

2016 UIC RESEARCH PROJECT-KOREA
Final Paper

**Social Negotiation Patterns between
Bilingual Men and Women of UIC
when Speaking to the Opposite Gender**

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Abstract

In that its faculty and student body is drawn from all over the world, Yonsei's UIC provides a highly diverse, multilingual, and vibrant cultural atmosphere that differs from any other academic setting in the country. Though UIC is officially an all-English college, it is not uncommon to come across students speaking to each other in Korean, or a mixture of Korean and English, as the majority of students come to UIC with some sort of Korean background. As a result, Yonsei's UIC becomes an interesting joint to investigate bilingual code-switching. We believed that such a setting would allow for certain set of social negotiation patterns to be observed during conversation. We conducted an observational social experiment that made individual/groups of bilingual speakers talk to each other, with language and gender as controlled variables. Combined with some deeper insights gained through several interviews, the results of the experiment suggest that there is a change in power dynamics between bilingual men and women at UIC when they are code-switching between Korean and English. That is, that bilingual men and women choose to appropriate a certain language for strategical purposes, especially for a domination of social power that concerns itself with linguistic imperialism and global hegemony.

Keywords: Social power dynamics, Linguistics, Code-switching, UIC, Bilingual, Men, Women, Linguistic imperialism, global hegemony, Gender ideologies, Misogyny, Language, Korean, English

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INTRODUCTION

Prior to actually conducting the experiment, the initial goal of this project was to construct a study that based its theoretical framework on a synthesis of two fields of academia—gender and linguistics. That is, our original purpose of carrying out this study was in fact to investigate micro-ideologies embedded in a specific language through the lens of gender and misogyny.

Through close observations of participant’s behaviors in an observational social experiment, this project originally focused on answering questions like, “Does the Korean/English language contain elements that encourage or discourage a certain gender from aggressively appealing their thoughts?” or “Do men/women speak Korean to gain a more dominant position in the conversation?”

Such ambitious goals were set on the basis of a keenness to investigate whether certain speech patterns of a language were related to or were caused by a misogynistic background. We had gotten the idea from the Japanese language, where there were specific words and structures of speech structured to be used by each sex. Our hypothesis was that the English/Korean language would contain similar elements of speech as well, though they may not be noticeable at first sight.

Because of its diverse, multilingual student body, UIC is an academic setting in which bilingual (multilingual) code-switching is easily observed. That is, students would frequently switch between languages during speech, and we assumed that there must be a situational context in which they chose to speak a certain language over the other. Consequently, we decided that UIC was an interesting joint to investigate whether linguistic gender roles are structured and changed according to the language, as it not only harnesses a large population of

bilingual students, but also because it locates itself within a Korean university, in a country that finds itself in a very awkward, transitional phase in terms of women's rights issues and misogyny.

The main method of research, which was an observational social experiment, was thus designed to detect subtle behavioral patterns/attitudes of each gender during conversation, with the aims of answering questions like "Are bilingual men more assertive when they speak in Korean? Is there more formality when speaking to a different gender? Does a certain language have a more equalizing effect between the genders? Do men/women use Korean/English in times they want to be in control? Which language allows for a more collaborative discussion in which all genders can actively participate?"

Although we started out with the goal of testing such hypotheses, the results of the experiment led us elsewhere. Our results suggested that the social negotiation patterns observed during the experiment were oriented less toward a gender-ridden power dynamic, but more toward a different kind of power relations that involved the ideologies of the global era like post-colonialism and hegemony.

The rest of the paper explains in detail the process and results of the research, and what the results signify.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Bilingual Code-Switching

Bilingual code-switching has been examined from various perspectives including talk-in-interaction (Auer 1995), preferred codes (Li 1995), membership category devices (Blom and Gumperz 1972), metaphorical tools (Gumperz 1982), social roles (Myers-Scotton 1993), power-wielding (Jørgensen 1998), and ethnic identity (Heller 1992; Rampton 1995; Lo 1999).

Of the multitude of existing perspectives, this study adds on to the literature of the sociolinguistic approach, and examines aspects of bilingual speech under the premise that choosing one linguistic variety over another indicates ‘the communicative context (e.g. the social status of the speaker or the social relationship between a speaker and an addressee)’ (Ochs 1990, 293). We therefore assume that code-switching functions as a contextualization cue in bilingual conversation through which speakers signal their emotions, affects, and identity (Gumperz 1982). The code-switching observed during the experiment was thus interpreted as closely reflecting the context of the conversation and the social relationship between the speakers (Zentella 1990; Heller 1992; Stroud 1992, 1998; Sebba and Wootton 1998).

1) Korean-English Code-Switching

The existing literature on bilinguals’ emotions (e.g. Pavlenko 2006; Dewaele 2010) discuss how acquiring a second language (L2) alters the perceived language emotions and even the personae of bilinguals across contexts since it provides them with a new means of self-expression that cannot be easily expressed in their first language (Song 2016). When it comes to *Korean–English* code-switching, research has been conducted with emphasis on Koreans’

hierarchical social relationships and the status of English as a global language (Park 2008). For example, teachers and parents have been observed to code-switch into Korean when giving directives. (Shin 2010) Such code-switching has been interpreted to be an act that elevates their social status and authority when addressing their children by evoking a hierarchical social relationship (Park 2008). Interestingly, children and adolescents have been observed to make use of the same norms governing the hierarchical language in a different context, like trying to avoid conflict by using words like *hyeong/oppa* (brother) *nuuna/enni* (sister) that lowers the speaker's social authority (Kang 2003).

Language Ideologies

Like other branches of ideologies, language ideologies are perceptions pervaded with political and moral interests that have been shaped in a cultural setting. They concern conceptualizations about languages, speakers, and discursive practices. They are mostly used in a critical context, as they tend to reflect the unequal power relationships among languages and the peoples who speak them. As a "power-linked discourse about language," (Woolard 1998) language ideology has been criticized for making people appreciate languages differently according to the languages' social value. This affects the ways people use language (Martínez-Roldán and Malavé, 2004), leading to language in power be valorized, while the other languages are stigmatized (Dahlberg and Moss, 2005; Hamers and Blanc, 2000). In a study, "Linguistic Imperialism and the English-learning Boom in Korea" by Park (2008), the domination of English is not only the case in the U.S., but is a huge drift toward globalization (Karcher 2017). As English is the dominant language of the United States, an international superpower, its status is elevated as 'the international' language, and the global use of English invites the

Americanization of consumer culture, values, and everyday life (Cho, 2001; Phillipson, 2000). English enjoys its prestige as ‘the international language,’ while the U.S. exerts its power in world politics, the economy, and culture (Karcher 2017). As a consequence, children in the world are forced to spend considerable amounts of time learning English as a means of survival or success. This domination of English over all other languages is what has been coined by Phillipson as ‘linguistic imperialism’ in 1992.

2) Bilingual Koreans in Childhood

As a result of the English-learning boom in South Korea, the language ideology of English as a global language has been greatly emphasized in South Korea. The acquirement of fluent English skills are thus believed to play a significant role in one’s educational and career wise success.

In a case study of a South Korean migrant family’s language practices in a US midwestern city, Song (2016) provides an sociolinguistic analysis of a five-year-old boy’s code-switching practice. The study primarily discusses how the social meanings of languages and language ideologies enacted in his home were manifested in his patterns of code-switching. Throughout the study, the boy’s parents expressed a strong desire for and invested heavily in their children’s English acquisition during their study abroad (Song 2016). The mother believed that her child’s English abilities would come to play a critical role in his academic and career life, and he would be disadvantaged without English skills (Song 2012). Her belief illustrates her attitude toward the hegemony of English as a global language and as a gatekeeper to positions of prestige in society (Park 2008; Song 2016). Such ideologies of the English language and hers views of the role of English in her children’s lives would come to shape the boy’s practices of language at home.

With focus on the relationship between language ideologies in the home context and the social indexical meaning of his code-switching, Song analyzes how the boy’s code-switching involved the shifting of voice tones, speech acts, and stances according to the situated context, through which he evokes different and personae and character in English and Korean (See Table 1 below).

Table 1. Indexical work in Yongho’s code-switching.

Code choice	Korean	English
Tone of voice	Soft, baby-like, docile	Loud, aggressive, forceful, intense
Affective/relational stance	Sympathetic and intimate emphasizing solidarity	Apathetic and distant emphasizing autonomy
Epistemic stance	Neutral (non-assertive)	Assertive
Language ideology	Language ideology of Korean hierarchy; submission and dependence within hierarchy	Language ideology of English as power in the home
Indexical meaning	The authority of the other	Self as authority
Speech acts/pragmatic effects	Requesting and beseeching	Complaining and disagreeing



Code-switching **Negotiating social relations and personae – Establishing and performing bilingual identity**

Note. Reprinted from “Language Socialization and Code-switching: a Case Study of a Korean–English Bilingual child in a Korean Transnational Family,” by Song J., 2016, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, p. 13. Copyright 2016 by Taylor & Francis. Adapted with permission.

As shown in the table above, Song observes that Yongho (the boy) appropriated different languages as an attempt either to exert power over or to be subservient to his mother. His code-switching, therefore, is described as a “creative linguistic practice co-constituted by his agency, the social structure situated in dialogic activities with his parents, and language ideologies enacted in his home context” (Song 2016). Due to the conflicts aroused by the multiple language ideologies existing in their homes, bilingual children often experience a complex process of language socialization (Bayley and Schecter 2003; King, Fogle, and Logan-Terry 2008). Under the premise that language is a critical means of negotiating and establishing identity, such

practices of language signify that code-switching indexes the identity of the child filtered through language ideologies in the home context. That is, the meaning and function of one's code-switching occurs in a specific social context.

Children of 5-9 years of age are usually subjects of linguistic observation and study, as their language development, attitudes toward each language, and their own definition of language ideologies are not set into stone. This is due to the fact that their identities are not firmly established, and their understanding of and attitudes toward languages are much more subject to external factors like their parents or primary group communities (Song 2016). While prior bilingual studies have focused on the language socialization process of children from South Korean immigrant/minority communities in the United States, this study is unique in that it looks into a population of young adults, many of whom have had at least some kind of experience of living in an English-surrounded environment. In other words, this study concerns itself with the future version of those children previously studied.

Conversations between Same- and Cross-Genders

Even though it can be explained simply as an exchange of the words of which the meanings are conveyed between speakers, conversation is more than exchanging words. Its central role is “to carry the social message and the relating social segregations this creates” (Gefen et al., 2007). Regardless of gender differences, both men and women insert a deep social message into their conversations. However, existing literature suggests that differences exist between genders in their purposes of communication. Researchers, Gefen, D. and Ridings, C., refer to the works of sociologists that although speaking what may seem on the surface as the same language, men and women unconsciously insert “gender-specific social messages” when

they communicate (Herring et al., 1985; Tannen, 1994). Even though men and women seem to carry on a conversation without any difficulties, there appears to be a sort of unconscious social battling unfolding derived from the differences in the objectives men and women try to reach through conversation.

Researchers studying “Self-disclosure and Listener Verbal Support in Same-gender and Cross-gender Friends’ Conversations” emphasize the importance of gender especially for conversations between cross-gender. They identify gender as one of the factors that appear related to individual differences in self-disclosure, and partner gender as an important moderator of speaker gender effects on self-disclosure (1995). Although themes of disclosure or rapport have been studied in a monolingual context, little research has been conducted with regard to bilingual conversations. By delving into the sphere of multilingual speech patterns between the genders, our study hopes to add on to the existing literature of observing the conversation patterns between the opposite genders from a different perspective.

Much of the literature views women more likely than men to demonstrate active listening and to make supportive comments, whereas men tend to be less expressive with their male friends (Leaper, C. et al., 1995). Especially, the research conducted by Leaper, C. and his colleagues at the University of California, Santa Cruz, majorly discovered that women were more likely to use active understanding responses with female than male friends, where women were more likely to use clarification request responses with male than female friends (1995). Considering that both active understanding and clarification responses as supportive responses that acknowledge partner’s conveying social messages, it is a significant finding that women are more likely to share their feelings and express their sympathy during conversation than men. This perception is further clearly elaborated in Dr. Tannen’s study. She strongly argue that one

of the prominent gender-based language differences is that “men, more than women, communicate to establish social standing, control the conversation, and exchange information, while women, more than men, communicate to create interpersonal relationships” (Kilbourne & Weeks, 1997; Tannen, 1994; Tannen, 1995). She also describes how these differences in communication purposes between women and men relate to social power dynamics:

“Individual speakers vary in how sensitive they are to the social dynamics of language – in other words, to the subtle nuances of what others say to them. Men tend to be sensitive to the power dynamics of interaction, speaking in ways that position themselves as one up and resisting being put in a one-down position by others. Women tend to react more strongly to the rapport dynamic, speaking in ways that save face for others and buffering statements that could be seen as putting others in a one-down position” (Tannen, 1995).

She directly experiences this implication in her actual life:

“In my research in the workplace, I heard men say “I” in situations where I heard women say “we.” For example, one publishing company executive said, “I’m hiring a new manager. I’m going to put him in charge of my marketing division,” as if he owned the corporation. In stark contrast, I recorded women saying “we” when referring to work they alone had done. One woman explained that it would sound too self-promoting to claim credit in an obvious way by saying, “I did this.” Yet she expected—sometimes vainly—that others would know it was her work and would give her the credit she did not claim for herself” (1995, p. 141).

Here, she introduces terms, *report-talk* and *rapport-talk* to capture the differences. She categorizes language of women's conversation is mainly a language of rapport: "a way of establishing connections and negotiating relationships." Its primary function is to carry on a conversation by displaying similarities and matching experiences between speakers. On the other hand, language of conversation for most men is a report-talk. For men, talk is primarily a means to preserve independence and maintain status in a hierarchical social order by exhibiting their knowledge or performing their verbal skills such as persuading, joking, or delivering information. She suggests that these differences may have accounted for learning ways of speaking in childhood as children grow up among their peers. From childhood, girls learn to downplay ways in which one is better than the others and to emphasize ways in which they are all the same. Girls tend to criticize peers who try to stand out or appear better than others (Tannen, 1991). On the other hand, boys learn to use talking as a way to get and keep attention and to negotiate their status with the group. Boys with high status in their group are expected to emphasize rather than downplay their status, which is the opposite way of communication compared to girls. Therefore, she concludes that although both girls and boys find ways of creating rapport and negotiating status, girls tend to learn "conversational rituals that focus on the rapport dimension of relationships" whereas boys tend to learn "rituals that focus on the status dimension" (1995, p. 140). Dr. Tannen mentions "rituals" that are derived from the differences in their growing up background how women and men tend to have different habitual ways of saying what they mean. Regarding ritual, conversation is fundamentally ritual in the sense that we speak in ways our culture has conventionalized and expect certain types of responses (1995, p. 142). Therefore, cultural factors cannot be ignored when we evaluate conversation patterns between genders. Dr. Tannen also takes count of these factors:

“Conversation is an enterprise in which people take turns: One person speaks, then the other responds. However, this apparently simple exchange requires a subtle negotiation of signals so that you know when the other person is finished and it’s your turn to begin. Cultural factors such as country or region of origin and ethnic background influence how long a pause seems natural” (1995, p. 139).

She strongly believes that such cultural factors are essential elements that shape one’s linguistic style such as directness or indirectness, pacing and pausing, word choice, and the use of such skills as jokes, figures of speech, stories, questions, and apologies.

Focusing on the differences in social negotiation patterns between the genders, our research aims to find out this popular notion of culturally imposed “difference” between male and female speakers can be applicable to conversation involving frequent code-switching between the languages as well.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In order to derive answers to the questions we held, we designed a case study employing mainly qualitative methods, with the focus being an observational social experiment. The experiment was structured in a way that enabled us to detect changes in participants’ linguistic structures, behavioral patterns, and social power dynamics when code-switching in different social situations.

Conceptualizing linguistic patterns

“Linguistic patterns” are the vocal tones, velocity of speech, accents, gestures and facial expressions as well as the questions and answers exchanged during conversation or speech.

Conceptualizing social power dynamics

We adapted Max Weber’s definition of social power to conceptualize this idea.

According to Max Weber, social power is the ability to achieve one’s goals even if other people oppose those goals (Blau 1963). Social power “dynamics” is thus the variation and contrast in the force or intensity of such social relations.

Conceptualizing social situations

The different social situations that the participants were given in the experiment consisted of conversation involving same-gender, cross-gender, korean-only, english-only, bilingual, one-to-one and in groups of four people. One-to-one conversations were comprised of both daily conversation and debate.

Target Population

Our target population was the students of Yonsei’s UIC.

Sample Population

Our sample population was a total of 8 bilingual (Korean and English speaking) UIC students.

SAMPLING

The experiment was carried out among a total of 8 participants. We asked for volunteers from kakao chat groups of three different UIC departments, and from an additional 3 people

taking the Eastern Civilization course during UIC's winter semester. Due to the size of the sample, the research inescapably has its limitations, as it is a size too small to be generalized to the entire bilingual body of UIC.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The entire experiment was videotaped under the consent of all participants. Participants were assured that all filmed videos were used only for interpretation of the results and that the videos would be kept strictly confidential. Participants' identities were kept anonymous and all data containing personal information were discarded after the research.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Our experiment was designed to observe the differences between male and female bilingual speakers in tone changes, behavioral differences (gesture, eye contact), social power dynamics (assertive, collaborative), formality, and vague/directness. In order to detect these features distinctively, we allocated different missions and situations to participants.

Controlled variable 1 - Language

One of the variables we decided to control was language. Language controlled participants were asked to speak either only in Korean, only in English, or to frequently switch between the two languages. To better exemplify, female 1 (F1) was assigned to speak only in Korean. Female 2 (F2) was assigned to code-switch in between Korean and English, and Female 3 (F3) was assigned to speak only in English. The same was applied to three male participants (M1, M2, M3). Each of them would meet and talk to the same participants (F4 and M4), one at a time, in the language they were assigned to speak. F4 and M4 were not aware which language

each controlled group member would begin to speak, and therefore was expected to display different conversational patterns for each language they encountered.

Controlled variable 2 - Gender

To observe power changes in tone and in social power dynamics between participants with different gender, we controlled gender as well and each group consisted of 4 participants.

Controlled Group 1: F1, F2, F3 with uncontrolled participant, F4

Experimental Group 2: F1, F2, F3 with uncontrolled participant, M4

Controlled Group 3: M1, M2, M3 with uncontrolled participant, M4

Experimental Group 4: M1, M2, M3 with uncontrolled participant, F4

Situation 1 - Daily Conversation

The first social situations that participants were asked to face was daily conversation. We tried to construct a more comfortable setting, in which participants would introduce themselves and engage in small talk. The goal was to investigate which gender/language tended to show signs of stronger social power dynamic or formality. To avoid some awkward situations, we gave the controlled participants scripts with guidelines that told them to engage in a casual talk by asking the participants' age, major, interests, or plans during the winter break (scripts in details shown in Appendix A, B).

Situation 2 - Debate

We wanted to compare which languages the participants would choose to speak in an academic setting, where participants were expected to speak logically, as opposed to how they would speak during daily conversation. The goal was to investigate which gender/language was more likely to display an aggressive or stronger argument. As we wanted to observe active and ongoing debate, we asked controlled participants to ask the uncontrolled participants' opinion of

the debate topic first, and to refute the opposition's point of view (usually agree/disagree) regardless of whether their original opinions were for or against that view.

Debate topics were:

- 1) Is the Advantage Point System for military service fair?
- 2) Should Korean high school education offer two different curriculum tracks[options]: liberal arts and natural sciences?
- 3) Which grading system should Korean college be based on, relative grading or absolute grading?

Each debate topic was assigned to each participant from the controlled group so that the topics would not be repetitive for the uncontrolled participants.

Situation 3 - Request

We assigned each language controlled participant (F1, F2, F3, M1, M2, M3) a special mission to complete the experiment—to ask for F4 and M4's phone numbers. Our goal was to observe whether there were any differences in vague/direct-ness depending on the language or the gender in a situation where they needed to request politely.

Situation 4 - Reject

We assigned uncontrolled participants (F4, M4) a different mission—to refuse to give their numbers. The goal was to observe which language they would choose to refuse the request. We would observe whether there was a difference in vague/direct-ness depending on the language or gender in a situation where they had to refuse.

Situation 5 - Group Talk

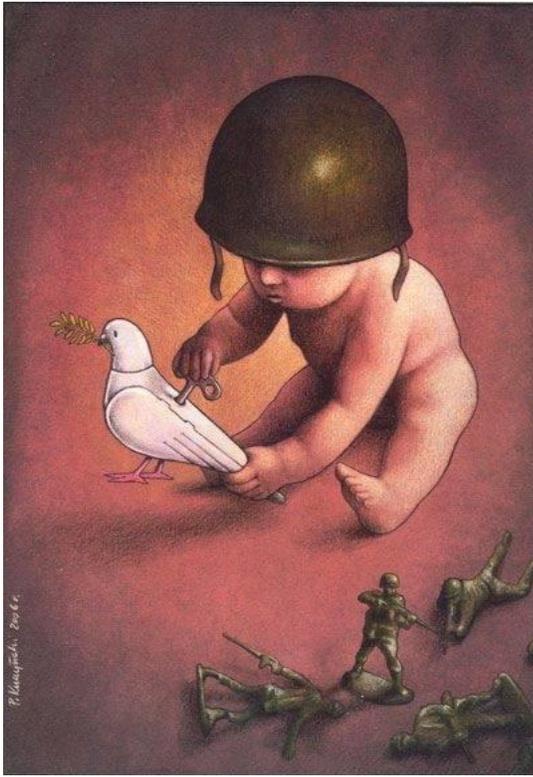
To compare one-to-one conversations to a different kind of setting, we organized group talks, four participants were asked to solve a task by discussing in groups. The goal was to

observe whether a certain gender or language would gain a more dominant position in a group conversation. Participants were asked to interpret the meanings of ambiguous images (see figure 1, 2, 3, 4) and come up with one final answer.

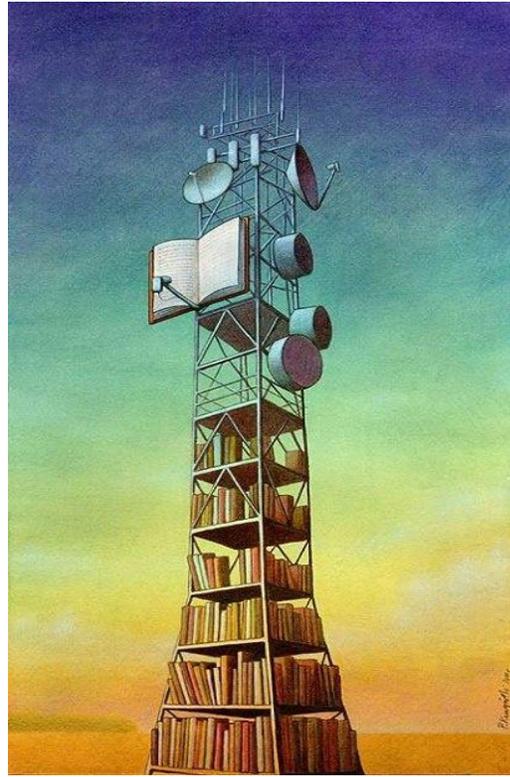
Summary of the Experiment and its Methods

Given various social situations, each participant from the controlled group was designed to meet uncontrolled participants one at a time. A different room was assigned to each participant from the controlled group, and later, an uncontrolled participant would enter the room to join the conversation. Before we let the uncontrolled participants enter the room, we gave controlled and uncontrolled participants a different script that included the debate topics and provided general, but not overly interfering guidelines for what they should do during the conversation (including the special mission of requesting/refusing phone numbers), and gave them adequate time to prepare for the debates.

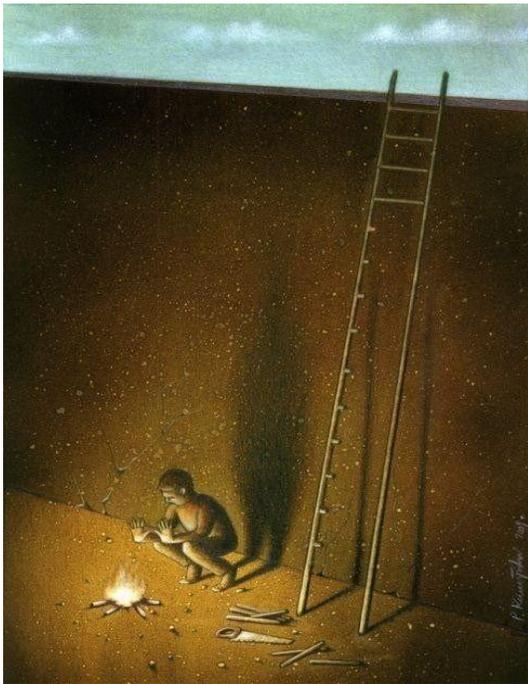
When the participants first met for a one-to-one conversation, they were given 5 minutes to talk freely just as they would in daily life. No one (including the researchers who were in charge of timekeeping), except the two participants was allowed to be in the same room. After 5 minutes of daily conversation, we informed the participants to start debating and gave them an additional 5 minutes. After 5 minutes of the debate section, all 3 participants from the language controlled group (M1, M2, M3 or F1, F2, F3) and a participant from the uncontrolled group (M4 or F4) were gathered to take on the group assignment. The time given for the group project was also 5 minutes.



<Figure 1: Group talk project 1>



<Figure 2: Group talk project 2>



<Figure 3: Group talk project 3>



<Figure 4: Group talk project 4>

There were total 16 cases of social experiment and diagrams in details are shown below.

<Language Controlled Group: M1(Kor.), M2(both), M3(Eng.) / Uncontrolled Group: M4, F4>

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| Case 1: M1 – M4 | Case 4: M1 – F4 |
| Case 2: M2 – M4 | Case 5: M2 – F4 |
| Case 3: M3 – M4 | Case 6: M3 – F4 |

Figure 5: Conversation Diagram 1-[Gender] Controlled Group

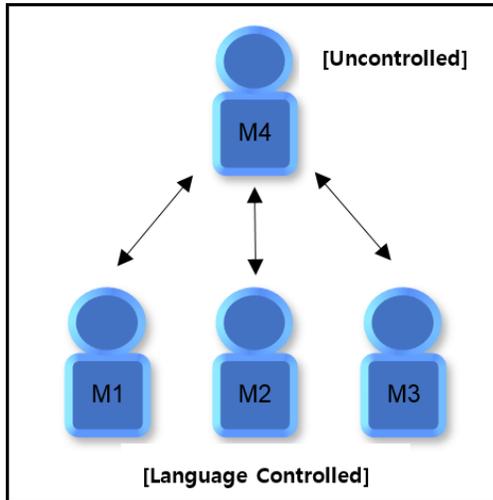
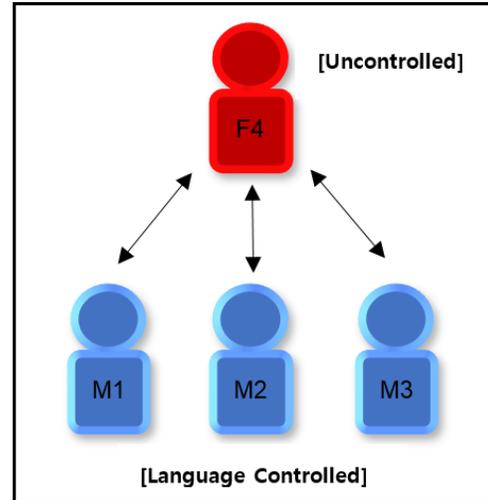


Figure 6: Conversation Diagram 2-[Gender] Uncontrolled Group



<Language Controlled Group: F1(Kor.), F2(both), F3(Eng.) / Uncontrolled Group: M4, F4>

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| Case 7: F1 – M4 | Case 10: F1 – F4 |
| Case 8: F2 – M4 | Case 11: F2 – F4 |
| Case 9: F3 – M4 | Case 12: F3 – F4 |

Figure 7: Conversation Diagram 3-[Gender] Controlled Group

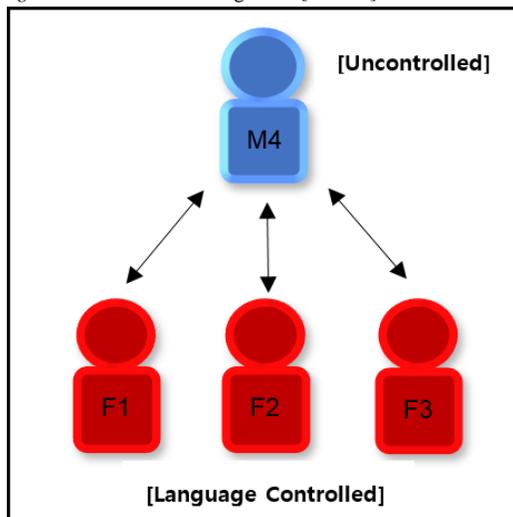
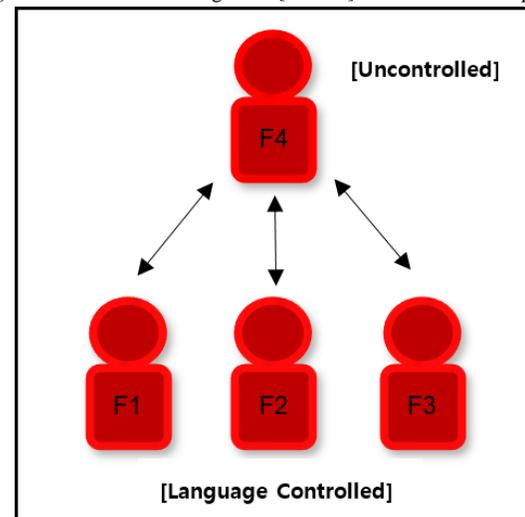


Figure 8: Conversation Diagram 4-[Gender] Uncontrolled Group



<Group Talk>

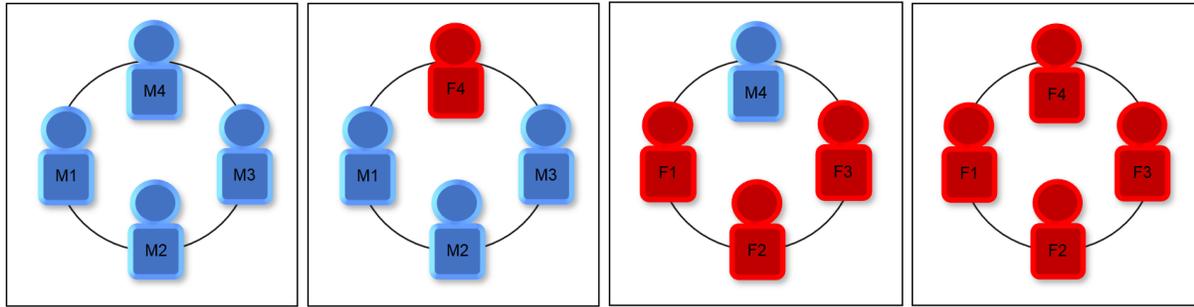
Case 13: M1-M2-M3 – M4

Case 14: M1-M2-M3 – F4

Case 15: F1-F2-F3 – M4

Case 16: F1-F2-F3 – F4

Figure 9: Conversation Diagram 5-Group Talk



RESULTS

DATA ANALYSIS STRATEGY

After observing a total of 16 cases of one-to-one and group conversations, we decided that we would need a strategy or a general guideline to analyze the data. If we were to take each case and compare it to each other case, there would be too much unorganized, incoordinate results that would be impossible to manage and arrange all the different variations or exceptions per analysis. Therefore, we decided to create specific frames and look for any similarities or differences among the cases within these frames. In this way, we could easily categorize cases and look for any similar social patterns within the frame. Language and gender were once again determined as the two general frames.

Language

Within the language frame, the major subjects of observation were M2 and F2, who were both assigned to switch freely between the languages. Since both were fluent bilinguals, our

focus was to observe which circumstances led them to choose to speak in a certain language. We looked for any differences in language choice when the participants have a daily conversation or a debate. We focused on observing the language and the specific words they would use to refute their opponents especially when they were engaged in debate. Situations where M2 and F2 had to make a random request (asking for a phone number) were also points of interest.

Gender

The initial goal of our research was to detect behavioral patterns during *opposite* gender conversations, as we aimed to identify the existence of social tensions or power relations between the genders. We decided that same gender conversations would need to be observed as a subject of comparison. Differences in mood, tones, question strategies and hand gestures were closely observed.

DATA ANALYSIS

Language

One of the most important findings about bilingual participants was that they mostly spoke in English when they need to talk logically, especially during debate. On the other hand, they tended to choose Korean when they were engaging in light conversation or making jokes.

English.

In case 11, where the bilingual (language controlled) female speaker (F2) spoke to the uncontrolled female participant(F4), the two speakers began to introduce themselves and talk casually about daily matters in Korean. However, once the debate began, F2 would suddenly code-switch into English whenever she expressed doubts, pointed out absurdities, or objected to the opposite speaker's point of view. For example, while F2

and F4 were debating over the relative grading system, F2 cut in on F4's speech and asked her a series of questions in an obviously furious tone, when F4 mentioned that her class was evaluated on absolute grading even though there were twenty or more students in that class, "Twenty?! But it's still absolute grading? WHAT??! HOW?!" (see dialogue between F2 and F4 in Table 1). Her tone was incredulous and reproachful.

Even throughout debates with other participants, F2 constantly spoke in English to articulate her argument. When F2 met M4(in case 8), she behaved the same way she did with F4. One particularly remarkable scene was observed when they were engaged in debate. Although M4 had clearly expressed his discomfort in speaking in English, and displayed signs of not being able to understand what F2 was saying, like asking her continually to repeat what she said, F2 continued to argue in English. It appeared as though she would still choose to speak in English to articulate her arguments even though the listener wasn't at the same English level as she was. Furthermore, as M4 had previously told F2 that Korean is more comfortable for him, he started to speak only in Korean at some point of the debate. F2 had stuck to speaking in English even though she had clearly recognized that the opponent's primary language was Korean.

In case 2 and 5, where the bilingual male (language controlled participant) spoke to the uncontrolled participants, the frequency of his code-switching from Korean to English was relatively lower than that of F2, but it would occur in similar patterns to that of F2. Generally speaking, M2 tended to code-switch into English word for word. For example, during his debate about Korean high school education offering two different curriculum tracks, he kept using a particular word, "integrating" in English. He also tended to use the English word "so..." when he would begin to summarize his argument.

Korean.

In general, participants spoke in Korean when they wanted to make jokes or felt the need to speak in a polite manner. In the cases of F2 and M2, both asked for phone numbers in Korean. The tone or the method they employed to approach for numbers was noticeably different from the way English-only participants asked for phone numbers. When M3 (English-only male) was performing the special mission, he asked for the phone number straight out, saying “May I have your phone number?” On the other hand, when Korean-only participants or bilingual participants asked for phone numbers (in Korean), they first came up with an excuse for demanding to know their numbers. For example, M1 complimented the opponent for unfolding a logical argument during the debate before asked for F4’s phone number. In the cases of F1 and F2, they commented on how “getting to know each other in such a manner (through a social experiment, parentheses added) was also an act of providence (fate, Kor: 인연)” before asking for the opposite party’s numbers.

Gender

Same Gender Conversations

Generally speaking, participants of the same gender seemed to be more comfortable speaking to each other than when they would speak to the opposite gender. They were observed to be more open to casual conversation and showed higher exchange rates of conversation without (or at the least less) signs of awkwardness, meaning that cases where only one person would talk considerably more were rare to observe. Interaction during debate also seemed to be intensified. Participants were significantly more assertive and mutual feedback was given on a broader scope of matters regarding

the topic of debate. Arguments were also met with fiercer (or excited) rebuttals compared to conversations with the opposite gender.

Opposite Gender Conversations

When participants spoke to the opposite gender, they seemed to be politer and more careful in their responses (although exceptions definitely did exist). One participant in particular seemed to exemplify this observation. When talking to a same gender participant, he put his hands in his pockets and leaned back in his chair throughout the entire conversation. On the contrary, once he met the opposite gender participant, he immediately sat straight up in his chair, placed his hands on the desk, and leaned forward, listening actively and politely engaging in the conversation.

Casual conversation between the opposite genders went on in a slightly more awkward atmosphere. In comparison to the conversations between same gender participants, the conversation appeared to be “led” mostly by male participants. The female participant often resorted to listening (active though, and not passive) providing relatively brief answers to the questions asked. The conversation between M2 and F4 (see Table 4: dialogue between M2 and F4) is one example of such patterns. Another interesting point of observation was the amount of smiling or laughing. Participants, especially female participants, tended to smile or laugh noticeably more compared to when they spoke to same gender participants. (Laughing or smiling in consent was very rarely observed during same gender conversations.)

Overall, the most significant finding within the gender frame was that when the opposite gender talked to each other, they became more awkward but formal, and polite. Especially, but

not limited to, when engaging in daily conversation, the male participant tended to lead the conversation and female tended to conform to his lead. On the other hand, when the same gender participants talked to each other, they were more open to the conversation, and their debates became more fierce and intense.

DISCUSSION

POWER GAME THEORY

Under the assumption that UIC bilingual speakers interact within ‘the communicative context, (e.g. the social status of the speaker or the social relationship between a speaker and an addressee)’ (Ochs 1990) this study proposes a special term that will aid in visualizing and discussing the results of the experiment. Begin by imagining the conversation to be a kind of game. Those who engage in the conversation are equated to the players of a game. The main objective of the game will thus be to gain a dominant or influential position in the ongoing conversation, that is, to gain more initiative or *power*. A conversation, even with only two players, will therefore end up having a loser and a winner.

The power game theory places its theoretical basis on Ochs’ (1992) identification of the relation of power to certain linguistic forms as not just a simple correlation between a language and power, but as something that is mediated and constituted through ‘a web of socially organized pragmatic meanings.’ The way the power game theory operates in the realm of bilingual conversation is particularly intriguing because of the bilingual speaker’s ability and tendency to code-switch between the languages, as switching between the languages or appropriating a certain one language during conversation may be interpreted as strategies to gain a more advantageous position in the power game.

The most striking utilization of this strategy was observed during the conversations between F2-M4 and F2-F4. Even though bilingual speaker F2 was asked to deliberately switch between using Korean and English while speaking (as the language control group), the speaker stuck to speaking the English in particular, not so much when asked to converse in daily matters, but significantly and noticeably when engaging in debate. Speaker F2 continued the debate in English even after M4 directly expressed his awkwardness in speaking English, and described the main points of her argument in English even though F4 started explaining her argument in Korean, as she felt more comfortable speaking in Korean rather than English. Although the use of English may not have been an entirely deliberate strategy to dominate the conversation, it proved to be an effective one in that both M4 and F4 appeared to have more difficulties with refuting F2's opinions, allowing F2 to take lead of the conversation and topic of debate.

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES: Linguistic Imperialism and US Hegemony

In general, the bilingual speakers of the experiment seemed to share similar patterns of code-switching. Participants would resort to English for specific words or phrases, to reiterate or elaborate on their main ideas in detail. Such patterns of speech were observed during both debate and daily conversation, but in both cases, the overall tendency was to use English in a more logical context. The participants' use of Korean and English in different situational contexts, and one specific case that concretely exemplified our observation (F2's case) convinced us to believe that the English language tended to be perceived and used as a sort of "academic" language among UIC students.

Even within the language controlled group, speakers F2 and M2 were focal agents of observation in that they were equally fluent in both English and Korean, and gave confident

consent when asked to switch as much as possible between the two languages during conversation. Such speech patterns of speaker F2 discussed above (choosing to speak almost exclusively in English as the debate progressed) sparked our curiosity. We decided to ask for an additional interview to gain deeper understanding of the scene and of the speaker.

Like many of UIC's students, F2 revealed that she had lived in the states since middle school under Korean parents.

When asked why she had chosen to speak English during debate, even though the opposite speaker clearly expressed his/her preference of using Korean, her reply was as such (in Korean)

“I think it must be because of my education in America. After all, I'd spent most of my middle school and all of my high school years in the States. I think you could say that English comes to me much more naturally when engaging in academic conversation, like debate. Although I might choose to speak either Korean or English depending on whom I'm talking to for daily matters, I feel more comfortable speaking English when I'm discussing something more academic.”

F2's remarks on the English language pressed us to raise much deeper, and more fundamental questions concerning the nature of our study, as we could not help ourselves from thinking that there must be something more perceptually substrate involved. If F2 had chosen to speak English because she decided that it was the more advantageous strategy, be it consciously or not, it would have been because she knew that strategy could potentially overpower her opponent. In other words, speaker F2 was able to choose and implement that strategy (of speaking in English) because she would be excused her immediate rudeness and a fortiori be

rewarded for exhibiting her English skills. It is because of this moment that F2's case calls for special attention and close examination. We carefully suggest that the awareness of the English language and the ability to speak it as a superior strategy may be linked to perceptual and ideological values, especially in association with linguistic imperialism.

Also known as *linguistic nationalism*, *linguistic dominance*, and *language imperialism*, *linguistic imperialism* is the imposition of one language on speakers of other languages (Phillipson 1992). First coined by Robert Phillipson in 1992, the term specifically identifies the *English* linguistic imperialism as "the dominance asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages" (Phillipson 1992). Originating alongside the British Empire's colonial expansion, linguistic imperialism replicates its hegemonic role in global affairs by acting as the primary mediator of cultural imperialism in a variety of fields, such as science, technology, economics, academia, politics, entertainment, and education (Karcher 2017). As a subtype of cultural imperialism, linguistic imperialism has long been criticized for occupying a central position in the ongoing dynamics of power and inequality on a global level.

In the case of South Korea, acquirement of the English language has become so endeavored as to be known as the 'English Fever' (Park 2009). The scholarly consensus of linguistic studies in South Korea recognizes the phenomenon to be a byproduct of globalization and of US hegemony, emanating from South Korea's close ties with the US army after the Korean War. While English is not directly forced, it still holds immense sway in Korean economic and cultural spheres, and powerfully shapes the modern Korean life (Karcher 2017; Park 2009).

Because it is unlikely that F2's response was a deliberate strategy (to disarm her opponent during conversation) based on the knowledge of such hegemony or power, such behavior is intriguing even the more. Could it be that bilingual speakers subconsciously adapt linguistic practices and language ideologies selectively according to their interactional needs and contextual demands? If so, it seems safe to say that bilingual speakers are able to negotiate and exploit the different social relationships and meanings to *get what they want*, through the means of bilingual, or even multilingual code-switching.

GENDER MICRO-IDEOLOGIES FALSIFIED

Our hypotheses pertaining to issues related to gender were set under the assumption that male and female participants would display the typical characteristics of being masculine and feminine. Interestingly, the majority of our results appeared to be congruent with the literature we had gathered. During debate, women generally tended to react more strongly to the rapport dynamic, speaking in ways that save face for others and avoiding harsh feedback in situations where they could easily take the upper hand by pointing out a weak argument. This was especially noticeable between female-to-female conversations. Speakers would be attentive and encouraging listeners even though they might later on refute the same argument.

Men, more than women, tended to show signs of trying to lead and control conversations when speaking to a female speaker. The conversation became much more intense between male-to-male speakers, focusing on the exchange of information and speaking in ways that position themselves as one up and resisting being put in a one-down position by others. Although they would listen attentively and occasionally nod, weak arguments were countered as soon as possible, even if it involved cutting into the opposite speaker's turn in mid-speech.

There were however, exceptions that existed, and such exceptions are what inhibit us from generalizing the patterns of speech discussed in the previous literature. We observed that not all the participants were particularly more comfortable with speaking to the same gender participants. One particular participant seemed to be much more relaxed, comfortable, and animated when speaking to opposite gender participants. The participant, although male, continued to display conversation patterns that would traditionally be labeled “feminine” characteristics, allowing the opposition speaker to take lead of the conversation and refraining from giving undisguised negative feedback.

Such exceptions pressure us to bring up the conventional debate over the terms of “sex” and “gender.” Much of the literature concerning gender studies distinguish between the uses of the two terms. While “sex” which is construed in biological terms, “gender” reflects socio cultural meaning (Burr, 1998). In addition, Ruble and Martin (1998) use “sex” to refer to classifications of people as female or male, and “gender” to refer to social judgments or inferences about the sexes (e.g., stereotypes or roles).

We believe that our observations are one of the many examples that reinforce such notions of gender as one that is socially labeled and acquired as a result of socialization. Like West and Zimmerman acclaim (2002), “gender” is neither a set of traits nor roles, but the product of social constructions that are often times neglective of preserving the individual personality.

Moreover, the different speech patterns between men and women were difficult to distinguish at first sight, and were only observable after several rounds of rewinding the videos. It is unlikely that the actual participants of the experiment were conscious of such differences at all during conversation. All in all, gender ideologies seem to be a less powerful factor playing in the power game compared to the ideologies concerning language.

CONCLUSION

In that its faculty and student body is drawn from all over the world, Yonsei's UIC provides a highly diverse, multilingual, and vibrant cultural atmosphere that differs from any other academic setting in the country. Though UIC is officially an all-English college, it is not uncommon to come across students speaking to each other in Korean, or a mixture of Korean and English, as the majority of students come to UIC with some sort of Korean background. As a result, Yonsei's UIC becomes an interesting joint to investigate bilingual code-switching. We believed that such a setting would allow for certain set of social negotiation patterns between male and female speakers to be observed during conversation, and designed an observational social experiment that initially focused on detecting the linguistic gender roles embedded into a certain language and their forms of manifestation during bilingual conversation.

One of the most significant findings that we feel worth are worth reiteration is that in an academic setting, where participants need to articulate their thoughts logically, they tend to use English. This tendency may be the result of the fact that most of the participants have been received their scholarly education in English. Since almost all the UIC students are exposed to English at some sort of institution since childhood, English may have come more naturally to the speakers in an academic context than a casual one. We carefully suggest that this use of English might have developed from a social understanding/norm that English is a dominant language and using English may be a powerful method to gain a superior position or a more advantageous position in the conversation, that is, to "win" the power game.

The biggest interest of this research was to discover what linguistic choice UIC male and female bilingual speakers made in different social situations and why, and whether each gender strategically appropriates a certain language to achieve their goals. The conclusion is yes, they do.

But not in the sense that they are pressured by a gender-stereotypical, misogynistic background. Quite contrary to the initial expectations of finding out whether bilingual speakers were able to manipulate the linguistic gender expectations encoded in a language for their own strategic purposes however, the narrative of gender proved to be a weak and inefficient strategy in the power game. Conversation patterns between bilingual speakers were much more heavily influenced by ideologies like linguistic imperialism and English hegemony.

Had the project been more abundant in the resources of time and manpower, and more careful in gathering the sample population, we believe that more meaningful results would have surfaced under the topic of gender as well. One of the study's biggest limitations was the size and representativeness of the sample population. There were blind mistakes made when conceptualizing/operationalizing the term "bilingual," and some of the participants did not share equal fluency in both of the languages. The results will be very hard to generalize to the whole of the UIC student body, let alone the Korean-English speaking population of the world. We are hopeful, however, that this research will be able to aid future researchers working on similar topics as an exemplary case study, and be a kind of bridge to open future fields of study on linguistics and gender.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Script for language controlled participants

<Script 1>

Part I. Engage in daily conversation 일상적인 대화를 유도하세요 (3-5mins)

-Say Hi. 인사

-Introduce yourselves (Name, school year, major, etc.) 자기소개 (이름, 학번, 전공 등)

-Isn't it cold in here? 여기 춥지 않아요?

-Did you have breakfast? 아침 드셨어요?

-What did you do for the holidays? 방학 때 뭐 했어요?

Part II. Engage in academic conversation (debate) 학문적인 대화를 유도하세요 (5-10mins)

Pick a side (agree/disagree) and state your reasons for choosing that side on the following topics.

---> Refute your opponent's arguments, regardless of whatever side they choose to stick to!

This means that you will have to prepare both sides (agree/disagree) to the topic, since you don't know what the other person will choose to side with.

상대방이 어떤 대답을 하든지 무조건 반박하세요! 상대방이 어떤 의견일지 모르기 때문에, 양쪽 입장 모두를 준비두세요!

1. Relative Grading (상대평가) vs. Absolute Grading (절대평가) in universities
2. Should advantage points be given to male applicants who completed military service in South Korea? 군 가산점 제도에 찬성하는가?
3. Is dividing high school students into 문과/이과 necessary?

*****You have a special mission!!***** 특별한 미션이 있습니다!!!

Ask for the other person's number. 상대방의 번호를 따세요.

Appendix B: Script for Uncontrolled participants

<Script 2>

Pick a side (agree/disagree) and state your reasons for choosing that side on the following topics.

1. Relative Grading (상대평가) vs. Absolute Grading (절대평가) in universities
2. Should advantage points be given to male applicants who completed military service in South Korea? 군 가산점 제도에 찬성하는가?
3. Is dividing high school students into 문과/이과 necessary?

*******You have a special mission!!***** 특별한 미션이 있습니다!!!**

If someone asks for your number, say no! 만약 상대방이 번호를 달라고 한다면 무조건 거절하세요!

<Table 2: Dialogue between F2 and F4 (1)>

Speaker	Dialogue with translation
F4	Relative grading is normal in Korea, right?
F2	Yeah Yeah.
F4	Yeah, but then. . .
F2	Since high school, right?
F4	(doubtful and rolling her eyes) Yeah... like...(thinking)
F2	(code-switching to Korea) 그... 막 등급 나누고 그럴 때 부터인가..? -> 'since having the "rating system" for the college scholastic ability test(CSAT)?'
F4	(rolling her eyes, sometimes arranging her hair) Umm... 그냥 한국 초등학교 때부터 사실 등수를 준다는 것 자체가 relative grading 이 있다는 거잖아요. 그래서 초등학교, 중학교 다 그런 식으로 해와서 그냥 그거에 나쁜 것을 몰랐는데, absolute grading 을 이번 Eastern Civilization (class name) 에서 해보니까. . . -> 'I just think that since elementary school in Korea, we are ranked by grades, so that means we have been getting used to the relative grading system since young. Since we are used to this throughout the entire elementary, middle, and high school years, I never had any chance to think about any disadvantages of this relative grading system. But right now, I am taking my Eastern Civilization class with absolute grading. . . '
F2	(surprised) Is it absolute grading?!?!?
F4	(smiling and sticking her thumb out) Yeah :)
F2	(annoyed) How many people taking that class?
F4	(tilting her head) 30? or 20?
F2	(more surprised) TWENTY??? but it's still ABSOLUTE GRADING?????
F4	(nodding her head) Yeah..
F2	(incredulous and resentful) HOW? WHAT!!... WHAT?!?
F4	Like. . . (stuttering for a moment)(code-switching to Korean) 근데 그 수업 지금 하는 게 UIC 는

	<p>지금 한 4 명 5 명 밖에 없어요. -> 'But there are only four or five students from UIC in this class.'</p>
F2	(consenting) ahhhh..! Because... the winter program...
F4	(quickly reacting) 네! -> 'Yeah! You're right'

<Table 3: Dialogue between F2 and F4 (2)>

Speaker	Dialogue with translation
F2,F4	(talking about a professor from the Eastern Civilization class)
F2	<p>그래서 원래.. 막... 뭐지..? 그 교수님이 다음 학기 부터 이십 다시 하시는 줄 알고 다들 막 와아~ 했는데, 아니더라고요. 방학때만 하고 안하시는 것 같아서.. -> 'So...like...Everybody thought that he is gonna open his Eastern Civilization class for the next semester, so they were all happy about it, but noticed that he is not. I guess he only opens his class during the break.'</p>
F4	<p>(nodding her head) 아아~~ -> Ahhh~</p>
F2	<p>저야 어차피 이미 들었으니까 의미 없지만... -> 'For me, I already took that class so it doesn't matter to me anyway.'</p>
F4	(laughing, nodding her head, and turning her eyes to her snack)
F2	<p>그래서 그 교수님 수업 어때요? -> 'So, how's his class?'</p>
F4	<p>(rolling her eyes, sometimes arranging her hair) 저는 이십이 엄청 짱세잖아요, 원래... 근데 너무 좋아요. (laughing together) -> 'You know... everyone says Eastern Civilization is a tough class, but... I really like it.'</p>
F2	(laughing hard)
F4	<p>되게 의외로 좋아요..! (arranging her hair) 제가 이십을 지금 다시 듣는게 중간고사때 공부를 하다가 늦게 일어나가지구... 잠을 자다가 못 본거예요 (laughing) -> 'It's so much better than what I expected! The reason why I am retaking this class is</p>

	because last time when I was studying for the mid-term, I slept over and missed the exam(hahaha)!
F2	(sympathizing) 아아...! 어떡해...!! -> 'Oh...no...!'
F4	근데 공부를 한 번 해봤으니까 이게 엄청 빠센 수업이라는걸 아는데, 계절로 들으니까 너무 좋아요. -> 'Since I've already taken this class before, I know how hard this class is, but I think taking this class during the break is so much better.'
F2	의외다...(laughing) 원래 보통 계절로 들으면.. -> 'What a surprise! Usually when people take classes during the break...'
F4	네.. 보통 더 빠쳐하잖아요 (laughing) -> 'Yeah, they would normally get pissed off(hahaha).'

<Table 4: Dialogue between M2 and F4>

Speaker	Dialogue with translation
F4	안녕하세요~ 'Hi~'
M2	(bowing his head while eye-contacting her) What's your major?
F4	I'm majoring in QRM.
M2	QRM? Okay. What's your age? Are you freshman?
F4	(rolling her eyes) Korean age...? (code-switching to Korean) 23 살이요. 'I'm 23 years old.'
M2	23 살? 한국나이로? 그러면... You're supposed to be... -> '23 years old? In Korean age? Then... you're supposed to be...'
F4	Yeah. I'm done with sophomore year.
M2	얼마나 걸렸어요? -> 'How long did you take to get here?'
F4	아 여기 오는데요? 1 시간 반... -> 'to get here? About 1hr and half'

M2	어디..어디사시는데요? -> 'Where do you live?
F4	안양..이요 -> 'I live in Annyang.'
M2	안양이면 어디였더라...(code switching to English) Is it South from the Seoul? -> 'Where is Annyang..?' Is it South from the Seoul?
F4	(nodding her head) 네 -> 'Yeah'
M2	(joking) 방학때.. 할 거 없어서 이거 했어요? -> 'Are you doing this because you got nothing else to do during the break?
F4	(laughing hard, covering her mouth) 아니요. 계절 듣고 있어요. 지금 원래 수업 시간이에요. -> 'hahaha No. I am taking winter semester. Right now is actually the class time.'
M2	아.. 지금 뭐 듣는데요? -> 'ahh. What are you taking?'
F4	이썩.. 'Eastern Civilization..'
M2	아 이썩 계절 듣는구나. (code-switching to English) Why though? -> 'Oh, you are taking Eastern Civilization class. Why though?'
F4	(smiling, averting her eyes) (arranging her hair) (unwillingly speaking) 제가... 그전에 좀 망쳤어가지구.. -> 'I just... didn't do well last time.'
M2	아 그럼.. Retake.. 재수강? -> 'Oh so. . .are you retaking the class?'
F4	(smiling) Yes.
M2	Ahhhhhh