, the younger boy, uses Korean 1) as exclamation, 2) to show his frustration at being ignored by Sunchul, and 3) for Korean politeness markers. One of the interesting points in this series of conversation is that although the oldest boy, Minsoo, is present, he is almost always silent. Although not apparent in the following transcripts, the other two boys show great respect whenever they talk to Minsoo who is the oldest, following a Korean cultural norm.

Transcript 9a displays Jeongsoo's attempts to insult the older boy, Sunchul, while Sunchul wields his power speaking in Korean. The boys are in Sunchul's room and are playing computer games individually. Sunchul initiates the conversation by saying, "Hey, you are so ugly" in Korean. Then, Jeongsoo code-switches to English in order to fight back. Sunchul interprets the utterance as an invitation to play *the dozens*, which is a contest of personal power of wit, self-control, verbal ability, and mental toughness from African American oral tradition. Currently, MTV airs "Yo' Mama" which looks for the best hard-core street braggers who trash-talk. Lines 2 through 13 present the ways the two boys try to earn bragging rights in a battle of words. Playing the dozens indicates a contemporary American hip hop youth culture so that the boys adopt the English code to index their cool and tough American masculinity. I will explore what it means for the boys to play African American traditional verbal games in more detail in Chapter 6. For now, the analysis is focused on the issue of marked vs. unmarked code choices in the way in which the boys construct identities in this micro-level interaction.

Transcript 9a. Hey, you are so ugly! (05-19-07 No.4)

Speaker		English	Korean
1	Sunchul		Ya, neo jinjja mossangyodda! [Hey, you are so ugly!]
2	Jeongsoo	You're uglier. He's the ugliest person in the world.	
3	Sunchul	His mama's so fat! His mama's so stupid she tripped over her wireless cord.	
4	Jeongsoo	Your mama's so dumb that she tripped over an invisible rope.	
5	Sunchul	It's the same thing, kid.	
6	Jeongsoo	Your mama's so fat. She can't fit in Grand Canyon.	
7	Sunchul	Your mama's so fat so that she cannot fit in the universe.	
8	Jeongsoo	……………………………..	
9	Sunchul	Ooohhh BURN!	

10	Jeongsoo	What the freaking (___) is universe?	
11	Sunchul	See, that's how dumb your mother is! You got her genes so.	
12	Jeongsoo	What do you mean I got her jeans?	
13	Sunchul	You got her genes.	
14	Jeongsoo	Well, you got her shoes.	
15	Sunchul	You had 'um' with your mom.	
16	Jeongsoo		***Sunchul hyungun neom direowoe.*** [Brother, Sunchul is so dirty.]
		He's so disgusting. He always talks about something things.	
17	Sunchul		***Hyung! Yigeo jeojanghal pilyo uepjji?*** [Brother! I don't have to save this, right?] (asking the other boy, Minsoo what to do with the computer game he's playing)
18	Jeongsoo	You are so ugly.	
19	Sunchul	………………………….	
20	Jeongsoo	Do you think you are handsome?	
21	Sunchul	………………………….	

In line 15, as Sunchul says, "You had 'um' with your mom," which crosses the line of the game, Jeongsoo breaks the frame of playing the dozens by code-switching. Thus, his utterance in Korean, "Brother, Sunchul is so dirty," functions as a contextualization cue to get out of the frame of playing the dozens. Then he switches back to English saying, "He's so disgusting. He always talks about something things." Jeongsoo strategically code-switches to English in order to tease the older boy. He is not permitted to talk to older boys about this kind of expression in Korean according to Korean cultural norms. That is why it is likely that he switches back to English quickly. Then, when he needs to ask a question, he talks to Sunchul in Korean again. In line 20, as he is ignored by Sunchul in line 19, then Jeongsoo switches codes again to English to

insult Sunchul by saying, “Do you think you are handsome?” in line 20. Then he is ignored again. Sunchul wields his power by just saying nothing. This is a great example of the two boys changing their stances and positioning, using more beneficial codes.

The continuous scenes in Transcript 9b also show the way Jeongsoo attempts to take power from Sunchul and tease him using English. In line 8, it is obvious why Jeongsoo code-switches to English, saying, “Are you an idiot?” For a younger boy, Jeongsoo, English gives him more power to insult or tease an older boy because that is not allowed according to Korean cultural norms. This time he is not successful in teasing Sunchul, either. Sunchul holds his power in Korean by ignoring him in line 3, instructing him what to do in line 5, refusing to help him in line 7, and punching him in line 11. Then Jeongsoo gives up and draws his attention to the oldest boy and again switches to Korean.

Transcript 9b. Are you an idiot? (05-19-07 No.4)

	Speaker	English	Korean
1	Sunchul	Make me.	
2	Jeongsoo		***Hyung! Banggum meoragohaesseo?*** [Brother! What did you say just before?]
3	Sunchul	……………………………..	
4	Jeongsoo	He just cursed! He never goes to the city, you know the street.	
			Eireon, mulssodahdda! Ahndoe, ahndoe. [Oops! I spilled water. Oh, no, oh, no.]
5	Sunchul		***Niga chiweo.*** [You should clean it up.]
6	Jeongsoo		***Hyung!*** [Brother!]
7	Sunchul		***Nan molah*** [It’s not my business.]
8	Jeongsoo	Are you an idiot?	
9	Sunchul		***Neo majeo bolae?*** [Do you want to be beaten up?]
10	Jeongsoo	At least, you are naughty	

		but….	
11	Sunchul		(punching Jeongsoo) ***Chungbunhee ahpuji?*** [It is painful enough, isn't it?]
12	Jeongsoo		***Hyung! Meohae?*** (talking to Minsoo, the oldest of three boys) [Brother, what are you doing now?]
13	Sunchul	Okay (looking at what Minsoo's doing)	

The continuous scenes in Transcript 9c shows how the two boys use the prejudicial term "gay" normally associated with homosexuals in order to tease and insult each other while code-switching between English and Korean back and forth. In addition to playing the dozens, another way to tease another boy in this group is to call him gay. In line 1, Jeongsoo asks Sunchul a question in English calling him "Hey, yo!" In line 6, Sunchul also uses "yo" which is an American English slang interjection originated from African Americans. The choice of English with the expression, "yo" signifies informality, male-bonding among friends, and cool, hip, and urban slang users. It is interesting when the boys play "your mama," why they use "your" instead of "yo." I assume they have heard others use "your" instead of "yo" either at school or in pop culture communication media (e.g., TV, radio, movies, or internet).

Transcript 9c. You're playing with a gay, right? YOU SHUT UP! (05-19-07 No.4)

Speaker		English	Korean
1	Jeongsoo	Hey, yo! What does "fall" mean?	
2	Sunchul	………………………………	
3	Jeongsoo		***Mooshihajima!*** [Don't ignore me.]
		Even though you are older than me!	
4	Sunchul	Level five	
			ye myotmyung isseosseo? [How many guys did you have at the level 5?]
5	Jeongsoo	………………………………	

6	Sunchul	gay	***Neo*** ***rang nolguijji?*** [You're playing with a gay, right?]
		Who do you like the most? Yo, daddy?	
7	Jeongsoo	YOU SHUT UP!	
8	Sunchul	Make me! (poking H's butt)	
9	Jeongsoo		***Nae ddongko deoisang jjirujima! Jjajungna!*** [Don't poke my butt any longer! It's frustrating!]
10	Sunchul	(burping)	
11	Jeongsoo		***Gugeo hyungyisseo?*** [Was that you, brother?]
12	Sunchul	………………………………	
13	Jeongsoo	You, so noisy!	
14	Sunchul		***Ya, neo, simsimhandae handae majeobolae?*** [Hey, dude, do you want me to punch you since I feel bored?]
15	Jeongsoo	You gay!	
16	Sunchul	You know what fourth grade means! The teacher didn't like you. That's why you had to repeat the fourth grade.	

Sunchul often does not answer Jeongsoo's questions. It is interesting that Jeongsoo speaks in Korean to Sunchul in line 3, "Don't ignore me," and then he switches to English to talk about the age difference. In line 4, when Sunchul asks Jeongsoo a question, Jeongsoo ignores him the same as Sunchul does so. Then, Sunchul teases Jeongsoo, saying in Korean, "You're playing with a gay, right?" and then switches to English, saying "Who do you like the most? Yo, daddy?" This utterance is similar to his previous utterance, "You had 'um' with your mother." I assume that the most serious playful insulting among these boys is to tease other boys about having a sexual relationship with their parents, which is part of the "your mama" routine in this boys'

group. Sunchul socializes with other boys this way using both Korean and English but he adopts the use of African American slang terms in playful practices. Sunchul also teases Jeongsoo very often by punching him or touching his butt. Jeongsoo learns how to react to Sunchul's teasing by calling Sunchul "a gay" (line 15) or saying directly "YOU SHUT UP!" (line 7) in English. The boys' expressions like "Shut up" are contrasted with Taehee's saying "Be quiet" meaning "Shut up." The boys use direct expressions while the girls use rather indirect ones.

They go on playing computer games and teasing each other in Transcript 9d. Again, homosexuality associated with English is a means to tease other boys. Sunchul's preference of speaking Korean shows that he is aware which code is more powerful to achieve goals within the boys' group.

Transcript 9d. You called me a gay. (05-19-07 No.4)

Speaker		English	Korean
1	Sunchul	 camera wrestle	***Neo, makusipeo?*** ***apaeseo*** ***haebolae?*** [Do you really want to be punched? Do you want to wrestle in front of a camera?]
2	Jeongsoo	Okay, let's wrestle.	
3	Sunchul		***Jinjja? neo hangsang jinundaedo?*** [Are you sure? Even though you always lose?]
4	Jeongsoo	(( ))	
5	Sunchul	You called me a gay.	
6	Jeongsoo	I like you are homosexual!	
7	Sunchul		***Nolril jjuldo morumyuseo!*** [You don't know how to make fun of others!]

4.4. Concluding remarks

This chapter reveals primary code-preferences: boys mainly prefer to use Korean, thereby projecting power and solidarity and reinforcing their Korean identities, whereas girls primarily prefer to use English, thereby projecting their desire to continue American social status of residence and thus constructing solidarity and power in English. When boys break the primary code preference, they reconstruct their relationships in terms of solidarity and power, using African American routines that index toughness and masculinity. Switching takes the form of using modified African American routines such as: "Your mama is…" Younger boys also use English to challenge or tease older boys, a behavior that violates Korean norms. Girls sometimes switch to Korean when they interact with the other girls with limited English proficiency; however, girls mostly use English to construct both solidarity and power. The use of English in the girls' dispute in this chapter reveals the girls' preference for English that corresponds to their perception of the world and their desire to identify themselves as residents in this country. This chapter indicates that the functions of code-switching include multiple ways to co-construct different stances and identities within the community.

Code-switching environments demand more changes and thereby reconstruct their identities in a particular context. The children strategically adopt different codes as devices that signal, inform, and pattern different events, stances, and thereby identities. The major functions of code-switching are examined under frame analysis. Korean girls conform to each other in English a lot more than Korean boys do. On the contrary, Korean boys choose the appropriate codes by which they can wield power and build solidarity with other boys. Therefore, this chapter reveals that gender identity is one of

the most important layers of constructing identities through code choices. In addition, other layers of identities such as age, American residential status, and English proficiency are interrelated with gender roles in constructing identities in highly dynamic code-switching environments. The ways children construct identities get subtle and complex in particular contexts. Thus, the meanings and functions of code-switching can be fully understandable only in a specific context with close observation and analysis. The following Chapters 5 through 7 apply the findings of this chapter, the unmarked code-preferences of the participants and the marked code-switching practices, and provide examples of how these preferences are changed, and identities thereby co-constructed in specific types of interaction.

CHAPTER V

THE USE OF CODES IN ROLE-PLAY AMONG KOREAN CHILDREN IN THE U.S.

5.1. Introduction

Chapter 5[5] examines children's role-play activities at some of the Korean children's homes and in the Korean church. Role-play is pervasive in children's interactions. Children understand and learn cultural display rules, moral values, ethnicity, and social identities through role-play in peer relations (Goodwin, 1990). As children engage in role-play, they practice various social roles and internalize social identities. When children role-play, they create various hypothetical situations where they have different roles from their reality. In this way, role-play and teasing are similar. Both cases create a different "frame" from the unmarked social interaction. Different frames are developed through role-play and teasing, which are more like playing a game than playing a theatrical type of role. Thus both role-play and teasing can be defined as subcategories of a larger category in children's play.

Children signal particular social roles and meanings in role-play through specific features of language, which index particular social meanings, activities, and situations (Ochs, 1996). More experienced children or adults socialize less experienced children to learn the cultural and linguistic knowledge and behaviors necessary to become competent

[5] The following chapter has been published in the journal of *Simulation &Gaming, 32,* 2, 240-252 under the title, "Role-play and language socialization among bilingual Korean children in the United States," has been slightly revised, and appears in this dissertation with the journal's permission.

members of a community. Social interactions involve appropriate language uses that also include social ideologies such as status, ethnicity, and morality. Children jointly construct socioculturally and linguistically appropriate identities through the process of role-play. Peer interaction provides a prime context for children's social development of their identities as more experienced children socialize less experienced children and are also socialized as facilitators in the socialization process (Goodwin, 1990).

The role-play scenes from the data which I collected for this study are used to investigate the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Bilingual children socialize themselves and jointly construct their identities through role-play in their communities of practice using specific features of language such as code-switching.

Hypothesis 2: More experienced children produce different types of language features or patterns in role-play compared to younger children.

My aim in studying role-play was to indicate probable answers to the following questions:

1. How do the bilingual Korean children in my study establish the context of role-play?
2. Who socializes whom and what becomes socialized in the frame of role-play?
3. Within a general developmental perspective, what are the observable changes in role-play between preschool/kindergarten children and elementary school-age children?

In the following discussion of the data, I present thematic examples, first describing each setting, the function of role-play, roles, and participants. The

transcription for this chapter separates communication within play in the left column of the table and metacommunication about play in the right column of the table following Andresen's (2005) transcription. I use **bold letters** for the utterances that children use to set up the role-play frames or finish the play.

5.2. Role-play using metacognitive verbs and deictics

Example 1:

Setting: Pam, a preschool girl, and Yunjung, a kindergarten girl, play in the living room at Yunjung's home.
Role-play: Catching and eating buggies
Roles: Buggy-eaters

Table 1. Two young girls

Yunjung	kindergarten, 6 years old; has lived in America for about 20 months
Pam	preschool, 5 years old; born and raised in America

Transcript 1. Pretend. Here's a bug. (02-25-07 No.3)

Speaker		Communication within play	Metacommunication about play
1	Yunjung		**This is a buggy** (pointing to a long couch cushion on the carpet). It's a BIG BIG buggy.
2	Pam	I try to eat it. Ah! It's good.	
3	Yunjung	It is?	
4	Pam	Yes, try it.	
5	Yunjung	Are you okay?	
6	Pam	Yes, try it.	
7	Yunjung	Um…	
8	Pam	It is GOODIE, huh? Let's eat together. Yum, yum. I'll put these bugs on the plate and a spoon here.	
9	Yunjung	**WOW! It's SNOWING OUTSIDE.**	
10	Pam		Where?
11	Yunjung		**Pretend.**
12	Pam	Right…It's snowing and these are good buggies.	
13	Yunjung	Snowing! Snowing!	**Pretend. Here's a bug. Here's a big bug. It's good.**
14	Pam	Wow! Yum, yum. It's good.	

15	Yunjung		**Pretend! Catch your bug! There is a big bug hiding in the closet.**
16	Pam	Let's catch the bug. I got it. Let's eat this bug. We catch a lot of bugs. **WE ARE BUGGY EATERS!**	
17	Yunjung	Do you remember?	**Pretend. These are my favorite bugs.**
18	Pam	Sure, let's eat together. Yum, yum.	

In Example 1, Yunjung initiates the play by pointing to a couch cushion and saying, "This is a buggy (meaning a bug)." She socializes Pam in the play situation using deictics many times such as, "This is a buggy," "Here is a bug," and "These are my favorite bugs," to establish the parameters of the role-play. Pam utters, "I try to eat it. It's good," and socializes Yunjung to try the bug by saying, "Try it," and "It is Goodie." When Yunjung shows her hesitation to eat bugs by saying, "Are you okay?" Pam suggests that they eat buggies together. This scene shows how children jointly construct role-play. Children socialize each other. Yunjung uses the metacommunicative verb *pretend* to set up the fictitious context within the real context. Pam responds to Yunjung's metacommunication positively so that they continue the play. She even identifies herself and Yunjung as buggy eaters.

Example 2:

Setting: Two girls, a preschool girl (Pam) and an elementary school girl (Julia, Jihae's English nickname) are sitting on the floor in a small room in the church after the lunch on Sunday.
Role-play: Finding a lost puppy
Roles: Friends who go to find a lost puppy

Table 2. Two young girls

Julia	1st grader, 7 years old; has lived in America for about 15 months
Pam	preschool, 5 years old; born and raised in America

Transcript 2. Let's say we lost her! (02-25-07 No.2)

Speaker		Communication within play	Metacommunication about play
1	Pam	Where's the puppy? Where's the puppy?	
2	Julia	She's gone.	
3	Pam	We lost her?	
4	Julia	No, she's gone. (They are wearing their shoes and are about to leave the room.) She goes to her house.	
			Let's say we lost her! (They start to run fast to the bathroom.)
5	Pam	Puppy! Puppy! Where is it? Puppy, Puppy! (They went to the bathroom and closed the door.)	
6	Julia	What a world! We have to find the puppy. We're sitting on the tree! (Julia is likely to be sitting on the toilet when she says this.)	
7	Pam	We have to find the puppy. Where is it?	
8	Julia	We can find it, but they can't.	
9	Pam	Where is it? What's there?	
10	Julia	Oh, Boy! There is a man (whispering).	
11	Pam	Ooooh! Ooooooh!	
12	Julia	There's a spider!	
13	Pam	Where?	
14	Julia	There! Who is that? (They open the door.)	
			Oi-ja-kku-wo-ri-dda-ra-wa-yo! [Why are you following us?] (as they opened the bathroom door and saw me in front of the bathroom)
15	Pam		***Oi-ja-kku-wo-ri-dda-ra-wa-yo!*** [Why are you following us?]

In Example 2, it is hard to tell what puppy Pam is looking for at the beginning, but Julia suggests that the puppy went to her house. Then, she uses a metacommunicative sentence, "Let's say we lost her" to create a hypothetical situation. Pam pretends to look

for the puppy right away. It is interesting that the two girls run to the bathroom to find the lost puppy. The two girls agree to construct the hypothetical context and continue to search for the puppy. As soon as they leave the bathroom and see me, they switch to Korean. They abandoned the role-play context by speaking Korean. It is usual for them to speak to Korean adults in Korean in the community. In this situation, code-switching signals the real context, so it is metacommunicative because it breaks the frame of role-play completely. Then the two girls start to run outside.

Example 3:

Setting: Two siblings, Sungah & Yunjung, and Yunjung's friend, Pam are playing at the two siblings' apartment. Sungah is a second grader while Pam is a preschool learner and Yunjung is a kindergarten learner. At the beginning of the scene, the oldest child, Sungah, sets up a lot of rules and socializes the other two young girls in a game of tossing balloons.
Role-play: Getting rid of all buggies from the farm
Roles: Farmers

Table 3. Three young girls

Sungah	2nd grader, 8 years old; has lived in America for about 20 months; Yunjung's older sister
Yunjung	kindergarten, 6 years old; has lived in America for about 20 months
Pam	preschool, 5 years old; born and raised in America

Transcript 3. Now! These are little bugs. (02-25-07 No.3)

Speaker		Communication within play	Metacommunication about play
1	Sungah		Okay, now you use your hands. You guys, use your hands as a bat. Screw over, screw back, okay. More, more, okay. That's the line, okay. Get all the balloons here. Okay, okay, Yunjung, go to your team. Don't let it go on the ground. And then, you guys will lost your points. You! You crossed the line. You guys lose a point.
2	Yunjung		You guys lose a point…
3	Sungah		Get the balloons. Don't hold it. You guys lose a point.

4	Pam		You crossed the point.
5	Sungah		No, you lose the point. Now, you guys hit the bat…Ready?
6	Pam		Not yet, not yet. I cross my point.
7	Sungah		**NOW! These are little bugs.** (pointing to balloons) **Get them in your farm.**
8	Pam		What?
9	Sungah	These shouldn't be in my farm.	
10	Pam	I don't want them in my farms.	
11	Yunjung	Shoo, Shoo.	
12	Sungah	Get the buggies out of my farms.	
13	Yunjung	Shoo, Shoo	
14	Pam	Buggies are in my farm.	
15	Sungah		**Okay! This is the line.** Yunjung, Get out. Yunjung.
16	Pam		What's that? What's that?
17	Sungah		**This is the line**. (placing three long cushions from the couch on the floor)
18	Pam		I thought that's a pillow.
		I don't like this bug. Buggy, buggy. Shoo, shoo	
19	Yunjung	Shoo, shoo	
20	Pam	I hate these bugs.	
21	Yunjung	Rabbits, rabbits (jumping and acting like a rabbit)	
22	Sungah	I thought you liked these bugs.	
23	Yunjung	Rabbits, rabbits	
24	Sungah	You, rabbit! Get out of this farm. Where are buggies?	
25	Pam	Crocodiles! (throwing a pillow)	
			I'm just sweating.
26	Mother		***Sung-ah-ya, pal-li-ga, yang-chi-ha-go, pal-li-ga!*** [Sungah! Time to go! Brush your teeth and hurry up!]
27	Pam		Do you learn violin? I hate it. (looking at Sungah's violin) I want to eat something.

In Example 3, line 7, Sungah uses the deictic term *NOW* to signal that they are doing something different from before. After that, she points to the balloons and says, "These are little bugs. Get them in your farm." By saying this, she creates the fictitious play context, as if they are in the farm to get rid of the bugs. It is interesting to see how Sungah goes back and forth between the fictitious and the real contexts. When she says, "This is the line," pointing to three cushions to draw the line between farms, she comes back to the real context. We can see the older child, Sungah, socializes the younger children by dominating the metacommunicative utterances to create the fictitious reality. Sungah's mother shows up and suddenly breaks the play frame in line 26. She says it is time for Sungah to go take her violin lesson. Her speaking Korean in this context draws a line between the children's hypothetical situation and reality.

5.3. Cultural identity formation

The Korean community I observed functions as an example of communities of practice encompassing Korean kinship in their social relations in American culture. New comers in a temporarily new culture are situated in a peculiar community where more experienced children and newly arrived children exchange their different cultural norms and jointly construct a unique cultural interface between Korean and American cultures. The following two examples show how more experienced children socialized less experienced children using more implicit realistic role-play.

Example 4:

Setting: It is lunch time at the Korean church on Sunday. Five girls are having lunch together. Soowon and Sungah are talking about their headbands. Julia (Jihae's English nickname) and Jenny (Seungyon's English nickname) sit facing each other. Hyeyoung sits next to Julia.
Role-play: Teasing and moral value
Roles: Accusers, the accused, and the audience

Table 4. Five young girls

Julia	1st grader, 7 years old; has lived in America for about 15 months
Jenny	Kindergarten, 6 years old; born and raised in America
Hyeyoung	Kindergarten, 6 years old; born and raised in America
Sungah	2nd grader, 8 years old; has lived in America for about 20 months
Soowon	2nd grader, 8 years old; boran and raised in America; more proficient in English than in Korean

Transcript 4. I'm gonna call the cops. (02-25-07 No.1)

Speaker		Communication within play	Metacommunication about play
1	Julia	I drank all this much, a lot, this much. (boasting and pointing to the piled paper cups)	
2	Jenny		You stole the….***neo, jin-jja ahn-ya, jin-jja ahn-ya,*** [you, you are lying, that is not true, you are lying]
3	Julia		I know, I know…
4	Hyeyoung		Just put them back, just put them back.
5	Julia		I know I know….
6	Soowon		**Wooh, Wooh**…. (Soowon picks on Julia by making this loud, long sound, and Julia taps chopsticks on the table, staring at others)
		I am gonna call the cops. 911…(pretending to dial and to hold a phone to her ear) Police officer, Julia stole the cups. (Soowon and Sungah stretch their arms and point to Julia together.) Police officer, you should put Julia in the jail. (pretending to listen to the police officer) Oh, yeah, oh, yeah, yeah, whatever.	
7	Sungah	He's gonna put you in the jail!	
8	Soowon	Who says a girl stole some… Julia stole some… (in a sing-song voice) Okay, okay. You shouldn't do that (looking at Julia). Anybody can be put in the jail.	
9	Mother		***Geu-man, geu-man, ya-du-lah, da- meok-go nol-ah*** [Stop, stop,

		you guys, eat, eat first and then play.]
10	Soowon	***Nan, nan, yi-ge pyun-hae, Seong-yon-ee-nun dda-run-sae-kal-do yee-sseo*** [Me, me, I feel this way more comfortable. My sister, Seungyon, has different color headbands.] (Soowon and Sungah are returning their real talk about their headbands after one of the mothers told them to behave at the meal table.)

Example 4 illustrates how more experienced and older elementary schoolers socialize less experienced and younger kindergarteners using role-play. This role-play is fundamentally different from the previous two examples. While the first two examples set up totally fictitious situations, this one is more of an evaluation of the "real" situation. In the current example, the entire role-play is a kind of metacommunication because it comments on Julia's behavior. In line 6, Soowon signals the hypothetical situation by making a loud sound and directly says that she is going to call the police officers. Another elementary school grader (Sungah) agrees with Soowon and says explicitly that the police officer is going to put Julia in jail. Through these interactions in this role-play, children learn the socially acceptable moral that stealing is wrong; however, the two more experienced girls are not very serious in their tones. They play these interactions for fun and the other children do not look very serious either. Compared to the previous preschool learners and kindergarten children's role-play, this example of role-play is more direct and closer to real contexts than the fantastical role-play of the previous examples.

In line 9, one of the mothers interrupts the children's role-play and instructs the children in Korean on how to behave at meal time. This mother's comments are no different than the mother's comments in the previous role-play example (Transcript 3 in Example 3). One of the children's mothers shows up and suddenly breaks the play frame in line 9. She tells the children to stop talking and instead eat first and then play. Her speaking in Korean in this context draws a line between the children's role-play context and the lunchtime context. The mother's choice of Korean embeds Korean cultural norms about table manners. Parents socialize their children using the children's mother tongue, Korean, in the Korean community. The children learn how to behave appropriately through Korean from their parents in the communities of practice.

Example 5:

Setting: Two boys, an upper elementary school boy and a middle school boy, are having lunch at a separate table from the girls in the same lunchroom at a Korean Baptist church in the United States. Doosoo is standing next to two boys close to the door. A Korean American female caretaker, Anne, who usually has lunch with the girls, is entering the room. Anne speaks English and does not speak Korean. Anne sometimes teases misbehaving boys. For example, when she played hand games with the girls on the same day, some boys made loud noises. At that time, Anne sang a song loudly, especially the part in which the lyrics say, "BOYS ARE STUPID." The boys and Anne often tease each other.
Role-play: Teasing, Monologic play; female caretaker's breaking the frame by ignoring the boy who teases her.
Roles: a teaser (Doosoo), an ignorer (a caretaker, Anne), and a socializer (an elder boy, Minsoo)

Table 5. Two preadolescent boys and a Korean American female caretaker

Doosoo	5th grader, 11 years old; temporarily resides in America with his mother and sister for the purpose of learning English; has been in America for about 5 months; poor English but eager to learn
Minsoo	7th grader, 13 years old; temporarily resides in America for his father's occupation as a visiting professor; has been in America for about two years
Anne	Korean American female caretaker; 21 years old; born and raised in America; speaks English only

Transcript 5. Do you know what 'freaking' means? (02-11-07 No.1)

Speaker		Communication within play	Metacommunication about play
1	Doosoo		***Dol-meo-ri-ga na-rul ddae-ri-da-ni*** [An idiot hit me!] (Anne is entering the room, passing by Doosoo)
		You FREAKING fat!	
2	Anne	Huh?	
3	Doosoo	(a bit hesitating) You FAT!	
4	Anne	(staring at him)	
5	Doosoo	I know you fat! You FREAKING fat. You FREAKING STUPID! Your face looks like Pringles.	
6	Anne	(staring at him directly) GOOD FOR YOU!	
7	Doosoo	Good for your husband. Pringles! You said Pringles FREAKING YUMMY!	
8	Anne	(She ignored Doosoo and left the room.)	
9	Minsoo		***Neo-freaking-yi moen-ji al-ah?*** [Do you know what "freaking" means?]
10	Doosoo		Uh…Freak?
11	Minsoo		Freaking…
12	Doosoo		Freaking?
13	Minsoo		***An-jo-ah*** [It is not good.]
14	Doosoo		Freaky-***nun mon-ji al-ah,*** freaking-***un mon-ji mol-la.*** [I know what "freaky" means, but I don't know what "freaking" means.]
15	Minsoo		Fuck you-***ya***, fuck you….[It means "fuck you…fuck you."]
16	Doosoo		NO!!!
17	Minsoo		Fuck you-***ya***, ***sseu-ji-ma***! [It means "fuck you." Don't use the word.]
18	Doosoo		***Mol-lan-nun-dae? Nae-chin-gu*** [I didn't know that… My friend…]
19	Minsoo		***Na-do, yen-nal-ean sseo-sseo-nun-dae, chin-gu-dul-yi sseu-ji-mal-lae!*** [I used to use the word

		but my friend advised me not to do it. Don't use the word!]
20	Doosoo	***Mi-chin-ee-ran ddeu-si-ya, Hyung, bag-gae-na-ga-seo nol-ja*** [I thought it meant "crazy," brother, let's play outside.] (The boys go outside.)

Example 5 presents in what ways the boy's teasing is broken. In my observation, the elementary school boys don't role-play often; instead, they create teasing situations frequently. Example 5 is more realistic play than role-play. The younger boy, who is a new-comer, challenges the more experienced and older caretaker by saying bad words in line 1; however, the caretaker, Anne, does not respond to him directly. She shows her response by ignoring and staring at him. The caretaker in line 6 says, "Good for you," and breaks the frame by leaving the room. The boy keeps practicing the word *freaking* for fun. In line 9, a more experienced, middle-school-age Korean boy socializes the younger boy by talking in Korean. He advises the young boy not to use bad words and tells him freaking means fucking. The older boy's explanation of the meaning of freaking isn't completely accurate, but he speaks in Korean to teach the younger boy how to behave in terms of his language. It is interesting because the older boy does not point out the problem of teasing the caretaker but focuses on bad words. It is also interesting that the older boy uses Korean and not English to teach the young boy how to behave. If adults had been there, they probably would have admonished the younger boy not to tease the caretaker as well.

5.4. Concluding remarks

This chapter presents children's role-play within the framework of language socialization. The five examples of role-play show some evidence to confirm Hypotheses

1 and 2. Some specific features of language in role-play are metacommunicative verbs, deictics, and code-switching. In my data, the older children produce more implicit and realistic metacommunication in role-play and teasing, whereas the younger children develop more explicit and fictitious metacommunication in role-play. Children learn how to become engaged in role-play and how to differentiate fiction and reality, develop peer relations, and construct their identities, which are contextually driven, through role-play using specific features of language.

Future research is necessary to identify the specific developmental processes in their role-play; however, this study shows some observable changes between the younger and older children. Noticeable changes in role-play between preschool/kindergarten children and elementary school-age children seem to be that children develop their role-play from fantasy-based frames toward more reality-based frames as they get older. Children learn to use different mediating tools between fiction and reality: first, the younger children use explicit metacognitive verbs such as *pretend* and contextual cues such as deictics whereas the older children develop more implicit and realistic metacommunication. Furthermore, when the older or more experienced children or adults instruct the younger or less experienced children on how to behave, they use Korean most often. In this way, the young bilingual Korean children practice social roles and internalize social identities using both languages in the community of practice. In role-play contexts, code-switching to Korean helps the children learn how to behave in the Korean community and thus how to develop bilingual identities using both English and Korean appropriately in peer relations or under the guidance of Korean adults.

CHAPTER VI

"YOUR MAMA" ROUTINE AMONG PREADOLESCENT BOYS

6.1. Introduction

Chapter 6 explores the ways in which five preadolescent Korean boys (re)construct their identities when they break the frame of primary code preference (Korean) and code-switch to English while playing a modified form of the African American verbal routine: "your mama." This chapter analyzes the functions and effects of "your mama" among the boys and the functions and meanings of code-switching through this play. In particular, this chapter examines what motivates the boys to break their primary preferred code and to code-switch to English when they play "your mama." I conducted a brief informal interview in Korean with one of the five boys (Kangkook) to ask some questions relating to the "your mama" routine. The following is an excerpt from his response, translated into English:

> *You know, kids learn "your mama" naturally from friends the same as they learn other things. It's very simple why they play "your mama": to play with others and have fun during break time at school. You know, it's fun to make fun of others. You know, kids always learn something bad first…Fourth and fifth graders play "your mama" the most. Well, seventh and eighth graders stop playing it. I know some kids sometimes Google "your mama" to look for better insults. Sunchul is the best player here. I am not good at playing it…My friends at my school, they say "yo, mama" instead of "your mama." I don't know why.* (Kangkook, a participant)

His utterances reflect important aspects of playing the "your mama" routine in the boys' group, including 1) expression of playfulness through making fun of others, 2) age

boundaries between "your mama" players (fourth and fifth graders) and non-players (seventh and eighth graders), 3) competitions (searching for better expressions), 4) Sunchul as a socializer of the routine (the best player), and 5) a pronunciation variation (saying "your mama" instead of "yo mama"). In relation to the age boundaries, Sunchul (the best player of the routine) is a sixth grader but he still participates in the routine. His grade lies in the borderline between the players and non-players of the routine.

Although many of the examples of signifying in this chapter are not typical "yo mama" routines, all given examples are, in some way, a variation of the "yo mama" routine. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, Section 1.6, I refer to the Korean boys' variations of the "yo mama" routine as "your mama" in this study because that is the language used by the participants. It is also important to remember that "your mama" represents what the Korean children in this study are doing, not necessarily what African American children are doing when they play "yo mama." My data show examples of "your mama" routines—disputes and play including some variation of the "your mama" routine. Outside of a play situation, the "your mama" routines in this chapter would seem insulting. For instance, in one example, Sunchul tells another boy, "You had 'um' with your mom"; however, the boys are aware that they are playing when they participate in "your mama" routines. The formal features of the routine indicate that the function of the routine is "to arouse emotions in the absence of directive intent" (Abrahams, 1962, p. 256). For example, in the "your mama" routine, players understand that they are playing from the structural features of the routine (e.g. "Your mama is so fat/ugly/old etc"). The functional features of the routine may indicate three levels of the "your mama" routine: just playing; having a dispute in which "your mama" routines are not to be taken literally

but as a means of verbally sparring to jockey for higher status; and seriously disputing. The Korean boys in my study seem to use the first two levels in the routine but use the Korean language for serious disputes (e.g. in Chapter 4, Kangkook uses Korean to accuse Doosoo of calling him a psycho).

To summarize, this chapter analyzes the use of the "your mama" routine by the Korean boys to understand how this discursive practice contributes to their construction of social identities and what it means for them to code-switch between English and Korean during play. There are five boys who play the "your mama" routine in the Korean community being studied here (See Table 1 below). Three of the boys (Sunchul, Jeongsoo, and Doosoo) actively get involved in playing "your mama" whereas the two older boys (Kangkook and Minsoo) do not show much interest in it. They are older and their English is not proficient enough to play "your mama." Although the oldest boy, Minsoo, is present in some examples, he is almost always silent; whenever the other boys talk to Minsoo, they show him great respect because he is the oldest. Whenever other boys switch to English, Minsoo and Kangkook seem to assert their authority by remaining silent. They seem to follow Korean norms: older individuals receive respect from younger individuals; and silence is golden. The following sections discuss seven examples of the Korean boys' playing "your mama."

Table 1. Five preadolescent boys

Kangkook	7th grader, 14 years old; temporarily resides in America with his mother and sister for the purpose of learning English; has been in America for about 10 months; poor at English
Minsoo	7th grader, 13 years old; temporarily resides in America for his father's occupation as a visiting professor; has been in America for about 9 months; poor at English
Sunchul	6th grader, 12 years old; son of a prominent family; moved to America at the age of 5; more proficient in English than in Korean
Doosoo	5th grader, 11 years old; temporarily resides in America with his mother

	and sister for the purpose of learning English; has been in America for about 8 months by data collection; poor English but eager to learn
Jeongsoo	4th grader, 10 years old; temporarily resides in America for his father's occupation as a visiting professor; has been in America for about 17 months; improved his English since coming to America

6.2. Dueling "your mama"

Participants: Sunchul [6th grader, 12 years old, for 8 years in America], Jeongsoo [4th, 10, for 17 months], Minsoo [7th, 14, for 9 months]

Setting: Sunchul and Jeongsoo are sitting on the bed in Sunchul's room, and Minsoo is sitting on a desk chair right next to the bed. They are playing video games and talking. Sunchul and Jeongsoo are talking to each other whereas Minsoo does not speak much. The younger boy, Jeongsoo, is learning how to play from Sunchul, but he is not as good at it. Then at the end, the younger boy, Jeongsoo, misunderstands "genes" for "jeans" which is the reason he says "you got her shoes."

Transcript 1. Dueling "your mama" (05-19-07 No.4)

	Speaker	English	Korean
1	Sunchul		Ya, neo jinjja mossangyodda! [Hey, you are so ugly!]
2	Jeongsoo	You're uglier. He's the ugliest person in the world.	
3	Sunchul	His mama's so fat! His mama's so stupid she tripped over her wireless cord.	
4	Jeongsoo	Your mama's so dumb that she tripped over an invisible rope.	
5	Sunchul	It's the same thing, kid.	
6	Jeongsoo	Your mama's so fat. She can't fit in Grand Canyon.	
7	Sunchul	Your mama's so fat so that she cannot fit in the universe.	
8	Jeongsoo	……………………………..	
9	Sunchul	Ooohhh BURN!	
10	Jeongsoo	What the freaking (___) is universe?	
11	Sunchul	See, that's how dumb your mother is! You got her genes so.	
12	Jeongsoo	What do you mean I got her jeans?	
13	Sunchul	You got her genes.	
14	Jeongsoo	Well, you got her shoes.	

15	Sunchul	You had ‘um’ with your mom.	
16	Jeongsoo		***Sunchul hyungun neom direowoe.*** [Brother, Sunchul is so dirty.]
		He’s so disgusting. He always talks about something things.	
17	Sunchul		***Hyung! Yigeo jeojanghal pilyo uepjji?*** [Brother! I don’t have to save this, right?] (asking the other boy, Minsoo what to do with the computer game he’s playing)
18	Jeongsoo	You are so ugly.	
19	Sunchul	………………………….	
20	Jeongsoo	Do you think you are handsome?	
21	Sunchul	………………………….	

Transcript 1 presents how the Korean boys use “your mama” insults to jockey for respect and power, appropriating somewhat Americanized identities. It displays the younger boy Jeongsoo’s attempt to engage in verbal dueling with the older boy, Sunchul. As the Korean boys play the traditional African American verbal game, this scene reveals their appropriation of African American or hip-hop identity. American children without parents around will say these types of things as well, for male-bonding or male-solidarity. Sunchul initiates the conversation by saying, “Hey, you are so ugly” in Korean. Then, Jeongsoo starts to “play the dozens.” Lines 2 through 13 present the ways that the two boys try to earn bragging rights in a battle of words. Whereas Sunchul has lived in America more than 8 years, Jeongsoo has only been in America for about 17 months but plays the game pretty well. Nevertheless, in line 9, Sunchul establishes he is winning over Jeongsoo by saying “Ooohhh burn” which means “I one-upped you,” or “Got you!” These phrases are commonly used by Sunchul in other scenes that are not present in this

study. With such expressions, Sunchul establishes his hierarchy at the top by saying in English that his insult was better.

In line 15, Sunchul says, “You had ‘Um’ with your mom,” which crosses the line of the game. Jeongsoo breaks the frame of “playing the dozens” by code-switching and speaking in Korean in line 16: “Brother, Sunchul is so dirty.” Then he switches back to English saying, “He’s so disgusting. He always talks about something things.” His switch to English may imply a metapragmatic meaning; he takes advantage of an American norm, “being equal with friends,” by switching into English so he can evaluate his older friend’s disgusting speech. This is not appropriate for younger boys to do in Korean, and that is probably why he switches back to English quickly. While Sunchul in line 17 asks a question to the oldest boy, Minsoo, Jeongsoo seems to want to continue to play the “your mama” routine, saying “You are so ugly” in line 18. However, Sunchul ignores that signal by simply saying nothing. In this way, Sunchul wields his power, in a way that only people with power can do. This silence represents a change in his stance or positioning.

Sunchul socializes the other boys through playing “your mama.” He plays multiple roles in the middle of the routine. For example, his utterance in line 5, “That’s the same thing, kid” indexes an identity divider, kid vs. adult. It indexes that he doesn’t identify himself as a kid any more. Then the following utterances (“Your mama’s so fat that she can’t fit in the universe,” “Ooooo BURN!” “You got her genes,” and “You had ‘um’ with your mama”) show off his competent verbal skills. These examples indicate that Sunchul playing “your mama” with anybody else in the boys’ group cannot be a real competition because he is already the best. In addition, Sunchul provides scaffolding for

novices to help them get involved in this situated activity. In this sense, he is playing it but he is not really playing it; however, he is still a boy so he also wants to play and have fun. This is probably one of the reasons he spreads this "your mama" routine to the boys' group where it demands and creates a new identity marker for the Korean boys in the community. The ability to play "your mama" for younger boys is one way to gain membership in the group.

6.3. "This is better because of your mama!"

Participants: Sunchul [6th grader, 12 years old, for 8 years in America], Jeongsoo [4th, 10, for 17 months], Kangkook [7th, 14, for 10 months]

Setting: The three boys are playing video games in the living room at one of their homes after church. They had played video games more than three hours by the time I videotaped example 5. Sunchul points out Kangkook's frequent use of a Korean word meaning "because." They start to talk about the Korean usage of this word.

Transcript 2. This is better because of your mama! (04-01-07 No.4)

	Speaker	English	Korean
1	Sunchul		***Hyungeun moojogeon yiyoora halddae owinyarago, owi gureokae yiyagihae?*** [Brother, when you say a reason in Korean, why do you always start with "because"?]
2	Kangkook		***Ya, owinyarago haeyadoiji?*** [Hey, we should use "because", right?] (asking Jeongsoo for confirmation)
3	Jeongsoo		***Uh.*** [Yes.]
4	Kangkook		***Hangookaeseonun owinyahanyun buchuyahae.*** [In Korea, you should use "because" to state a reason.]
5	Sunchul		***Gurae?*** [Really?]
6	Kangkook	Because, because…	
			Ya [(That means) because, because…]

7	Sunchul		***Nan yireokae,*** [I say this way,]
		"This is better because of your mama!"	
			Gureokae yaegihanundae. [I say that way.]

Transcript 2 shows how Sunchul spreads the "your mama" routine to other boys by creating a variation of it. His comment, "This is better because of your mama!" does not follow the typical formation of "your mama" insults, but it has the same function, playfully making fun of others. At the beginning of this example, Korean is used for the boys' discussion of language usage. Sunchul attempts to learn the usage of "because" in Korean from the other boys. Then, Sunchul in line 7 switches to English to give an example of his saying "your mama": "This is better because of your mama!" This statement implies "I slept with your mama" among "your mama" users. Sunchul tries to reassert his status in English with this expression after being one-down in Korean, especially to Kangkook. Right after that utterance, Sunchul switches to Korean for metapragmatic commentary ("I say this way"). In this way, Sunchul indirectly teaches other boys how to create variations of "your mama", mixing English and Korean.

6.4. "Oh, my mom!" and "What the mama!"

Participants: Sunchul [6th grader, 12 years old, for 8 years in America], Jeongsoo [4th, 10, for 17 months], Kangkook [7th, 14, for 10 months]

Setting: The three boys are playing video games in the living room at one of their homes after church. Sunchul seems to make a mistake and says "Oh, MY MOM!" and after that they engage in word play.

Transcript 3. Oh, my mom! What the mama! (04-01-07 No.3)

	Speaker	English	Korean
1	Sunchul	Oh, MY MOM!	
2	Kangkook		{***Yenun yenun***
			{[He, he]
3	Jeongsoo		{***Owi***
			{[Why!]
4	Kangkook		***Yenun***
			[He]
		"Oh, my god!"	
			yirago ahnhago
			[doesn't say]
		"Mama"	
			rago
			[Rather, he says]
		"What the mama."	
			rago
			[He says]
5	Jeongsoo		***Nanun***
			[I]
		"Holy pumpkin"	
			yirago hanundae.
			[say]
6	Sunchul		***Wooriga dalra!*** (laughing)
			[We are different!] (laughing)
7	Jeongsoo		***Gurigo nanun***
			[And I say]
		"oh my god"	
8	Kangkook		***Gurum nanun***
			[Then, I would say,]
		holy horse	
9	Sunchul		***Ung?***
			[What?]
10	Kangkook	HOLY Horse!	
11	Jeongsoo	Hahaha	
12	Sunchul	Haha, Holy horse…	
13	Jeongsoo		***Doosoo hyungun***
			[then brother Doosoo (might say),]
		"Holy fat cow!"	
14	Sunchul	Haha, holy fat cow	
15	Jeongsoo		***Nanun***
			[I (would say),]
		Holy pumpkin	
16	Sunchul	Hey, why did you touch my hair?	

Although Sunchul is the expert at playing “your mama,” this whole discussion in this transcript aims to make fun of Sunchul’s lack of creativity, which thus contributes to his temporary lower status which others are happy to help him construct. While Sunchul mostly wields his power in the construction of the “your mama” routine, using his high English proficiency, in this transcript, the power relationships between Sunchul and other boys are transgressed because here, Sunchul is neither playing around with “your mama” nor is creating a new phrases. The boys also make fun of Doosoo, who is not present, by projecting what he would say and laugh about it.

Sunchul uses “Oh, MY MOM!” as an exclamation for frustration like “Oh my gosh!” This usage is slightly different from “your mama” in the previous example. He switches the diectics from “your” to “my” in this example. “My” indicates a relation to the speaker whereas “your” indexes a relation to the addressee. Then Kangkook in line 4 discusses Sunchul’s use of “mama” and “what the mama.” Korean is again used in the boys’ descriptions of their language use, i.e. metapragmatics, in “your mama.” Kangkook’s utterance shows Sunchul frequently uses an expression, “what the mama,” which can mean different things based on different contexts (e.g. a substitute for f…). Jeongsoo and Kangkook then play around with phrases like “Holy pumpkin,” “Holy cow,” and “Holy horse.” In the middle of this language game, Sunchul in line 6 shows his different stance by code-switching to Korean and saying, “We are different.” This utterance essentially argues that the group is “different” from those who use “your mama,” and thus “your mama” should not be used as a basis for judging the social position of others. The code-switching to Korean supports this argument as well. After

that, Jeongsoo guesses that Doosoo might say “holy fat cow.” This phrase expresses surprise or annoyance so it might suggest that Doosoo annoys others.

6.5. “Your mama” and “That’s funny”

Participants: Sunchul [6th grader, 12 years old, for 8 years in America], Jeongsoo [4th, 10, for 17 months]

Setting: Sunchul and Jeongsoo are playing video games in the living room at one of their homes after church. Sunchul makes a mistake while playing a game so he seems to show frustration by saying “your mama.”

Transcript 4. Your mama. That’s funny. (04-01-07 No.3)

	Speaker	English	Korean
1	Sunchul	Your mama	
2	Jeongsoo		***Woosupda!*** [That’s funny!]
3	Sunchul	What? She’s not stupid as your mama though.	
4	Jeongsoo	She’s smarter though…	
5	Sunchul		***Kundae yigeo myutsigan gileoyo? Um…, gugeo geogi myutsigan jjikeosseoyo?*** [By the way, how long is that? Um…, how long have you videotaped?]

Sunchul’s use of “your mama” changes in its pragmatic force based on what types of identities and attitudes he is indexing at the time. In this scene, it may be a substitute for profanity and thus his use of “your mama” is indexical. From an indexical point of view, the meaning changes not just because of the context, but because of what the language is referring to and evaluating at the time of utterance. Jeongsoo responds, “That’s funny” in Korean, which has an evaluative and metapragmatic function. In the preceding example, the other boys also teased Sunchul about his use of “your mama.” Then, Sunchul’s response in English (“She’s not stupid as your mama, though”) is intended as a play insult to Jeongsoo’s mother, but it also implies that Sunchul’s mother

is also stupid. Jeongsoo is trying to say that his mother is smarter. After that, Sunchul switches to Korean to express his concern about being videotaped.

6.6. "Your mama" and "That's not right"

Participants: Sunchul [6th grader, 12 years old, for 8 years in America], Doosoo [5th, 11, for 8 months], Jeongsoo [4th, 10, for 17 months]

Setting: This scene takes place right before lunch at the Korean church. Three boys are talking to each other by the piano off screen. The other children are sitting and ready to eat their lunch. Because the scene takes place off screen, it is sometimes difficult to tell which boy is speaking at each time. In this conversation, they are practicing verbal dueling.

Transcript 5. Your mama. That's not right. (02-04-07 No.1)

	Speaker	English	Korean
1	Doosoo	Your mama! (____)=.	
2	Jeongsoo	Enough! Your face is (____).	=***Ya, yigae ahnira*** =[Hey, that's not right.]
3	(?)	(Laughter)	
4	Doosoo	Cuss (Curse) your mama.	
5	Jeongsoo	Oh, he said curse your mama.	
6	Sunchul	Ok, SURE WHY NOT?	
7	(?)	((Laughter))	
8	Doosoo	CUSS!	
9	Sunchul	I just did.	
10	Doosoo	Your face is so (____). (sounds like "real")	
11	Sunchul	Your face is so ugly that you don't even have a girlfriend—nobody will date you!	
12	(?)	(____)=	
13	Doosoo	= Hey, you gay, you have-um-boyfriend! Also, his name's –uh– Lenny!	
14	Sunchul		***Ya, jigum kamera jjikgo yitnungeo alji?*** [Hey, remember we are being videotaped now?]
15	Doosoo	I KNOW. Hey! CUSS your mama (leaves)	

Doosoo's utterance in line 1 shows how a novice English learner learns to play the "your mama" routine. Doosoo imitates the prosodic features with a highly aggressive

cursing tone, shakes his hands in the air like a rapper, and uses the easiest key words, "Your mama," repetitively; his English proficiency is not good enough to insert appropriate phrases in order to play "your mama," which may be why the rest of the utterance is inaudible. In line 2, Jeongsoo points out in Korean, "That's not right," which shows his metapragmatic commentary on Doosoo's utterance, including his instruction for socializing a novice player.

Jeongsoo's switch to English (telling Doosoo, "Enough") represents a kind of metapragmatic commentary because it represents a change from the previous code (Korean) to English and gives a different evaluation on Doosoo's utterance. Jeongsoo's code-switching here is an example of a footing shift with a different stance and of a contextualization cue to establish a play context. Right after that, he takes a different alignment, shifting from a negative judgment to a positive one in order to signal his desire to play "Your mama." Jeongsoo wants to duel with Doosoo by playing "your mama," which he indicates in line 2 by starting with "Your face"; however, the acceptability of Doosoo's response is questioned when he says "Cuss your mama" in line 4 effectively ending the duel. Doosoo uses the vernacular form "Cuss." It is probably what the children he knows usually say.

Then, Sunchul says, "SURE WHY NOT!" in line 6, which probably means, "Sure, who cares!" His utterance implies that it is acceptable to curse another's mother within the routine. Then, in line 10, Jeongsoo still wants to play and says "Your mama…" Sunchul in line 11 actively participates in the event and socializes novices by modeling the appropriate way to initiate "your mama." But as a response, Doosoo uses "gay" to insult the other boys or to make them uncomfortable as part of a male-bonding situation.

He works hard to keep the game going but in a way his word choices stretch the limits of acceptable speech with the other boys (e.g. "Your mama" with inaudible speech, "Cuss your mama," "CUSS," "Hey, you gay, you have-um-boyfriend!"). As a result, Sunchul warns Doosoo in line 14 not to say these expressions in public, by code-switching into Korean. Sunchul's code-switching to Korean in line 14 has multiple indexicality: a) it breaks the frame of playing "your mama," functioning as a contextualization cue to give comments on the other novices' play, b) it is metapragmatic, explaining that it is not okay to say certain things in public, c) Sunchul plays an adult's role by socializing and instructing young children to say the right thing, and d) as a result, he changes his stance from an equal or more experienced player to an authoritative instructor.

6.7. "Can I have some milky mama?"

Participants: *Boys*-Sunchul [6th grader, 12 years old, for 8 years in America], Doosoo [5th, 11, for 8 months], Jeongsoo [4th, 10, for 17 months], Kangkook [7th, 14, for 10 months] *Girls*-Pam [kindergarten, 6, Sunchul's sister, born in America], Yunjung [kindergarten, 6, for 2 & a half years in America], & *Sunday school teacher* [female, graduate student] (*Girls' names and the teacher's name are italicized* in Transcript 2 to differentiate from boys.)

Setting: This scene takes place in a Sunday school classroom after class. The Sunday school teacher hands out Korean candies to the children as rewards. The boys do not participate in the Sunday school class since they join the worship service with the adults. They are outside and talking through the window to ask for the candies. The girls in example 2 are inside. Children are everywhere; it is chaotic and noisy.

Transcript 6. Can I have some milky mama? (03-25-07 No.1)

	Speaker	English	Korean
1	*Pam*		***Naga! Ohpa, naga! Ohpa, naga!*** [<u>Get away! Brother, get away! Brother, get away!</u>]
2	Sunchul	Make me!	
3	Doosoo	Ohhhhh! Ahhhh (bang!) Can I have some milky … something?	
4	Sunchul		{***Ya, Jeongsooah, ummaga yonjuhanungeo gajimalae.***

			{[Hey, Jeongsoo, my mom told me not to go to the concert.]
5	Doosoo	{Milky mama! Can I have some milky mama? Milky mama, milky mama, milky mama…	
6	*Yunjung*	Um, um, Go, go, go!	
7	Doosoo	Can I have some milky mama?=	
8	*Yunjung*		=***Ohpa, Oewoeyahae!*** =[Brother, I will have to memorize that!] (A boy tries to take her paper.)
9	Sunchul	BACK OFF!	
10	Kangkook		{***Ahhhhhhh!*** {[Ahhhhhhh!]
11	*Yunjung*	{Back off, back off, back off!	
12	Kangkook		***Ya, na meori jjeojjana!*** [Hey, my head was hit!]
13	Sunchul	For your mama, OK? You BACK OFF; you're NOT the BOSS of me, OK? (talking to the girl, *Yunjung*)	
14	Jeongsoo		***Hyung! Hyung!*** [Brother, brother!]
15	Kangkook		***Ahnya, ahnya!*** [Nope, nope!]
16	Doosoo	Back…HEY! YOU LOOKS LIKE a=	
17	Kangkook		=***Jeongsoo! Jeongsoo!*** =[Jeongsoo! Jeongsoo!]
18	Doosoo		***Hanaman, hanaman, Jeo hanaman jusaeyo! Jebal!*** [Just one, Just one, please give me just one! Please!]
19	*Teacher*		***Palinaga!*** [Get out quickly!]
20	Kangkook		***Alahsseoyo. Neonyogiseo gugeolyina hagoyisseora!*** [Yes, I will. You stay here for begging!]
21	Doosoo	I don't care. Thanks. (finally gets a candy.)	

This example shows Doosoo's repetitive use of "Milky mama" and Sunchul's use of "For your mama, you BACK OFF." The candies are milky candies, and Doosoo

probably makes an association between mother's milk, breasts, and getting candy. Whereas Doosoo's utterances give evidence of how a novice learner practices "your mama" by overusing "your mama," Sunchul's utterances display how an expert user of this speech activity creates dominance and hierarchy. His utterances ("Make me!" "Back off!" "For your mama," "You BACK OFF!" and "You are not the BOSS of me") might also attempt to construct on a micro level the authority he thinks he is due over younger children, especially young girls. "Yo mama" routines generally make fun of other boys primarily, but this is different in the Korean community. The boys sometimes use the routine in order to make fun of younger girls.

The girls in this scene, Pam and Yunjung, switch codes between English and Korean. The girls typically speak to the older boys in Korean, such as in line 1 and line 8, showing that Korean is a dominant language among the children in the Korean community, and they follow a Korean norm by speaking in Korean to the older boys. According to a Korean norm, younger girls should show their respect to the older boys, using an honorary title, "Ohpa" (meaning "brother"); however, Yunjung also speaks in English, such as in line 6 and line 11, using directives ("Go, go, go!" "Back off, back off, back off!") to challenge the authority of the older boys, which might be difficult for Yunjung to do in Korean.

6.8. "Your mama, your mama, your mama"

Participants: Sunchul [6th grader, 12 years old, for 8 years in America], Anne [21 years old, Korean American female, doesn't speak Korean, takes care of children during lunch from time to time], Sally[Anne's American friend, rarely comes to the church]

Setting: The children are almost ready to eat lunch. Anne and Sally are coming into the room when Pam, Sunchul's younger sister, is moving a chair. After Sunchul says, "Your mama," he goes back to praying before he eats his lunch. Although it is not completely clear, Sunchul seems to be saying this to Sally.

Transcript 7. Your mama, your mama, your mama (09-16-07 No.1)

Speaker		English	Korean
1	Sally	Are you sitting on my chair? (to Pam)	
2	Sunchul	Your mama, your MAMA, your MAMA	
3	Anne	Are you SERIOUS? Are you SERIOUS?	

In this scene, Sunchul uses "your mama" to assert dominance. Sunchul's vague usage of "Your mama, your mama, your mama" to a young adult indexes his toughness, masculinity, resistance, and violence. The contextual meaning of this expression might be "Why bother!" "What the f…," or "Who cares!" But this is church and these are girls and women. And the women who are there actually have more power than he does. The young Korean American adult points this out in line 3, saying "Are you SERIOUS?" It implies that it is not okay to say that in public and to people who have more power.

6.9. Discussion

What motivates the boys to break their primary preferred code and switch between Korean and English? The boys can achieve certain things in English that cannot be achieved using Korean. First of all, it is clear why the younger boys (Jeongsoo or Doosoo) switch to English. When they switch to English, they are attempting to challenge the authority of the older boys, especially of Sunchul, in order to equalize their status in the community. In contrast, the younger boys switch back to Korean when addressing the older boys using a Korean honorary marker, "Hyung" meaning "brother." In Korean, younger friends should address older friends as "Brother" or "Sister" even though they are not real brothers and sisters. The boys never call older boys by their first names even when they speak in English. This means that the Korean language and social order have seniority in the boys' group.

Sunchul's code-switching refers to multiple meanings reflecting complex situations. As the son of a prominent member of the community, I assume he feels pressure to be a good model for others. He plays musical instruments through the main worship services, which is usually an adult's role in other churches. Due to the members' temporary residence in the Korean community, his friendships are always fluctuating. Thus he becomes the most experienced, powerful, and competent member in the children's group because of his social status and his proficient English skills. He maintains and manages his image as a good model. Then, why does he socialize other boys to play "your mama?" There seem to be two major reasons. According to Sunchul's mother, he attempts to create an image of himself as a playful and funny guy at school. Once Sunchul told his mother that he needed to be strong because some of the other boys at school were very tough and fought well. He also resented being called a nerd because of his good grades. He is physically weaker looking than some boys and has good grades. As a result, he can be a target of other tough boys making fun of him at school. Thus his mother told me that he tried to develop a new identity as a playful naughty boy. For this reason, I assume he has actively participated in and learned the popular youth culture at school.

In the Korean community, when there are conflicts among boys, playing "your mama" becomes an effective tool of dominance for Sunchul, particularly since the adults do not understand what he is saying, except for some Korean American young adults and the women taking care of the girls (in the sequence above) who do not speak Korean at all. (It should be noted that the young Korean girls in this community are exposed to these Korean American care-takers, who are English only speakers, more than the boys,

and thus that may influence the girls' preference for English.) Furthermore, the boys usually retreat from the adults so adults do not overhear their conversations. As a result, Sunchul spreads, teaches, and plays "Your mama" with the other boys in the Korean church community. It is noteworthy that the boys never used Korean profanity while I was collecting data. That may be partly because they know they cannot swear in front of adults in Korean according to Korean norms.

Tables 2 and 3 summarize the different meanings and functions of code-switching between Korean and English for the Korean boys.

Table 2. The social meanings and functions of the use of Korean for boys

1	*Metapragmatics (the boys' comments about playing "your mama")* Example 1, line 2: Jeongsoo says to Doosoo, "That's not right." Example 3, line 2: Jeongsoo evaluates what Sunchul said, "That's funny." Example 4 and Example 5: the boys discuss the usage of language. Example 6, line 6: Sunchul says, "We are different!" constructing identity by dividing "Your mama" users from non-users.
2	*Triple frames of Sunchul's utterances* • fear of being videotaped when the boys said something bad • signals crossing the line of acceptable usage • metapragmatics: indirectly instructing other boys not to cross the line and his playing the adults' role of instructing children Example 1, line 14: "Do you know that we are being videotaped?" Example 3, line 5: "By the way, how long is that? Um…how long have you videotaped?" Example 5, line 9: "Did you videotape that?"
3	*Footing: signaling different stance or positioning* Example 6: establishing and breaking the frame of playing "your mama"

Table3. The social meanings and functions of the use of English for boys

1	*Dual contextualization cues* • breaking the primary preferred code choice • breaking the frame of the Korean cultural norm that younger boys should respect older boys by using honorific markers, and as a result, challenging or equalizing older boys (e.g. the change from addressing older boys as "Brother" in Korean to "You" in English).
2	*Appropriating, adapting, and creating new cultural identities* • changing from a prototypical Korean image of masculinity, which includes keeping silent and being well behaved and honorable, to a

	stereotypical African American image of masculinity, which is more tough and verbal
3	*Building American type of "male-bonding"* • "guy solidarity" by adopting African American verbal culture
4	*Constructing hierarchy through verbal play*
5	*Developing a self defense mechanism* • through verbal skills and witty verbal control in a new culture where verbalizing the self is demanded
6	*Social practicing and learning* • more experienced learners socialize novices through competition and collaboration
7	*Breaking the norm of how to behave in a church setting* • By creating a new context for playing "your mama"

There are still remaining issues relating to the Korean boys' playing "your mama." First, it is questionable who teaches these boys things to say or not to say in public in this Korean community. Adults' roles are invisible even though there are parents around them. The parents even include some professors at an American university and graduate students who speak English pretty well but don't understand what the boys are saying so they do not reprimand them. Second, why do they use the pronunciation "your mama" instead of "yo mama"? They may not know this distinction or they might want to differentiate themselves from African Americans, but the reason is not clear. Third, middle or high school students' playing "yo mama" can cause real conflict. This would support an argument that they are co-constructing identities and hierarchies within their narrow group by borrowing and thus also to some extent indexing masculine values and power conveyed by your mama in its native context. That might be one of the reasons the two older boys, Kangkook and Minsoo, don't get involved in "your mama." Even though Sunchul does not project himself as a child, he still participates in this routine with other younger boys. Saying "your mama your mama" to young adults might signify a real type of insult rather than playful fighting. Fourth, although there is

always some jockeying for power in the play, in what ways do the Korean children learn a sliding scale of the degrees of playfulness and seriousness? In this group, Sunchul usually signals by switching back to Korean whenever he thinks others cross the line. His code-switching to Korean functions to socialize other novices about the limits of the routine in Korean through metapragmatics. Fifth, Sunchul's repetitive use of "your mama" indexes a) his power coming from the fact that he's the best player and thus achieving authority, b) solidarity as he shows others how to play, and c) his resistance when he addresses this to young adults. On the other hand, as a novice player of the routine, Doosoo's use of "your mama" (example 1) and "milky mama" (example 2) indexes his desire to participate in the male-bonding culture of the boys' group and shows that novice learners of English learn "your mama" through social practice. Prosodic features, gestures, and key words are used at the beginning stage of learning "your mama." Sixth, the boys are just practicing rather than dueling "your mama" in these examples except in example 6. This can be interpreted in two ways: a) they are aware of being videotaped so they regard it as not appropriate to play "your mama" in a public place and b) except for Sunchul, their English is not proficient enough to enjoy dueling even though Jeongsoo shows some skill and Doosoo is eager to learn and practice. Finally, another issue is how these boys' playing "your mama" affects girls who don't get involved in this activity; my data do not include any information to explore this issue.

6.10. Concluding remarks

This dissertation investigates how breaking the frame of gender-preferred code reconstructs identities of Korean boys in a Korean community in the U.S. Throughout the study, I argue that code-switching between Korean and English creates a plenitude of

meaning construction even in this small number of participants. Code-switching signals the processes of meaning construction and indexes multiple socio-cultural meanings, functions, stances, and identities. This chapter displays some examples of these processes through the comparisons between the novice players and Sunchul and through the close micro-metapragmatic analyses. Code-switching processes tell us what it means for the Korean boys to become competent in the Korean community. Primarily, they should be able to speak fluently in Korean and understand Korean social and cultural norms. At the same time, they should be competent in playing "your mama" with other boys in English. This chapter also indicates that there may be a problem that some of the boys notice with playing your mama in their small group vs. playing it in the English speaking schools they are attending. I argue two major points in the following with respect to how the Korean boys construct multilayered identity through code-switching.

First, breaking the primary code preferences opens the door for the Korean boys to create a new identity. They are appropriating and subverting a tough African American voice. Thus they extend their Korean masculinity of being gentle, quiet, and well-mannered. As a result, it is concluded that they adopt African American masculinity and toughness to defend and strengthen themselves in a new environment; however, they maintain a strong Korean identity through their preferred code choice, Korean, which is shared and powerful in the Korean community. This is "the first order indexicality" (Silverstein, 1996) of their code-switching that implies the macro socio-cultural meaning. The code-switching to English in this chapter shows the ways that the boys create a new image of themselves. They use means being presented by their new macro environment to try to assert their masculinity and power.

Second, in the micro level, the code-switching between English Korean create multilayered indexical social meanings. In this sense, we cannot indicate a we/they type of code because we/they itself is not a fixed but subjective norm in a micro-context (Hanks, 1992). If we apply indexical meanings of code-switching in a particular context, different meanings of code-switching can be emerged in the different micro and macro levels of contexts. As discussed in the analysis, the pragmatic effects of switching between Korean and English have multiple indexical meanings: a) footing to create different stances (e.g. younger boys' challenging the authority of older boys that is embedded in Korean cultures), b) contextualization cues to construct different contexts by breaking a frame, and c) metapragmatics (discussion about language in use). The social meanings of micro-sociocultural analysis can be creative and emergent because the social meanings of code-switching can be (re)constructed depending on the relationships between local contexts and multiple intentional meanings of different people. Constructing meanings of code-switching becomes dynamic in contexts through intersubjective interactions, negotiations, changes, or conflicts. As a result, the meanings and functions of code-switching are always reconstructed through relational subjectivity and intersubjectivity depending on the local context.

CHAPTER VII

THE USE OF KOREAN IN AN AFTER-SCHOOL ENGLISH KINDERGARTEN CLUB

7.1. Introduction

Chapter 7 examines the code choices of Korean preschool learners during activities in the family resource center where these children take English classes as afterschool curricular activities with other international children. The children in the family resource center are supposed to speak English according to the center's policies. It appears to be very challenging for young international children to participate in a complex language situation without any experience of English with native or fluent speakers of English peers right after their arrival in America. While they are learning English, it is typical for young children to speak in their first languages in public and gradually speak in English. Even once they begin speaking English, children sometimes switch to their first languages. Therefore it can be problematic if international children arriving in the U.S. are immediately placed in classes with an English-only policy; often, these children have little or no competence in English and naturally speak in their first languages or switch between their first and second languages in the process of becoming bilingual learners.

Then, how is a code socialized in bilingual or multilingual communities? Particularly, how do bilingual or multilingual children learn which codes to use when and

how? What motivates particular communicative practices in bilingual or multilingual contexts to call for the use of a particular code? Little empirical research has been done in situations where Korean preschool learners use their first language or code-switch between English and their first language in the English classrooms in the U.S. It will be illuminating to examine the roles of first-language use and code switching between first and second languages in English-speaking environments in which social interactions occur between newly introduced international children and more competent learners of English. Thus this chapter investigates: a) when they switch languages between English and Korean; b) what activities they are doing when this occurs; and c) whether their use of their native language (Korean) facilitates or inhibits their participation in the club activities.

Participants in this part of the study are eighteen international children between the ages four and five who were enrolled in the Kindergarten Kids Club Monday through Friday, 4 p.m.-5:30 p.m. Two teachers, Ms. Gail and Ms. Denise, were in charge of teaching the club. Out of four Korean children, I selected three Korean girls who switched languages frequently during club activities. There was a Korean boy who participated in this club but he mostly stayed silent and thus he was excluded from my focus group. My focus group for this chapter consisted of: Julia (Jihae's English nickname), newly arrived in the U.S., (at the time I collected data for this chapter); Yunjung, six months' U.S. residence; and Jenny (Seungyon's English nickname), born and raised in the U.S. In the following examples, Julia and Jenny are called by their English nicknames but Yunjung's Korean name is used because she has no English nickname. These girls were chosen because they frequently code-switched, in spite of the

official club policy that English should be spoken at all times.

Based on my initial observations of the club, I hypothesized that the use of Korean by Korean preschool learners of English would facilitate their language socialization and their acquisition of English. My research questions were:

1. What is the role of code-switching between Korean and English where social interaction occurs between a newly introduced learner and more experienced learners of English?
2. Under what circumstances do children usually engage in code-switching?
3. How may code-switching affect both language acquisition and socialization as children become active members in their playgroups? Does it facilitate or inhibit their language socialization and second language acquisition?

To summarize, this chapter investigates the ways, at least among the population of this study, that code-switching to their first language may affect both language acquisition and socialization as children become active members in their playgroups. Data analysis in this chapter presents evidence of positive functions of secretive code-switching (against the club policy) to their first language (Korean) among the three Korean preschoolers during club activities. The following analysis emphasizes the circumstances under which the children usually engaged in code-switching to Korean. First, I display an example of collaborative learning between a novice and a more competent learner of English. In this example, collaborative learning occurs during one of the most popular games, Patty Cake (Bang, Snap, Clap), and is facilitated by the use of Korean. Second, I attempt to identify situations in which code-switching to Korean took place most frequently. These situations present evidence of use of Korean to help Korean

novice learners of English participate in the club activities following the teachers' instructions. Third, I show use of Korean during free time conversation among the children in the club and analyze the function of the first-language use, which helps Korean novice learners get involved in conversation with other international children. Fourth, I point out a teacher's behavior that seemingly contradicts the language policy of the club. Fifth, I present Ms. Gail's challenges in teaching the club and her perception of the club policy on speaking in English only.

7.2. Use of Korean for collaborative learning during a hand game

Bang, Snap, Clap is a hand game that attempts to enhance coordination and association of body movements with sequential commands. According to Ms. Gail's lesson plan, this activity aims at the development of the coordination between hands and sequential command words to enlarge quick thinking and movement skills of children. The pictures below show that while others are playing Musical Chairs (left) on the other side of the club room, a more skilled learner, Jenny, teaches a less skilled learner, Yunjung, the hand game (right) because they have already been eliminated from Musical Chairs.

Picture 1. Musical Chairs and a hand game

The role of code-switching between Korean and English in the practice of this hand game may indicate that a more experienced learner of English can scaffold and socialize a newly introduced learner to participate in the club activities through the use of their first language. This collaboration between the experienced learner and the newly introduced learner seems to result in the collective activity being more important and robust than if an individual tries to learn the game independently. This is one example of what Vygotsky (1978) calls the "zone of proximal development." In line 9, we can see how Jenny provides scaffolding for Yunjung and offers specific instructions in Korean that help her know what to do, such as, "If you say the words (with the motions), you'll see (what you'll have to do next)" or "You should not say the words in this second turn." Jenny's utterances also encourage Yunjung to learn the meaning of the English words, thereby socializing her to use language as well as using language to socialize. Most of Jenny's utterances resemble the teacher's instructions for the hand activity. Jenny's use of Korean functions to provide Yunjung with the instructions and helps her play the hand game better.

Transcript 1. If you say the words, you'll see.

Speaker		English	Korean
1.	Jenny		***Ah, jin-jja, da-shi!*** [Oh, NO! AGAIN!]
		{BANG, SNAP, CLAP, BA	
2.	Yunjung	{bang, snap, clap, bang	
3.	Jenny		***Uh-hou, BANG ah-ni-ya.*** [Huh, You are wrong, not BANG.]
4.	Yunjung		***Al-uh.*** [I know.]
5.	Jenny	{Bang, snap, clap, ba, bang, snap, clap, snap, clap	
6.	Yunjung	{Bang, snap, clap, ba, bang, snap, clap, ba	
7.	Jenny		***SNAP yi-jan-ah!***

			[You should have said SNAP.]
8.	Yunjung		***Ka-meok-ueo-sseo.*** [I forgot.]
9.	Jenny	BANG, SNAP (holds Yunjung's hands and slowly shows how to move hands with the words)	
			Mal-ha-myun-seo ha-myun al soo yi-sseo. [If you say the words (with the motions), you'll see (what you'll have to do next).]
10.	Yunjung	Bang (repeats after Jenny with the motion.)	
11.	Jenny	{Snap	
12.	Yunjung	{SNAP (starts saying the word) Bang, snap (doesn't realize she is not supposed to say the words in this second turn.)	
13.	Jenny		***No-rae-rul ahn hae-ya-ji!*** [You should not say the words in this second turn.]

In line 12, Yunjung does not know she is not supposed to say the words in the second round. Using Korean, Jenny points out her mistake. The use of Korean not only facilitates the participation of the novice learner, Yunjung, in the pair hand game, but also helps her practice and get used to the activity. As a result, Yunjung can develop her potential in this activity with other international students in the future. In addition, this hand game itself focuses on the coordination between body and command words. Therefore, in this particular activity, language learning itself is not the focus of teaching, so the use of Korean between English commands does not inhibit language acquisition.

7.3. Use of Korean after teacher's instructions

Transcript 2 clearly shows an example of when children usually engaged in code-switching during club activities. Code-switching takes place most often right after the

teacher's instructions. In this example, Ms. Gail gives the class instructions for making a sand jar. Julia doesn't understand, so Ms. Gail asks Jenny to explain the instructions to Julia. Jenny translates the required tasks to Korean for Julia.

Picture 2. Sand jars

Julia shows her desire to understand the teacher's instructions by asking Jenny what the teacher said. The role of Korean in this context is to help Julia understand what she has to do to accomplish the goal of the project. Jenny summarizes the teacher's instructions in Korean. Julia's code-switching functions as an individual strategy to maximize the learning environment as Cook (2001) argues. Jenny's code-switching reports the teacher's instructions in an emergent and interactional context (Cromdal, 2001) and provides scaffolding for Julia.

Transcript 2. What did she say?

Speaker	English	Korean
1. Ms. Gail	Very first layer. Okay? We are, you are gonna come up here and tell me or Ms. Denise which color you want. Okay, and I want you to tell me or Ms. Denise, you can help us pour, okay? We will hold the funnel for you. And you can tell us when you want to stop. Let's say that you can have FIVE colors. Okay? You can have FIVE colors. That's it. Think about the FIVE colors you want to use. Okay?	
2. Julia		***Moeo-rae?*** [What did she say?]

3. Jenny		***Moo-seun sag hal-geon-ji, da-seot sag sang-gak-hae-bo-rae.*** [<u>Think about five colors that you are going to choose.</u>]

With the help of Jenny, Julia then tells Ms. Gail in English the five colors she wants, so she was able to accomplish the task. Thus this example shows not only that Jenny's code-switching to Korean helps Julia participate in and accomplish the task, but also that Julia is continuing to use her English.

7.4. Use of Korean to help a novice understand a topic in conversation

The conversation in transcript 3 occurred at the end of snack time. Jenny brags to Sridhar (from India) about how big her house in Korea was. By asking Yunjung for clarification, Jenny facilitates Yunjung's understanding in the free-time conversation with Sridhar on the relevant topic.

Transcript 3. Right? We live in a building.

Speaker	English	Korean
1. Sridhar	You know what? In India, I used to live in um…ah, two story house.=	
2. Jenny	=But in Korea, I have a building. I mean a LONG building.=	
3. Sridhar	= mean it pretty big?	
4. Jenny	I know, I know but I can go to eleven [floor] on building in Korea.	***Ma-jji, Woo-ri-building-eh sal-ji.*** [<u>Right? We live in a building.</u>]
5. Yunjung		(nods couple times)
6. Jenny		***Building-eh sal-ah.*** [<u>We live in a building.</u>]
7. Yunjung		***Ma-ja il-cheung-eh sal-a-jji.*** [<u>You are right. We used to live on the first floor.</u>]
8. Jenny	My dad and my cousin live in the building.	

This example shows that Jenny's code-switching helps a novice, Yunjung, understand what she and Sridhar are talking about. It also functions as an ethnic solidarity marker which shows that Jenny and Yunjung share their experiences in Korea. In this way, they differentiate themselves from Sridhar who used to live in India. Although Yunjung is not really involved in the conversation with Sridhar, Jenny's use of Korean helps Yunjung grasp what other peers talk about in English and give her an opportunity to express her thoughts on the relevant topic, at least in Korean. The use of the first language in this situation is important for a novice English learner to understand what is going on in a new language environment.

7.5. Confusion over the teachers' policy on speaking in English only

Children are expected to speak only in English during the club activities; therefore, the teachers very frequently make sure that the Korean learners of English try to speak in English. However, when the teachers need to communicate effectively with Julia, a novice learner of English, they ask Jenny to translate into Korean for Julia. In addition, the teachers tend to allow the Korean learners to use Korean right after important instructions. I present two examples of confusion over the teachers' policy on speaking in English only. Transcript 4 displays the teachers' frequent utterances asking the Korean girls to speak in English whereas transcript 5 shows one of the teachers asking Jenny to translate instructions into Korean for Julia.

In transcript 4 and picture 3, children are participating in outdoor activities, specifically, drawing with chalk on the ground. The three Korean girls, Jenny, Julia, and Yunjung talk in Korean at the beginning of this scene. Right after that, Julia tells the two other Korean girls in Korean to quickly draw something else.

Transcript 4. Hey, girls, please speak in English.

Speaker		English	Korean
1.	Ms. Gail	Kyung, grab some chalk. {Hey, hey, hey, hey, come over here. Draw here. Sit down. Draw here.	
2.	Julia		{***Ya! Nugu yigeo naega da ssugo julgga?*** {[Hey, who wants me to give this after I finish using it?]
3.	Yunjung		***Na!*** [Me!]
4.	Jenny		***Na!*** [Me!]
5.	Julia		***Gawi bawi bo hae!*** [Do rock scissors paper!]
6.	Yunjung &Jenny		{***Gawi bawi bo!*** {[Rock scissors paper!]
7.	Amy	(approaches Ms. Gail and points to her drawing)	
8.	Ms. Gail	I like it. Beautiful (talks to Amy).	
9.	Julia		***Ah, bbalri dashi neoga bbalri dashi haeyaji!*** [Oh, quickly, you should do it again quickly.]
10.	Ms. Gail	Hey, girls, please speak in English.	
11.	Jenny	Okay.	
12.	Ms. Gail	Thank you.	
13.	Jenny	I went to house today and my mom=	
14.	Julia		***=Wa, naega, yigeo boaboa.*** =[Wow, I, Look at this.] (points to her drawing)
15.	Yunjung		***Nadoya.*** [Look at mine too.]
16.	Ms. Gail	Hey, girls, try to speak in English Julia, Yunjung, please.	
17.	Jenny		***Ya, youngeoro harae!*** [Hey, the teacher said "Speak in English!"]
18.	Julia,Yunjung		……………………………..

Picture 3. Drawing with chalk outdoors

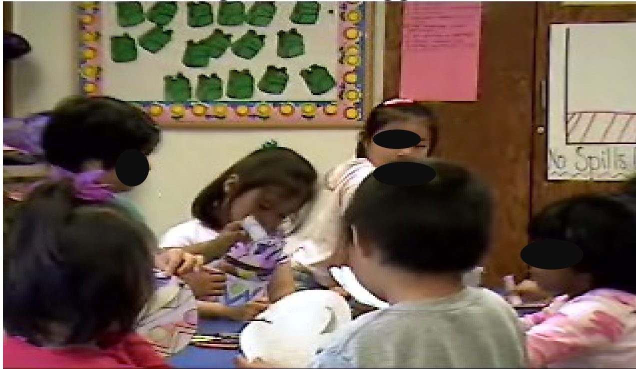
In line 10, Ms. Gail instructs the Korean girls to speak in English. Only Jenny responds to her request and tries to speak in English in line 13 whereas Julia and Yunjung in lines 14 and 15 continue speaking in Korean. Then, in line 16, Ms. Gail instructs Julia and Yunjung to try to speak in English one more time by calling the two girls' names. In line 17, Jenny reports in Korean to Julia and Yunjung that the teacher told them to speak in English. After that, Julia and Yunjung remain silent.

During the period of time I observed the club, the teachers often told the Korean girls to speak in English during club activities. Despite the teachers' reminders, it was almost impossible for the two Korean novice learners of English to speak only in English because Julia had just arrived in the U.S. with no competence in English at all and Yunjung was still a beginner in English. I was concerned that this frequent emphasis on the English-only policy for the novice learners of English might have a negative impact on their initial socialization process in the club because even though they want to communicate in English, they simply do not have the ability yet.

Furthermore, the following transcript shows evidence that the teachers sometimes ask Jenny, a more competent learner of English, to translate their instructions to Korean for the two novice learners of English, Julia and Yunjung, in order to help them accomplish club tasks. Right before the following example in Transcript 5, Ms. Denise

emphasizes that the children should glue on the colored side by asking the class several times where to glue. After Ms. Denise instructs the children on how to make an Easter egg (including coloring, asking teachers to cut, and gluing the egg and chick), most children finished the activity. They played with the egg, for example, making the chick hatch out of it. But Julia was behind.

Picture 4. Making an Easter egg



Transcript 5. Hey, JENNY! Can you tell Julia how she is supposed to glue it?

Speaker		English	Korean
1.	Ms. Denise	Julia, You need to hurry to finish coloring.	
2.	Julia		***Beol-sseo da-hae-sseo?*** [Are you already done?]
3.	Jenny		***Ung, beol-sseo da-hae-dda.*** [Yeah, I'm already done.]
4.	Ms. Denise	You guys make sure you write your name on the back of yours okay?=	
5.	Jenny		***=name ha-rae, name*** =[(She said) write your name, name.]
6.	Ms. Denise	Somewhere on the back, write your name please, so you don't want to switch.	
7.	Julia		***Name ha-go yeo-gi-eh=*** [After writing my name, and then…]=
8.	Jenny		***=Pa-lee-pa-lee hae-ya-ji=*** =[You need to hurry up. Hurry up!]=
9.	Ms.	=JULIA! JULIA! You need to	

	Denise	STOP talking and finish. You need to hurry up. (Ms. Denise gives Julia the paper egg back after she cuts it) Do you know how to glue it, Julia? (Ms. Denise is looking at Julia and talking to her but Julia turns around in her seat.) Hey, JENNY! Can you tell Julia how she is supposed to glue it?	
10.	Jenny	Okay	
11.	Ms. Denise	Make sure she knows.	
12.	Jenny		***Yeo-gi ha-go*** [<u>Glue here and then</u>]
13.	Julia		***Al-eo*** [<u>I know.</u>]
14.	Jenny		***Yeo-gi Kue-eh ha-go, yeo-gi mi-te ha-go, yi-jjock-eh pul-chil-ha-go boo-cheo.*** [<u>Glue at the last part here, and then at the bottom here, and then on this side, glue and attach them together.</u>]

In line 9, Ms. Denise asks Julia to stop talking even though Julia's questions in Korean pertained to the activity. Then Ms. Denise asks Jenny to tell Julia what she said (implying translating to Korean) to help Julia finish the activity. This request, which contradicts the club language policy, may have a confusing impact on the perception of the Korean learners of English in terms of when they are allowed or not allowed to speak in Korean.

7.6. Teacher's challenges

I interviewed Ms. Gail one semester after my observation of the club. The interview shows that the teacher herself struggled with difficult situations in the club. She told me that, at the beginning, she was not aware of how different and difficult it would be to teach a multicultural classroom. In the following transcriptions, ellipsis (…)

designates Ms. Gail's frequent pauses.

> It is completely different because you don't…you have no idea what's being said…. It was different because like twenty kids all speak different and you have no idea what they're saying at all, so I think that was a kind of unique experience. I think that opened my eyes to completely different ways of thinking just because I never had an experience like this, so it just made me realize like, wow, because in most classrooms you don't see that, but now classrooms are growing to be so multicultural and so diverse. You have to be able to work with all students, like integrate all of them together and to know how to make ten kindergarteners play together, not separated out…. What is different is the communication is so different and cultures are so different and you don't, I'm not…I don't know…I guess I hadn't been educated very well as far as knowing all the differences or diverse cultures, and I think at the beginning I was just …it's so overwhelming. For the first two weeks I didn't even pronounce anyone's name right.

Ms. Gail discussed these challenges in more detail. She said it was very difficult remembering students' names, giving instructions to children with different levels of English proficiency, understanding what children wanted her to explain, asking questions to them, and handling such young multicultural groups. In addition, when Ms. Gail talked about her difficulties with the language barrier, she used a lot of verbal and non-verbal expressions such as frowning, sighing, low tone, slow speed, dark face, looking down, pausing and saying "I don't know" frequently, blinking her eyes, or shaking her head. I think these nonverbal and verbal expressions show how much difficulty she encountered.

> At first I was just like…I was never gonna remember Kyung, and Sakki, and Yunjung, and all these, you know, kids' names and I think that was at first such an overwhelming feeling, like, 'oh, my gosh! How am I gonna do this?'… I really understood the communication barrier was really hard….um…I don't know…try to explain why something like…why hitting with toys is not okay…because sometimes it's hard whenever you're explaining something and you feel like they don't understand anything that you're saying…I don't know. I think that's where it would be like battles to give instructions and explaining like when you got someone in trouble and what it was for. And I think that's kind of hard when there is a language barrier, like to make sure they really understand. …I think there are a lot of confusions sometimes because they try to

> explain something, I wouldn't really understand because they were using their words or they didn't know what words to try to say… You know, some you'd asked names and some kids didn't really get you and would say something like 'blue' and they didn't know anything that you said. Or like you say 'What's your favorite color?' then they say like 'Yes, yes.'

Later, I asked Ms. Gail about the communication barrier in more detail and how she tried to overcome the difficulties it presented. She pointed out some important aspects of placing children with different levels of English proficiency in the same class; however she did not seem to be aware of how first language use may help new students participate in club activities and of how more competent English learners provide scaffolding for new students using their first language. She also expressed that she did not seem to have any solutions for overcoming the communication barrier other than encouraging the children to speak in English only and accepting that there will always be confusion.

> When you're trying to explain like instructions to ten students who are all different English-speaking levels, it's kind of hard and disappointing because a lot of kids were a lot smarter than they appear to be or like that kind of play to be because like if you get in trouble of course they're gonna pretend to understand like what you're saying. I mean it's hard because you can't…you can't expect whenever…when you are working with such multicultural young age groups, you can't expect like them to speak in English only because, because they're, they're totally submersed in both English and their native languages. Thus I just think sometimes it was just something to encourage them to speak in English but…other than that I can't really do anything other than that. I think of course there are a lot of confusing times, but the longer they are there, the less confusion but we also had new students all the time so there was always, always confusion I think.

From what Ms. Gail said, I assume that the English-only rule was in place to encourage children to use English, but she did not expect them to always use English. When I finished my analysis, I met the club coordinator in order to talk about my

research findings, hoping that they might help the teachers and staff better understand functions of the children's first language use and possibly encourage the staff to consider some revision of the club language policy, speaking in English only. The coordinator said that the rule referred to a kind of target behavior, but the teachers recognized the need for flexibility. She also told me that the staff had a weekly meeting to talk about how to handle difficult situations.

7.7. Concluding remarks

The findings of this study indicate that in spite of the policy discouraging the use of Korean, both teachers and preschoolers benefited from its use. The use of Korean facilitated the Korean girls' participation during club activities by a) scaffolding joint activities between the newcomers and experienced children, b) supplementing the teacher's instructions, and c) facilitating free-time conversation on relevant topics. In fact, even the teachers sometimes requested children fluent in English to translate instructions into Korean. Thus, there is confusion over the teachers' policy on speaking in English only. These findings raise questions about the club's policy of requiring children to communicate in English. For preschoolers, use of their native language can have benefits both for acquisition of English and for successful socialization. If the teachers are aware of these benefits from the children's first- language use, they may allow more flexibility in the language policy so that the first-language use can facilitate the children's socialization and their acquisition of English. However, more research is needed to explore when and how code-switching to the first language contributes to socialization into multilingual speech communities.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

This study sought to explore the social meanings and functions of code choices between English and Korean by young Korean children in a Korean community in the U.S. and to examine the ways code-switching contributes to the children's co-construction of their social identities in their social groups. The primary research question asked in this study is: How does code choice in the midst of ongoing interaction index different layers of social identities that the participants are co-constructing? In order to investigate the research question, this study applied a language socialization approach using frame analysis (Bateson, 1972; Goffman, 1974), situated activity types (Goodwin, 1990; Levinson, 1993), and indexicality (Hanks, 1992; Silverstein, 1976, 1996/2003). It is hoped that this theoretical orientation would add a new dimension to sociocultural studies of code-switching by exploring the ways in which codes and code-switching socialize different aspects of social identities among a given population. The three major theories utilized in this study are interrelated in the data analysis. Frame analysis provides a general interpretation of how people construct different frames through the use of different levels of metacommunication. Situated activity types serve as a micro-application of frame analysis into a particular context in which situated frames are co-constructed through activities. Indexicality helps explain linguistic connections between

the macro-frame and the micro-situated frame, so it provides an understanding of how code-switching indexes macro- and micro-contextual aspects of identity.

Using this theoretical orientation, this study hypothesized that code-switching would contribute to the dynamic and multi-layered construction of local identities embedded in macro-sociocultural identities through moment-to-moment interactions. This study proposes that identity is neither fixed (based on the relationship between codes and social structures) nor fluid (based only on talk-in-interaction in local contingencies). Much of the previous code-switching research in the tradition of sociolinguistics finds that the primary purpose of code-switching is constructing a relatively fixed identity of solidarity associated with a particular code within a speech community. This view, however, fails to pinpoint locally constructed dynamic identities. On the other hand, recent trends in code-switching research such as conversational code-switching studies focus on local talk-in-interaction and overlook macro-social structures. As a result, they do not make a broad connection between codes and routinized types of situated activities in a speech community. In contrast, this study explores code-switching based on situated activity types such as role-play activities, "your mama" speech activities, and classroom activities within macro- and micro-frameworks. Thus, this study suggests: a) that code-switching phenomena should be analyzed through locally constructed situated activity types; b) that code-switching is indexical behavior, for which meaning is dynamic and multi-layered according to certain features of the given context and language use; and c) that investigating the social meanings and functions of code-switching means exploring the ways in which codes index aspects of identity within particular situated activity types as part of communities of practice in a speech community. In addition, this study suggests

that code-switching also signals footing shifts (Goffman, 1979/1981) and contextualization cues (Gumperz, 1992) in the construction of identity in emergent social contexts. Code-switching by participants signals different stances and positioning as well as contextual information.

In contrast to current conversational code-switching studies, this study draws important methodological attention to a language socialization approach using ethnographic and cross-cultural methods (See Chapter 3). This study is an ethnographic case study of a Korean Christian church community in the U.S (See Chapter 2) that helps explain children's code-switching habits by incorporating the background information about the speech community into the analysis. This methodological approach includes the kinds of activities and habitual practices that the participants are routinely engaged in. Thus this study proposes that situated activities in those frameworks should be the focus units of the analysis of code-switching because key information gained through using this approach cannot be gained in another way.

As described in Chapters 1 and 2, early English education is an important issue in Korea, and the English language is highly valued in Korea. The data presented in Chapters 4 through 7 provide evidence of the extent to which Korean children within the speech community studied here learn and/or maintain those associations with English. The analysis explores the language development and socialization processes of the Korean children who study English for a relatively short period of time in the U.S. and how this early second language learning relates to first language use in constructing Korean children's social identities.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the unmarked code-preferences of the participants and the marked code-switching practices in this community. Chapters 5 through 7 provide examples of how these preferences are altered, and identities thereby co-constructed, during specific instances and types of interaction. First, the findings of this study indicate that there are primary or unmarked code preferences which contribute to the construction of typical participation frameworks and thus also to the construction of identities within those frameworks: boys mainly prefer to use Korean, whereas girls primarily prefer to use English. In both cases, these code preferences are used to co-construct their power and solidarity and thus construct their identities (Chapter 4). Second, the findings indicate that despite the primary code-preferences by gender, there are situations in which the Korean children switch to a marked code, suggesting that the children reconstruct multilayered identities (Chapters 5 through 7). The code-switching practices analyzed provide evidence that code choices through emergent contexts index multilayered identities including complex gender roles, Korean vs. American identities, and power relations rooted in age and English proficiency, all of which are based on local contingencies and individual characteristics embedded in macro-social structures. Whenever there is an opportunity for the boys and girls to achieve their goals more efficiently through another code, they shift code choices quickly. But the way they choose what code to shift to is different. Girls' code preference of English appears to reflect their relatively marginalized status in Korean society. The Korean girls typically identify themselves through English because they seem to perceive that it helps to raise their social status. On the other hand, the Korean boys mostly speak in Korean, so they maintain Korean identities based on Korean social orders which generally prefer boys

over girls; however, boys also strategically use English in a way that extends their masculinity to the tougher American ideal of masculinity. Thus they play the “your mama” routine and tease each other in English.

One of the most important recurring themes throughout this study is the way that identity construction becomes dynamic and multilayered in emergent contexts. Ultimately, this study finds that gender identity is one of the most important layers that participants co-construct through code choices. This study views gender identity as both separate from and related to other kinds of identities, e.g. Korean vs. American, older and in charge vs. younger and subservient. Among girls, English proficiency corresponding to their American residence plays the most significant role in socializing others. Soowon, the most proficient English speaker in the girls’ group, asserts her power in English in the girls’ confrontation (“I’m SPEAKING, PEOPLE!” in Transcript 7, Chapter 4, and “OH, YES I AM. I’M GOING TO BE IN AMERICA” in Transcript 8b, Chapter 4) and a socializing moral value (“I am gonna call the cops. 911. Police officer, Julia stole the cups. Police officer, you should put Julia in the jail” in Transcript 4, Chapter 5). Social status based on American residence is an important issue in the girls’ group. Their utterances in English in Chapter 4 present their desire to continue American residence, with its concomitant social status, resulting in the dispute between the girls who will continue to reside in America and the girl who will leave America. In this dispute, the complex issue of understanding the girls’ perception of the world emerges: by “here,” Sungah (who is returning to Korea, says “You ARE NOT GONNA BE HERE NEXT YEAR! … Ya, but not in Middle View!” in Transcript 8b, Chapter 4) includes only Middle View in her concept of “here,” to equalize her status with the other girls who will

move to different states in America. However, by "here" Soowon (who is moving to New York, says "OH, YES I AM. I'M GOING TO BE IN AMERICA" in Transcript 8b, Chapter 4) means America, so it does not matter which part of America she lives in. Taehee (who is moving to Seattle) reconciles the dispute between Soowon and Sungah by saying that they are still in the same world no matter where they are ("Okay, California, and Texas and Seattle have still world" in Transcript 8b, Chapter 4). In this utterance, Taehee did not include other cities in Korea as part of her world and revealed that her perception of the world is the same as Soowon's. Therefore, the meaning of "here" for the girls depends on their social and residential status in America. The use of English in this dispute reveals the girls' preference for English that corresponds to their perception of the world and their desire to identify themselves as residents in this country. Thus, the preference for English is also a preference for being identified as part of American culture, and therefore the English code helps them construct Americanized identities. Furthermore, age among the girls was not as significant as English proficiency and social status related to residence in America. Although Taehee is older than the other girls, she did not get the same respect as the older boys do from the younger boys. That is because English proficiency takes priority within all the layers of identities in the girls' group and Taehee is the least proficient in the group. The younger girls (e.g. Jenny, Yunjung, Pam, Julia) also mostly speak in English. Whereas there is no boy who is addressed by an English nickname in this Korean community, these young girls mostly use their English nicknames and this fact also supports the idea that these girls prefer English. These young girls usually participate in pretend role-play (Chapter 5). Specific features of language used in role-play were English metacommunicative verbs, deictic terms, and code-

switching between English and Korean. These young girls develop explicit metacommunication in English in role-play using those linguistic features. Meanwhile, Jenny used Korean to help novice learners of English (Yunjung and Julia) participate in classroom activities and conversations with other peers in the Family Resource Center as discussed in Chapter 7.

Among boys, Korean is the unmarked code preference which constructs the typical participation frameworks and thus identities within those frameworks (Chapter 4); however, when the boys break the unmarked code (Korean) and switch to a marked code (English), their interactions reveal complex and multilayered identities including complex gender roles, Korean vs. American, and older and in charge vs. younger and subservient (Chapter 6). In English, they reconstruct their relationships in terms of solidarity and power, using the "your mama" routine, that indexes African American toughness, masculinity, and American youth culture. They partially appropriate Americanized identities and youth culture, using the "your mama" routine. The boys use "your mama" insults to jockey for respect and power. They also use English to tease other boys through the concept of homosexuality (e.g. calling others gay). The younger boys (e.g. Jeongsoo and Doosoo) also use English, signaling footing shifts, to challenge or tease older boys within the routine, a behavior that violates a Korean norm: the older individuals are in charge and the younger individuals are subservient. On the other hand, both the older and younger boys switch to Korean to give evaluative comments about each others' "your mama" expressions, socializing novices of English about which expressions are acceptable and which are not. The boys' code-switching to Korean also functions as contextualization cues in and out of frames of situated activity. The younger boys also

switch back to Korean when addressing older boys; in these situations, the younger boys use a Korean honorary marker, "Hyung" meaning "brother," within the African American routine. This usage of Korean indexes that the younger boys follow the Korean social order rules. To sum up, the boys are co-constructing identities and hierarchies within their narrow group by borrowing and thus to some extent indexing masculine values and power conveyed by "your mama" in its native context.

The ways children construct different layers of identity are subtle and dynamic in local contexts. Thus this study proposes that the meanings and functions of code-switching can be fully understandable only in a specific context with close observation and analysis. At the same time, macro-sociocultural contexts should also be considered to analyze a particular code-switching practice because they embed micro-contexts. When children use two codes, the different cultural norms embedded in each language overlap, challenging and conflicting with their identity construction.

In summary, the findings of this study suggest some theoretical implications of code-switching research. First, code-switching contributes to the dynamic construction of local identities associated with different codes. Second, code-switching has a social indexing function that signals particular features of social identities and contexts. Third, social meanings of code-switching are always (re)constructed based on the relationships between local contexts, multiple intentional meanings, and characteristics of different people, so the social meanings of code-switching can be creative and emergent.

There are many limitations of this study. First of all, this study is a case study, so not all the findings can be generalized to other social contexts. Second of all, this study includes few interactions between boys and girls (however, some scenes display cross-

gender talks: Transcript 5 in Chapter 5, Doosoo attempts to tease an older care-taker, Anne, in English; Transcript 6 in Chapter 6, Pam and Yunjung appear in Doosoo's practice of "Can I have milky mama?"; and Transcript 7 in Chapter 6, Sunchul says "Your mama, your mama, your mama" to an American adult, Sally). This limitation weakens the findings of the relationship between code choices and gender. It would be worthwhile to re-examine the data in its entirety and sort scenes not only by code-switching but also by cross-gender talk. Even with this limitation, the data from this study suggests that when the boys and girls interact with each other, the older boys assume a dominant role while the younger girls are subservient and that Korean is the dominant language (e.g. Chapter 6, Transcript 6); however, there are some moments in which the younger girls switch to English to challenge the authority of the older boys (e.g. Chapter 6, Transcript 6). From my observations, when the older girls talk to the younger boys, they usually speak in English. This suggests that age has seniority and thus the older girls will dominate over the younger boys with their code preference in their cross-gender talk. It shows that the participants follow and choose their codes based on one of the most powerful Korean norms in the community: the younger individuals should follow the example of the older individuals. However, from the data, it is difficult to tell which code is preferred among boys and girls of the same age. There were no girls in the same age group as the older boys in this community. Thus it would be interesting to explore the ways in which upper elementary grade girls construct their identities through different codes and compare their code-switching behaviors with the boys' your mama routines.

Further research is also necessary to fully understand why young Korean girls adopt their language behaviors in English environments so quickly and seem to feel more

proud of speaking English than young Korean boys. Future studies may also need to examine whether they maintain this behavior and preference at home with their parents. The girls may actually see their status and possibilities for autonomy as better in American society than in Korea. However, these girls are young, and it is not clear at what age autonomy might be a factor in their integration into American society.

Another possible future investigation from the limitation of this study is to explore what happens to those children who stay in the U.S. for one or two years with partial second language acquisition and then return to Korea. Other than Minoura's (1992) longitudinal study investigating Japanese children, to my knowledge, there is no study that addresses this issue. Thus, it would be worthwhile to explore the ways in which ESL experiences of those Korean children may affect their continuous English education, socialization process, and first language development in Korea.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Table1. Interview questions to three girls

1. Who is your best friend at school? What is he/she like? What do you like to do with your friend? Do you have any classmates you don't like very much? (If any) Why do you not like them?
2. What do you like most about school? Why is so good about that?
3. What do you like least about school? Which is the worst? What is it you don't like about it?
4. What is lunch time like at school? What food is usually served? Do you like the food?
5. What day of the week do you like the best? Why?
6. What activities did you dislike today? Why?
7. What day of the week do you like least? Why?
8. Who is your teacher at school? What is she/he like?
9. What are some examples of times it was difficult to participate in activities at school?
10. If you don't understand something that your teachers or classmates say, what do you do?
11. How do you feel about being called by an English name? Which do you prefer being called, your Korean name or your English name?
12. If you speak in Korean, what does your teacher say? How do you feel about that? How do you feel about speaking in Korean at school?
13. Tell me about your first day of school here. How did you feel at that time? Compared to the first day, how different is school now?
14. What is school like for you? How do you feel about it?
15. How difficult do you think it is to learn English?
16. What things did you do in Korea that you don't do here? What are the new things here?
17. How would you best describe your feelings about living in America?
18. Do you have any questions?

Table2. Interview questions to Jenny's mother

1. How long has your child been in America?
2. What language is used the most at home? Which language do you think Jenny speaks better, Korean or English?
3. Do you supplement your child's English learning at home? If so, how is this done?
4. Does your child express her feelings or ideas in relation to speaking English? If yes, what did she say about them?
5. What kinds of things did Jenny tell you about her difficulties at school?

6. What do you think of Jenny's use of Korean during the club activities?
7. How does Jenny like the FRC?
8. How has living in America changed your parental role?

Table3. Interview questions to a former FRC teacher

1. Teaching experience in the club

1) How long did you teach at that club?
2) What did teaching at the club mean to you?
3) What was the best part of teaching at the club?
4) What was the most difficult time/thing teaching the club?

2. Language issues

1) In which situations were there difficulties communicating with each child due to his/her lack of English competence? If students didn't understand your instructions, how did you try to help them?
2) How long do you think it usually took new students to feel comfortable and be competent members of the club and to be able to understand your instructions?
3) What do you think of placing different English level children in the same age-based class?
4) Which do you think it better: placing children in the club where there is nobody who shares their first language or where there is someone who shares their first language?

3. Teacher's perspective on children's first language use in the club

1) What do you think of children's use of their first language during the club activities? Even though teachers told children, "Please speak in English," some children still spoke in their first language. Why do you think they did so?
2) How do you feel about forcing children to speak in English only?
3) When do you think children speak their first language most? In what situations or activities did this occur most?

4. Novice English learner's language development

1) What activities or times do you think novice English learners like the most/least?
2) What do you think about children's natural group formation based on their first language?
3) By the time you had finished teaching at the club, how much did you think new coming children had improved their English?
4) What kinds of activities do you think had the most influence in improving their English?

5. Teacher's discipline and preparation

1) What are the teaching objectives for the club? Please tell me how you usually

organized the club activities daily, weekly, and monthly and what was the teaching objective of each routine activity, e.g. storytelling, play time, going to the bathroom, snack time, main activity, etc?
2) What do you think the teacher's role is in the club? What do you think teachers should do to scaffold novice learners? What do you think of co-teaching the club with other teacher? What were some of the difficulties or conflicts between co-teachers?
3) How did you usually prepare the lessons? What was difficult for you to teach at the club as a student teacher?

6. Teacher's communication with other members of the community

1) How did other administrators help you teach the club? Were there any teachers' meeting? If so, what did you usually do during the meetings?
2) How much do you think you communicated with their parents? What were the difficulties of communicating with them? Do you have any suggestions for parents to help their children improve their English at home?
3) How can you evaluate your teaching and the students' learning?
4) After teaching the club, how have you changed?

APPENDIX B: TRANSCRIPTION KEY

Left column of transcription table	Communication in English
Right column of transcription table	Communication in Korean
Left column of transcription table in Ch. 5	Communication within role-play
Right column of transcription table in Ch. 5	Metacommunication about role-play
Bold font in Ch.5	Utterances to set up or finish role-play frames
Italic and bold font	Romanized Korean
[bracketed and underlined]	English translation of Romanized Korean
CAPITALIZATION	Louder voice
{ (brace)	Overlapping in turns
= (equal sign)	Latch
( ) (parentheses)	Any additional explanations about situations
(____) (underlined parentheses)	Inaudible speech
… (ellipsis)	Hesitant response

APPENDIX C: IRB FORMS

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date:	Wednesday, March 15, 2006
IRB Application	AS0673
Proposal Title:	The Socializing Role of Codes and Code Switching among Korean Children in the U.S.
Reviewed and Processed as:	Expedited (Spec Pop)

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved Protocol Expires: 3/14/2007

Principal Investigator(s):

Seong-Won Yun	Susan Garzon
42 S. Univ. Place #12	302A Morrill
Stillwater, OK 74075	Stillwater, OK 74078

The IRB application referenced above has been approved. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

☒ The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval.
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period of one calendar year. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of this research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved protocols are subject to monitoring by the IRB and that the IRB office has the authority to inspect research records associated with this protocol at any time. If you have questions about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Beth McTernan in 219 Cordell North (phone: 405-744-5700, beth.mcternan@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,

Sue C. Jacobs Chair
Institutional Review Board

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date:	Wednesday, March 15, 2006
IRB Application No	AS0673
Proposal Title:	Semester Project: The Social Meaning of Code-Switching
Reviewed and Processed as:	Expedited (Spec Pop)

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved Protocol Expires: 3/14/2007

Principal
Investigator(s

Seong-Won Yun 42 S. Univ. Place #12 Stillwater, OK 74075	Laurie Schick OSU Tulsa 374 N. Hall Tulsa, OK 74106

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Sincerely,

Sue C. Jacobs, Chair
Institutional Review Board

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date	Friday, December 22, 2006	Protocol Expires:	3/14/2007
IRB Application	AS0673		
Proposal Title:	Semester Project: The Social Meaning of Code-Switching		

Reviewed and Processed as: Expedited (Spec Pop)
Modification

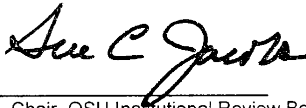
Status Recommended by Reviewer(s) **Approved**

Principal Investigator(s) :

Seong-Won Yun	Susan Garzon
42 S. Univ. Place #12	205 Morrill
Stillwater, OK 74075	Stillwater, OK 74078

The requested modification to this IRB protocol has been approved. Please note that the original expiration date of the protocol has not changed. The IRB office MUST be notified in writing when a project is complete. All approved projects are subject to monitoring by the IRB

☒ The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

Signature : 

Sue C. Jacobs, Chair, OSU Institutional Review Board

Friday, December 22, 2006
Date

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date	Tuesday, March 06, 2007	**Protocol Expires:**	**3/5/2008**
IRB Application No:	AS0673		
Proposal Title:	Semester Project: The Social Meaning of Code-Switching		

Reviewed and Processed as: Expedited (Spec Pop)
Continuation

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): **Approved**

Principal Investigator(s) :

Seong-Won Yun	Susan Garzon
42 S. Univ. Place #12	205 Morrill
Stillwater, OK 74075	Stillwater, OK 74078

Approvals are valid for one calendar year, after which time a request for continuation must be submitted. Any modifications to the research project approved by the IRB must be submitted for approval with the advisor's signature. The IRB office MUST be notified in writing when a project is complete. Approved projects are subject to monitoring by the IRB. Expedited and exempt projects may be reviewed by the full Institutional Review Board.

✓ The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

Signature :

Sue C. Jacobs, Chair, Institutional Review Board

Tuesday, March 06, 2007
Date

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date:	Monday, February 18, 2008	Protocol Expiration Date: 2/17/2009
IRB Application No:	AS0673	
Proposal Title:	Dissertation Project: A Speech Community Under Construction: The Socializing Role of Code Switching among Korean Children in the U.S.	
Reviewed and Processed as:	Expedited (Spec Pop) **Continuation**	

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): **Approved**

Principal Investigator(s):

Seong-Won Yun 42 S. Univ. Place #12 Stillwater, OK 74075	Susan Garzon 205 Morrill Stillwater, OK 74078

Approvals are valid for one calendar year, after which time a request for continuation must be submitted. Any modifications to the research project approved by the IRB must be submitted for approval with the advisor's signature. The IRB office MUST be notified in writing when a project is complete. Approved projects are subject to monitoring by the IRB. Expedited and exempt projects may be reviewed by the full Institutional Review Board.

□ The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

Signature

Shelia Kennison, Chair, Institutional Review Board

Tuesday, February 26, 2008
Date

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date	Friday, January 30, 2009	**Protocol Expires:**	2/17/2009
IRB Application	AS0673		
Proposal Title:	The Socializing Role of Codes and Code Switching among Korean Children in the U.S.		
Reviewed and Processed as:	Expedited (Spec Pop) **Modification**		

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s) **Approved**

Principal Investigator(s) :

Seong-Won Yun	Susan Garzon
42 S. Univ. Place #12 Stillwater, OK 74075	302A Morrill Stillwater, OK 74078

The requested modification to this IRB protocol has been approved. Please note that the original expiration date of the protocol has not changed. The IRB office MUST be notified in writing when a project is complete. All approved projects are subject to monitoring by the IRB

The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

Signature:

Shelia Kennison, Chair, OSU Institutional Review Board

Friday, January 30, 2009
Date

VITA

Seong-Won Yun

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Dissertation: THE SOCIALIZING ROLE OF CODES AND CODE-SWITCHING AMONG KOREAN CHILDREN IN THE U.S.

Major Field: English

Biographical:

Education:

- B.S. in clothing and textiles
  Yonsei University, Seoul, S. Korea, February 1993
- TESOL Certificate
  Sookmyung Women's University, Seoul, S. Korea, December 1998
- M.A. in TESOL
  Sookmyung Women's University, Seoul, S. Korea, February 2005
- Completed the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy in English (TESL/Linguistics)
  Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, May, 2009

Experience:

- Teaching Associate in the Dept. of English
  Oklahoma State University, August 2008- May 2009
- Research Assistant for International TA Program in the Dept. of English
  Oklahoma State University, August 2007- May 2008
- EFL teacher, LG Household and Healthcare, Cheongju, S. Korea
  September 2002- July 2005
- School Coordinator & EFL teacher, American School, Cheongju, S. Korea
  December 1998- August 2002

Professional Memberships:

- AAAL (American Association for Applied Linguistics)
- TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages)

Name: Seong-Won Yun Date of Degree: May, 2009

Institution: Oklahoma State University Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

Title of Study: THE SOCIALIZING ROLE OF CODES AND CODE-SWITCHING AMONG KOREAN CHILDREN IN THE U.S.

Pages in Study: 192 Candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Major Field: English (TESL/Linguistics)

Scope and Method of Study: This study examines the code-switching habits of Korean children in a Korean speech community in the United States in order to understand the socializing role of codes and code-switching. The primary research question is: How do participants' code choices in the midst of ongoing interaction index and facilitate the co-construction of multiple layers of social identities?

This study combines ethnographic and micro-analytic methods. The major data consist of 42 hours of videotaped interactions among Korean children over the course of four academic semesters. Additional data include observations, interviews, and collected artifacts. The primary research sites were a Korean Christian church and a university-sponsored club for kindergarteners in the U.S. Informal interviews were also conducted with participants to supplement the videotaped data. Data analysis is qualitative, focusing primarily on micro-analysis of videotaped interactions which include code-switching in situated activity types. For data analysis, the selected scenes were transcribed to examine whether and how the specific sequences exhibit the socializing roles of codes and code-switching in constructing social identities. In addition, macro-analytic techniques are incorporated to understand language use within the larger community of practice.

Findings and Conclusions: a) There are unmarked code preferences which contribute to the construction of typical participation frameworks and thus to the construction of identities within those frameworks: boys mainly prefer to use Korean to construct their identities, whereas girls mostly prefer to use English; and b) Despite the unmarked code-preferences by gender, the Korean children often code-switch to a marked code, signaling their reconstruction of identities. The code-switching practices provide evidence that code choices index multilayered identities including complex gender roles, Korean vs. American identities, and power relationships rooted in age and English proficiency. This study suggests: a) that code-switching contributes to the dynamic construction of local identities through emergent contexts, rather than revealing fixed identities associated with different codes, and b) that code-switching has a social indexing function that signals particular features of social identities and contexts.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: Laurie Schick