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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

Faculty of Humanities

**A study of a multilingual student community's language practices
and perceptions at a Korean international university**

by

Jaewon Ra

Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

December 2017

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

School of Modern Languages and Linguistics

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**A study of a multilingual student community's language practices and perceptions
at a Korean international university**

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The number of incoming international students in Korean higher education (HE) has been steadily increasing by virtue of the intensification of internationalization policies in Korean universities. These students not only experience the local language and culture but are also exposed to various other linguacultures through social participation in international communities. Although South Korea is part of Kachru's (2005) Expanding Circle context, a great number of international students in Korean HE use English as a lingua franca (ELF) as the main source of communication. Moreover, in many cases, they creatively exploit their multilingual ELF resources to negotiate meaning and identity. This implies that the role of English in Korean HE has become of paramount importance and that English should no longer be associated with dominant standard ideologies. However, empirical research on international students in terms of their socialization through ELF practices in Korean HE has been very scarce.

Therefore, this study explores this issue by examining international students' practices and perceptions in the multilingual ELF context of a Korean university. Grounded in the communities of practice (CoP) framework, this study adopted a qualitative ethnographic approach to closely observe nine students from Malaysia, South Africa, Lithuania, Japan, Germany, the US and France. Data was collected over one academic semester at a university in Seoul. The main sources of data were audio-recordings of naturally occurring group conversations and interviews and these were

supplemented by documents, social media, fieldnotes and a research diary. Empirical evidence provided a profound understanding of the fluid, hybrid and intricate nature of 'linguaging' and culture formation in the community. The participants portrayed their creative and innovative use of multilingual resources in ELF communication. The use of ELF became meaningful through the negotiation of the participants in localized ways. The participants also revealed adaptability and localization of their identities through liminal and transcultural spaces.

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Declaration of Authorship

I, **Jaewon Ra** declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

A study of a multilingual student community's language practices and perceptions at a Korean international university

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signed:

Date: 5 December 2017

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Abbreviations

Af	Afrikaans
Can	Cantonese
C1	First culture
C2	Second culture
C3	Third culture
CoP	Communities of Practice
Du	Dutch
EAP	English for Academic Purposes
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EIL	English as an International Language
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ELT	English Language Teaching
EMI	English as a Medium of Instruction
ESP	English for Specific Purposes
Fr	French
Gr	German
HE	Higher Education
IntCom	International (student) Committee
JP	Japanese
Kr	Korean
KrEng	Korean English
L1	First language
L2	Second language
L3	Third language
Man	Mandarin
NNSE	Non-native speakers of English
NS	Native speaker
NSE	Native speakers of English
Sp	Spanish
WE	World Englishes

Transcription conventions

((laughs))	non-linguistic features
()	uncertain transcription
(?)	inaudible
=	latched utterance
[]	overlapping
< >	code-switched language (e.g., <Kr>, <Jp>, <Sp>, <Gr>)
{ }	translation
(.)	short pause
(number)	longer pauses in seconds
:	lengthened sound
?	rising intonation
CAPITALS	emphasis
[name 1]	anonymized names of people and places

Chapter 1 Introduction

What does it mean to be a good English speaker? Two months before officially starting my PhD, my father, who knew what kind of research I would be committed to in the next three to four years, emailed me a link of a TED talk titled *3 ways to speak English*. As I watched, the speaker Jamila Lyiscott captivated the audience with her powerful poem about her “tri-tongued English oration”. She dismisses the dominant ideology of standard English and argues how the three types of English she uses at home, at school and with friends are all articulate English. As an African American, she has been fed up with the mind-sets of ‘proper’ English in the US. Instead of judging her people’s English “broken”, she urges for an appreciation of linguistic diversity by calling it a “linguistic celebration”. The following presents an inspiring part of her poem.

*Yes, I have decided to treat all three of my languages as equals
Because I’m articulate
But who controls articulation?
Because the English language is a multifaceted oration
Subject to indefinite transformation...
How can you expect me to treat their imprint on your language as anything less than equal
Let there be no confusion
Let there be no hesitation
This is not a promotion of ignorance
This is a linguistic celebration*

1.1 Rationale and research questions

The motivation of this research project derives from countless social encounters I had in multilingual and multicultural settings in the past few years. Having spent my childhood in the US and with an English language and literature degree from a Korean university, I had the advantages of finding English teaching jobs during and after my undergraduate study. For years, I have taught Korean adult learners who aimed to improve their English speaking skills for various reasons such as for job promotion, emigration, traveling and self-satisfaction. Many of my students desired to become like native speakers and as I have lived in the US for quite some time I focused on teaching them American English (e.g., American accents, expressions and slangs). At

that time, I was one of the many Koreans who without doubt adhered to the standard language ideology when it came to English education.

Later, I decided to study more about teaching English and flew to the UK for a master's degree in TEFL/TESL at the University of Birmingham. It was in the UK when I realized that being a competent English speaker is not about articulating like a native speaker. Interestingly, it was not my master's program that enlightened me but it was the international student community I was part of outside the classroom that made me aware of the free use of English during intercultural encounters. I had the greatest opportunity to socialize with people from all over the world and had numerous multicultural and multilingual experiences during the period I was in the UK. I have witnessed how English was spoken in such creative ways with no hindrance to understanding each other. Everyone was confident speaking in English influenced by their own linguistic and cultural background and nobody was correcting each other. My social surrounding was always a "linguistic celebration" of English variation and multilingualism. There are endless instances that come to mind. When drinking with friends, instead of *cheers* we chanted *saluti, prost, geonbae* or *kanpai*. I thanked my Russian American friend with *spasibo*, ended my messages to French and Spanish speaking friends with *bisous* or *besos*, for fun told my Saudi friend to hurry up with *yalla yalla* and celebrated my Japanese friend's birthday by shouting *otanjobiomedeto*. Certainly all of these were mixed within English conversations. I was fascinated by how the community created a social bond over time by drawing on different Englishes and other languages. We were very naturally influencing each other's language resources and use of English. Eventually, this completely changed my persistence to using only American English and I have become much more flexible with my use of English.

My experience in the international community later got me to think about my master's dissertation topic and my interest started leaning towards Global Englishes. I encountered a flourishing amount of ELF-oriented literature during the period in which I wrote my dissertation and my understanding on the role of English in the globalized world improved significantly. I was also naturally part of several different international communities even after my master's study and this allowed me to bring fresh ideas to my research. From the enriching experience I had in the UK, it was the

first time that I have become profoundly intrigued by a specific subject in academia. It became a turning point in my life and this was when I knew I would continue doing research on a PhD level.

As there is already thriving research on international students in the field of applied linguistics in Inner Circle (Kachru, 2005) contexts and as I am from Korea, I started putting thoughts into the international student community in Korean higher education (HE). The intensification of internationalization policies in Korean universities has led to a steady increase in the number of incoming international students from across the globe (see section 2.4). Yet, empirical research which explores the role of English in international student communities in Korean HE is very scarce. There has been a small number of ethnographic studies involving international students in HE on their ELF practices in Europe (e.g., Kalocsai, 2014; Smit, 2010). However, there are none which investigated international students in terms of their socialization through ELF in East Asian contexts. Therefore, this research aims to offer rich empirical data of the practices and use of ELF in a multilingual community at a Korean university. This led to developing one main research question with a set of three sub-questions:

1. What role does ELF play in a multilingual student community in Korean higher education?
 - a) What role do shared social and linguistic practices play in the co-construction of the multilingual student community of practice?
 - b) Which shared identities are constructed and perceived by the community?
 - c) What are the community's perceptions of their language practices, including ELF?

By providing a detailed discussion of answers to the above questions, this thesis can offer a general insight into how international students socialize and adapt themselves in an East Asian context through multilingual ELF practices. Moreover, the scrutiny of the shared practices in a specific international community can demonstrate how the community is maintained over time. Lastly, it is hoped that this research may take a small part in contributing to internationalization policies in East Asian HE contexts

where still most believe that 'standard' English is the English spoken by native speakers.

1.2 Defining ELF

The theoretical framework of this thesis has been built on different concepts in relation to ELF and thus it is important to understand the terminology before continuing on to the next chapters. Furthermore, ELF is the core term of the main research question (see previous section). The intention of the research project is to discover the role of ELF in an international student community in a transcultural Korean HE setting. Research into ELF has emerged on a global scale since the last two decades. In present time, non-native speakers of English (NNSE) greatly outnumber native speakers of English (NSE) and this has been an impetus to the accumulation of current ELF research (Canagarajah, 2007a; Seidlhofer, 2011).

Seidlhofer (2011: 7) defines ELF as “any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communication medium of choice, and often the only option”. She stresses that the focus of ELF is on the functional features of communication and not linguistic forms. Furthermore, Jenkins (2006: 159) refers to ELF as “...English when it is used as a contact language across linguacultures”. Details on the term linguaculture (or languaculture) and its relation to ELF are illustrated in section 4.2.4. From an ELF perspective, NNSEs are neither poor nor flawed speakers of English but are skillful communicators who can benefit from their multilingual resources (Jenkins et al., 2011). However, unlike how some early definitions of ELF (e.g., Firth, 1996; House, 1999) are limited to only NNSEs, it is important to note that the current ELF paradigm includes speakers from Kachru's (2005) Inner and Outer Circle countries as they also use English for intercultural communication (Seidlhofer, 2009).

The rising interest in the role of English in the globalized world has generated a profusion of terms and this has unfortunately provoked controversial issues in the area of language globalization (Cogo & Dewey, 2012). Hence, the key differences of such terminology have been clarified numerously by ELF scholars to date (Baker, 2015; Cogo & Dewey, 2012; Jenkins, 2006; 2014a; Seidlhofer, 2009; 2011). Here, I

address two terms that have constantly triggered misunderstanding and confusion with the ELF paradigm: World Englishes (WE) and English as an International Language (EIL).

The term WE has been used to emphasize the pluricentric nature of English and to recognize different varieties of English in Kachru's (2005) Outer Circle contexts (Jenkins, 2006). In WE research, the attention is on “*nativised, indigenised, institutionalised, and new English(es) or English as a second language* (Jenkins, 2006: 3, italics in original)”. Thus, ELF is distinguished from the term WE in the way that WE identifies a variety of localized Englishes bounded within territories whereas ELF is a hybrid language formed by intercultural communication (Cogo & Dewey, 2012). In other words, ELF is not fixed to a monolithic or regional variety of English but is a dynamic, flexible and pluralistic language that is used in various intercultural interactions (Cogo & Dewey, 2012; Jenkins et al., 2011; Seidlhofer, 2011). Therefore, ELF does not belong to one defined geographical area but is constructed by the users of ELF.

EIL has also been concerned with different varieties of English, but across all Kachru's (2005) Circles (Mckay, 2009). Thus, the term EIL overlaps in some ways with both ELF and WE. Appropriately, Seidlhofer (2011: 4) clarifies two types of EIL: *localized* EIL and *globalized* EIL. *Localized* EIL refers to WE or *intra-national* communication in Outer Circle contexts that is for example, Indian English and Nigerian English. On the other hand, *globalized* EIL captures English used in all three Kachru's (2005) Circles in *inter-national* communication and is strongly linked to ELF. However, given that EIL research in general focuses on varieties of language, it can be noted that EIL has closer relations to WE research rather than ELF (Baker, 2015). Despite the different perspectives of how globalized English is studied in ELF, WE and EIL, both WE and EIL still endeavor to shift away from standard ideologies of English in Inner Circle settings and welcome varieties of English and variation in English spoken by both NSEs and NNSEs in the real world. Accordingly, Baker (2015) introduces Global

Englishes¹ as a useful umbrella term which embraces all three distinct branches of English(es) research.

More recently, Jenkins (2015) introduced a new term ‘English as a multilingual franca’ which fits more appropriately to the reality of intensifying multilingualism around the world. She argues that rather than putting focus on the big ‘E’ in ELF, we should investigate how ‘linguaging’ operates within multilingualism with English as part of the phenomenon (see section 3.5). This study complies in many ways with what Jenkins (2015) suggests about the multilingual nature of ELF (see chapter 7). Overall, I adopt the term ELF in this thesis as its key features such as fluidity and hybridity fits the most suitably with the English practices explored in my research context.

1.3 Structure of thesis

Chapter 2 sets the background for further investigation of international students in East Asian contexts by exploring internationalization theories and strategies, global student mobility, study abroad and intercultural citizenship. I also add a discussion on the history of internationalization and recent internationalization policies in Korean HE to better understand the context of this study. This is followed by the issues of internationalization of Korean HE and suggestions for improvement. The last section introduces studies of academic ELF that have been conducted to date.

Relevant literature is reviewed in chapter 3 and 4 with the aim to provide theoretical underpinnings on areas of language, multilingualism, identity, culture, and community through the lens of ELF. These five areas are crucial to explore on the grounds that I have closely examined a *multilingual community* with the main focus on how *cultures* and *identities* are constructed through the members’ *linguaging*² to highlight the role of English in Korean HE. The sections in the literature chapters have

¹ Definition of the term is outlined as “the linguistic and sociocultural dimensions of global uses and users of English” by the Centre for Global Englishes at the University of Southampton (<http://www.southampton.ac.uk/cge/about/index.page?>).

² The definition of this is provided on p.33.

been evaluated from an ELF perspective and examples of ELF studies in the particular field have been delineated.

Chapter 3 begins with conceptualizing language and discussing the notion of multilingual repertoire. These provide a basis for understanding the phenomenon of multilingualism and translanguaging which is addressed in the following section. This field has especially become a growing interest as a result of the increase of transnational mobility around the world. Next, different perspectives on multilingualism which crucially links to the ELF paradigm are introduced. The following section deals with different theories of identity that can be applied to my research context. The relationship between language and identity is examined from a poststructuralist perspective. This is accompanied by different perspectives of identity influenced by multilingualism and global flows. Lastly, it is suggested that Wenger's (1998) perspective on identity negotiation is also a suitable notion to adopt for investigation in a multilingual ELF context.

The first part of chapter 4 outlines the relationship between language and culture. I start with illustrating conceptualizations of culture that are relevant to this study. Following this, earlier works of language and culture association are presented. Next, I move on to a transnational perspective to explain the notion of languaculture, which in many ways resemble the ELF paradigm. The second part deals with concepts of community in relation to language and culture. I look at the traditional concept of 'speech' and 'discourse' community to further explain why the communities of practice (CoP) is the most appropriate to my study.

Chapter 5 deals with research methodology. This chapter begins with the aims and research questions of this study. The first part discusses suitable approaches for investigating the role of ELF in a multilingual student community on a theoretical level. First, I provide the background of ethnography and delineate its advantages and criteria in relation to this study. Then, I make a strong case of the holistic and multi-sided perspective of this study and discuss the ethnographic praxis. Next, I look at the CoP framework and demonstrate how this framework is useful to grasp the dynamic features of ELF interactions. The second part is concerned with the practical aspects of this study and a description of 1) the research context and participants, 2)

Chapter 1

sampling method, 3) researcher's role, 4) research instruments (audio-recording, fieldnotes, interviews, SNS, documents and a research diary) and 5) timeline of fieldwork are presented in detail. This is followed by my analysis framework. I adopt qualitative content analysis for coding the data and illustrate my data analysis procedure according to Dörnyei's (2007) model: 1) transcribing the data, 2) pre-coding and coding, 3) growing ideas and 4) interpreting the data and drawing conclusions. Then, I address ethics and risks concerning my participants and myself (both roles as an insider and outsider). Lastly, the legitimacy of this study is justified with reference to Lincoln & Guba's (1985) criteria of *trustworthiness*.

Chapter 6 and 7 present the findings of this study. Chapter 6 is divided into two main parts. The first part delineates an ethnographic account of the international student committee (henceforth the IntCom) as a community of practice. Results from interviews, naturally occurring group conversations, observation fieldnotes and documents are illustrated in relation to the three main elements of the CoP framework – the joint enterprise, mutual engagement and shared repertoire. The next main part looks at the various identity constructs the participants disclosed at the university. These were revealed mainly during interviews with bits found in group conversation data. The participants adhered to their cultural identities as well as demonstrating change and development by showing adaptability and localization. They have also viewed themselves as transnationals “in the same boat”. Some others have also portrayed hybrid and liminal identities showing how they can move between communities. Some provided examples of how they avoided positioning themselves within the local community and adhered to the identity they originally took on. Chapter 7 is divided into two main themes: multilingual students' perceptions and practices. The first half of the chapter looks at the participants' perceptions of translanguaging, ELF and Korean. The second half of the chapter explores real-life examples of the participants' code-switching and translanguaging practices.

Chapter 8 provides a discussion of the findings linking them to appropriate literature in chapters 2-4 and attempts to answer the research questions in detail under three main themes: 1) the co-construction and maintenance of the community, 2) change and development of identities and 3) the perceptions of translanguaging, ELF and the

Korean language. The three themes can converge to explain how English is contextualized and legitimized in its own localized ways. Chapter 9 offers a summary of the research findings, limitations of the study with suggestions for further research, and possible contributions with implications for multilingualism and ELF research, internationalization of HE and the implementation of the CoP framework for understanding the local and the global.

Chapter 2 Internationalization of higher education

2.1 Introduction

With the rapid increase of globalization and with the growth of South Korea's (henceforth Korea) economy, internationalization policies have been enforced in Korean higher education (henceforth HE) to keep pace with the global competition. Globalization has pressured the Korean government and universities to correspond with the quality of HE while also focusing on improving international reputation. The 1990s was a period when Korean HE aimed for expanding connections to obtain global resources whereas, the 2000s can be pictured as Korea paving the way to become a part of the global prominence in HE through establishing internationalization policies and promoting universities to overseas students (Palmer & Cho, 2012). This continuous hard work has attracted a significant number of international students in Korean universities since 2005 (J. Kim et al., 2014).

This chapter aims to provide a better understanding of the context of this study. The chapter first introduces the term internationalization of HE and draws out how HE around the world is responding to globalization through various internationalization strategies and what outcomes the strategies have achieved so far. This is followed by a discussion on global student mobility. The next section looks at study abroad and intercultural citizenship putting focus on international student identity. Then, internationalization of Korean HE is illustrated starting from the development of internationalization policies since the 1950s until recently. This is followed by issues of internationalization of Korean HE and suggestions for improvement. The last section lists various academic ELF studies that have been conducted to date.

2.2 Internationalization of higher education

Universities across the world have been responding to the vastly proliferating globalization phenomenon by adopting various internationalization strategies. Clearly, internationalization and globalization are strongly related but, the difference between the two should be understood properly. Altbach and Knight (2007: 290)

define globalization in relation to HE as “the economic, political, and societal forces pushing 21st century higher education toward greater international development” whereas, internationalization is “the integration of an international or intercultural dimension into the tripartite mission of teaching, research and service functions of Higher Education (HE)” (Maringe & Foskett 2010: 1) and this “includes the policies and practices undertaken by academic systems and institutions—and even individuals – to cope with the global academic environment” (Altbach & Knight 2007: 290).

Internationalization is a key strategy in reaction to globalization and thus, globalization stimulates the reinforcement of internationalization policies in universities. According to Knight (2004: 5), “[i]nternationalization is changing the world of higher education and globalization is changing the world of internationalization”. It can be noted that internationalization and globalization interact reciprocally. Internationalization in universities can attract a great number of overseas students which leads to boosting student mobility across the world resulting in greater intensification of globalization (Maringe & Foskett, 2010).

World-leading universities aim to become a true global institution by recruiting highly qualified students and staff around the world and by keeping pace with issues and trends in different fields on a global level (ibid.). Many universities regardless of their size or position in the world have also started undertaking internationalization processes in their curriculum to attract international students and cultivate home students to survive in the global market (ibid.). Furthermore, national governments have been a crucial part of enforcing internationalization policies as universities have become a key driving force of economic growth (ibid.).

Knight (2004: 22-25) identifies four main political and economic rationales for internationalization on a nation-level: *Human Resources Development: Brain Power*, which emphasizes the recruitment of intelligent students and prestigious researchers around the world for “enhancing the human capital of a country”; *Strategic Alliances*, which stresses how countries have been putting effort into forming strong relationships with neighboring countries for political and economic purposes; *Commercial Trade*, which incorporates commercial strategies implemented by institutions such as “foreign or satellite campuses, online delivery, and increased recruitment of fee-paying students”; and finally *Nation Building*, which is about “the

importing of education programs and institutions for nation-building purposes” for developing countries where there is a lack of financial and human resources to provide higher education for their citizens.

Knight (2004: 25-28) also introduces five institutional-level rationales for internationalization in HE: *International Profile and Reputation*; *Student and Staff Development*; *Income Generation*; *Strategic Alliances*, which can be for various intentions such as “academic mobility, benchmarking, joint curriculum or program development, seminars and conferences, and joint research initiatives”; and lastly, *Research and Knowledge Production*, which sees international and interdisciplinary collaboration as a key to solving global problems. According to the main rationales on both the national and institutional level, various initiatives were implemented such as student exchange and joint degree programs, recruitment of international students, research collaborations with overseas institutions, overseas conferences and staff training, internationalizing curricula and publishing in international journals (Knight, 2004). Many national governments have also made considerable investments to promote internationalization in HE (Maringe & Foskett, 2010). This worldwide endeavor has led to an astonishing increase of student mobility over the past decade. While the prevalence of internationalization and globalization remains present, the demand of HE and student mobility is expected to rise continually (Foskett, 2010).

Due to the fact that HE has become key in bringing significant contribution to enhancing financial economy to the country, universities are now considered as reliable commodities (Maringe & Foskett, 2010). Universities are obliged to develop internationalization strategies to face the challenges in the global market by integrating an international dimension into different aspects such as teaching, research and service (Foskett, 2010). Foskett (2010: 44-45) categorizes five internationalization strategies adopted by universities in Asia and the UK. Institutions in the *Domestic universities* category focus on their national and regional context and thus internationalization is not a priority of their main activities. *Imperialist universities* are institutions which actively make the effort to recruit international students but, they make scarce or no changes to the organization or curriculum. Thus, the university does not adapt to diverse cultures and international students are expected to adapt to the home students’ university life. *Internationally aware*

universities are ones which attempt to integrate an international dimension into the organization or curriculum but have not been resolute in recruiting overseas students or engaging in partnerships with overseas institutions. *Internationally engaged universities* are universities which have positively responded to globalization by integrating an international dimension in various aspects by engaging in partnerships with overseas institutions and student recruitment, supporting diversity on campus, recruiting international staff, supporting staff to participate in training and research overseas and making changes to curriculum from a global perspective. Lastly, *Internationally focused universities* are those which the level of internationalization has been very strong in various aspects and have made significant changes especially in terms of the cultural dimension within the university. The types of strategies implemented in the Korean HE context is detailed in section 2.4.

2.2.1 Global student mobility

The increase of student mobility around the world is one of the fundamental elements for the internationalization of HE. As the world has become a more interconnected and globalized society, the number of students studying abroad has seen an astounding increase since the early 2000s and this is expected to reach 8 million per year by 2025 (ICEF, 2015a). Rivza and Teichler (2007: 1-2) list five different objectives of student mobility: (1) for higher quality education that is not available at home, (2) to move from colonial or post-colonial states and developing countries to developed countries with more advanced education systems, (3) to study in a neighboring country, (4) for short term study in a country where the culture or academic life do not have a huge difference to their home countries and (5) for institutions to attract foreign students for financial reasons.

Not only the number of internationally mobile students in the world has grown immensely since the 1990s but the context of global mobility has also shown significant change (Bhandari & Blumenthal, 2011). The 'Big Five' (i.e., the US, the UK, Australia, France and Germany) have historically been the main host countries for students studying abroad accounting for 52% of the entire population (Bhandari & Blumenthal, 2011; S.-J. Chan, 2012; Woodfield, 2010). Subsequently, Asia Pacific states (i.e. Korea, Japan, Hong Kong, China, Singapore and Malaysia) have also started

to make changes in their HE programs to compete in the global market of recruiting international students (S.-J. Chan, 2012; Kell & Vogl, 2012; Woodfield, 2010). For example, more universities have been reforming their curriculum to accommodate an international dimension, participating in international research collaborations and building up connections in global research networks (Mok, 2007a). They have managed to establish themselves as alternative destinations for study abroad to the 'Big Five' nations (S.-J. Chan, 2012; Kell & Vogl, 2012).

Despite the tremendous efforts invested into adopting internationalization strategies and reforming the education system in Asia Pacific nations, there still remains an uneven balance of international student flow between the East and West (S.-J. Chan, 2012). Yet, the trend has shown that there is a new flow of mutual student mobility in Asia and that now there are more suitable destinations available for study abroad other than the traditional Western countries (Bhandari & Blumenthal, 2011; S.-J. Chan, 2012). For example, Korea, Japan and China have mutually attracted an increasing number of international students and in each country, the other two neighboring countries have accounted for more than 50% of international students (S.-J. Chan, 2012). Thus, this study attempts to provide an understanding of the socialization of international students at a non-Western, non-Anglophone destination.

As Asia Pacific nations have started to take part in internationalizing their institutions, there have been debates on whether various aspects of international academic mobility (i.e., communication and information technologies, exchange of ideas and cultures and actual movement of people) promote or prohibit cultural diversity (Knight, 2012). Some argue that the intensification of internationalization and rising academic mobility bring about westernization, destroying unique national and cultural identities (e.g., Knight, 2012). This is due to the fact that cultural hierarchy still can be noticed in the HE orientation to internationalization (Lumby & Foskett, 2015). For example, the classification of 'world class' universities or international league tables have been heavily oriented towards the cultural values of the Western world (Altbach, 2004). Furthermore, the development of internationalization at institutions has tended to persist on the 'when in Rome do as the Romans do' perspective (i.e., adopting a rather monocultural approach) instead of training home students and staff to work with diverse and globalized cultures

(Lumby & Foskett, 2015). Hence, this suggests that in terms of realizing an ideal internationalization of HE, there are several issues to tackle in order to bring both home and international students and staff together and for a more positive outcome for all stakeholders (see section 2.4.2 for more on this issue).

2.3 Study abroad and intercultural citizenship

The students' motivation to study abroad has been strongly influenced by cost as well as factors such as "reputation of institutions, the flexibility of programs, the language of tuition, the limitations and restrictions of opportunities in higher education in their home country, geographic location, trade and cultural ties between countries, future job opportunities and possible migration options" (Kell & Vogl, 2012: 28).

As mentioned in the previous section, the demand for studying in overseas HE institutions has been continually expanding worldwide (Ferguson, 2007; Woodfield, 2010). However, this type of positive outcome does not guarantee the students' experiences of intercultural encounters and adaptation to the global context (Jackson, 2011). Internationally mobile students who become 'intercultural speakers'³ may realize that solely having a national identity is restrictive and they develop a more cosmopolitan self, fitting into the globalized world (ibid.). In other words, they learn to expand their individual identities incorporating both local and global aspects of their intercultural life (ibid.). Moreover, globalization is what enables these students to go beyond fixed boundaries and to embrace a diversity of cultures and multiple adaptive identities (Lam, 2006).

While universities around the world have been intensifying internationalization policies and as students in HE have consequently become part of global networks, the term 'global citizenship' has also risen to the surface. Universities have been faced with tasks to enhance their students' global awareness and competencies in order to have them prepare for the real world after graduating (Bourn, 2010). With adaption

³ A term coined by Byram (2006: 122) who refers to it as "someone who is not attempting to imitate a native speaker of a foreign language but aiming to acquire an ability to occupy the 'space between' cultures of different groups and establish and mediate relationships between them".

to Morais & Ogden's (2011) and Schattle's (2009) definitions, Tarrant, Rubin and Stoner (2014: 143) explain that there are three interrelated dimensions of global citizenship within the field of study abroad:

- (a) social responsibility – concern for others, for society at large, and for the environment
- (b) global awareness – understanding and appreciation of one's self in the world and of world issues
- (c) civic engagement – active engagement with local, regional, national and global community issues

The term 'intercultural citizenship' has also been extensively used in study abroad literature. Jackson (2011: 82) states that this term "favors multiculturalism and equality, requires awareness and respect of self and other, the desire to interact across cultures, and the acquisition of the knowledge and skills that facilitate constructive, active participation in today's complex society". As intercultural speakers experience an increasing amount of intercultural encounters, they move closer to becoming "sophisticated, cosmopolitan members of an interconnected, global community" (ibid.).

Both global and intercultural citizenship entail the understanding of and adaptation to diversity (i.e., learning how to work with different cultures) (Byram, 2008; Jackson, 2010; Killick, 2012) and thus, the two terms seem interchangeable in study abroad literature. However, 'global citizenship' has been used more in internationalization contexts whereas, 'intercultural citizenship' has been specifically applied to language learners. Students of international universities are expected to develop intercultural competence to become a global citizen (Jackson, 2010). Accordingly, students engaged in international mobility develop certain identities pertaining to the global context (Jackson, 2011; Killick, 2012). They can demonstrate the ability to flexibly position themselves as intercultural mediators (Byram, 2008). In this study, I adopt the term intercultural citizenship when participants explicitly discuss how they demonstrated interculturality by mediating themselves between cultures, whereas the term global citizenship is used when the participants acknowledge themselves as "in the same boat" as transnational and transcultural students.

Although, both Byram and Jackson's conceptualizations of intercultural citizenship are based on language learners, none of the participants in this study viewed

themselves as L2 learners of English but more as competent users of ELF. Furthermore, this thesis does not go into depths on intercultural citizenship or intercultural competence as this is not the central issue of the study. However, topics on social identity, liminality and third space, which were more relevant to the participants of this study, are illustrated in chapter 3. While section 2.2 and 2.3 provided a general idea of internationalization of HE in the world and its relation to student mobility and study abroad, the next section narrows down the focus and directly links to the internationalization of the context of this study.

2.4 Internationalization of Korean higher education

2.4.1 The history of internationalization of Korean higher education and recent internationalization policies

Internationalization of Korean HE has mainly been driven by government education policies as the Ministry of Education (MOE) supervises both public and private Korean HE sectors (T. Kim, 2008). During the early development of HE in the 1950s and 1960s, internationalization was primarily about enabling a limited number of researchers and students to study abroad in developed countries to acquire state-of-the-art knowledge and technology (Byun & Kim, 2011; UNESCO, 2013). At this stage, political matters with the US government, such as national security and foreign policy, were heavily involved and thus at many times study abroad schemes were financially supported by the US foreign scholarship programs (UNESCO, 2013). This markedly led to the start of nation restoration, after becoming independent from Japanese colonialism in 1945, and gradually to economic progress (Byun & Kim, 2011; T. Kim, 2005).

However, actual development of internationalization in Korean HE embarked in the late 1980s when overseas travel in Korea became liberalized. Citizens were able to travel without restrictions after the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games and universities encouraged more students and staff members to participate in various overseas exchange programs (Byun & Kim, 2011). This occurred during the early stages of economic development and the impetus of internationalization of Korean HE was to gain advanced knowledge and to improve foreign language skills from overseas HE

institutions. This type of initiative is viewed as one of the traditional strategies of internationalization (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Palmer & Cho, 2012). However, internationalization was not a strategic priority for the government during this period (Byun & Kim, 2011).

Later in the 1990s, there were significant changes in internationalization policies. The government recognized universities as profitable commodities. Especially, the Asian financial crisis in the late 1990s greatly influenced internationalization policies in Korean HE (ibid.). The chief aim of internationalization of HE inclined dominantly towards economic development. The government's measure to recover from financial damage was to encourage foreign students to come and study at Korean universities and to possibly have domestic students stay and study in Korea so that students would not pay huge amounts of tuition fees outside of Korea. In the 1990s, Korean universities implemented different internationalization approaches and schemes to earn more profit. Accordingly, universities actively pursued ways to promote Korean HE internationally through enhancing education and research in Korean universities, creating a more international dimension on campus and providing comfortable accommodation and service for incoming students (ibid.).

The ambition to attract more foreign students for profit proceeded for more than a decade as the falling birth rate in Korea, which resulted in a drastic decrease in the number of first year students, has also been a huge concern for Korean HE (T. Kim, 2008). However, the plan to increase the number of foreign students could not be fulfilled without improving the quality of HE and research (ibid.). Furthermore, in the 2000s, after Korea achieved economic growth and stability and slowly began to gain recognition around the globe, the motivation for internationalization of HE was not solely for profit or economic motives but also for Korean universities to become internationally reputable (T. Kim, 2005). This can be linked back to two of Knight's (2004: 25-28) five institutional-level rationales mentioned in section 2.2: *Income Generation* and *International Profile and Reputation*. National governments worldwide have been challenged with tasks to persevere with globalization and reformation of educational trends across the world and Korea has actively been a part of it (D. Chan & Lo, 2008; Deem et al., 2008; Mok, 2007b).

Henceforth, English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) policies have noticeably been enforced in Korean HE to keep pace with the global competition, and this has attracted a growing number of international students in Korean universities since 2005 by promoting internationalization (Kim et al., 2014). This applied the same at the university where research was conducted for this study and all of the participants took EMI classes of their discipline. However, as the focus of this study is on socialization outside of academic settings, this thesis does not go into detail on discussions of EMI.

In 2004, the government released a plan called Study Korea Project, and started providing financial support to Korean universities to establish more EMI courses and Korean language programs with high expectations of increasing the number of international students by 2012 (MOE, 2007). By 2007, almost 30 Korean universities started joint partnerships with 34 overseas universities and have organized student exchange and dual degree programs (Byun & Kim, 2011; J. Kim et al., 2014). Thus, the role of English has become even more prevalent and this has brought immense changes to Korean universities especially in terms of recruiting academic staff. Two of the main criteria when hiring professors have become the ability to conduct lectures entirely in English and the number of publications in reputable international journals (Byun & Kim, 2011). However, it should be noted that the internationalization of HE has been mainly carried out among top universities in Korea; yet, a growing number of universities of lower rankings have also started to incorporate dimensions of internationalization at their institutions.

Internationalizing research and academic staff has also been an important agenda for the Korean government for decades. The Korean government has supported through various funding schemes for research and academic staff members to participate in conferences or to train overseas. Furthermore, in 1999, the government launched a project called Brain Korea 21 (BK 21 Project) to develop world-class universities, to publish a greater number of international research papers and to produce competitive researchers through various postgraduate scholarship programs and this project lasted seven years (MOE, 2002). Secondly, another way the government approached internationalization was through the World Class University Project (WCU Project) in 2008 and \$692 million USD of funding was provided by the

government to support the fields of Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) (Cho & Palmer, 2012). This project aimed at attracting prestigious scholars to Korea and having them collaborate with Korean professors to establish academic programs in the fields of STEM over the next five years (Byun & Kim, 2011).

Recently, Korean HE has also been highly involved in a tighter collaboration with Asia Pacific countries through ASEAN Plus Three Leaders' Summit Conferences and Education Ministers Meetings (Byun & Kim, 2011; de Prado Yepes, 2006). Korea, Japan, and China with ASEAN nations are knotting closer ties to cooperate with regional HE and to generate ideas on promoting their HE systems (Byun & Kim, 2011). Such joint networking on education policies and strategies with neighboring countries are "seen as productive ways to develop closer geopolitical ties and economic relationships" and therefore are "seen as a way to develop closer cooperation bilaterally or regionally to gain a competitive edge" (Knight, 2004: 24). This makes another good reason for Korea to carry on with developing internationalization of HE and with the task to embrace the diversity of Asian cultures.

Consequently, this effort, which has been continuing for decades created a rewarding outcome. Statistics Korea (www.kostat.go.kr), which is run by the government, reported that in 2005 there were only 22,526 international students enrolled in Korean HE for degrees or other training programs and by 2011 the number surged to almost 90,000. In addition, Study Korea Project has been extended from 2013, naming it Study Korea 2020 Project⁴, with the expectation to have 200,000 international students in Korean HE by 2020 (Korean Association of International Educators, 2013). The number is still very small compared to major universities with a large number of international students such as the US, the UK and China but the growth of incoming international students still shows a rather satisfying accomplishment in Korean HE.

⁴ The project has been extended to 2023 (ICEF, 2015b). The majority of international students are Chinese followed by Vietnamese, Mongolians, Japanese and Uzbekistanis (Custer, 2016).

In fact, more than 80% of international students enrolled in Korean HE are NNSEs. Thereby, ELF (see section 1.2) is an important means of communication for students with different linguacultural backgrounds to interact in and outside EMI classrooms. It is being spread across the world in everyday lives creating a great amount of variation without reliance on English as a Native Language (ENL) (Seidlhofer, 2011). This too includes interactions of international students in HE institutions across different countries. ELF is used freely among students in international university settings to communicate. Furthermore, the role of English in Asia Pacific also has been astonishingly increasing as it contributes to economic prosperity and global competitiveness (Takeshita, 2010). The ASEAN Charter, article 34 addresses that “The working language of ASEAN shall be English”. This implies that the use of ELF is noticeably expanding in Asia and calls for more investigation in various contexts. This is a good reason to justify that the use of ELF in Asian countries such as Korea should not be overlooked. However, despite the vastly and rapidly growing use of ELF worldwide, ELF descriptions still have not been taken into account as a legitimate use of language (Seidlhofer, 2011). There is the need to understand the forms and practices of ELF, what is happening during ELF communication, how different linguistic resources are shared and cooperated by ELF users and how they use the language to negotiate meaning (ibid.). This can be realized by compiling rich empirical descriptions of how and why English is used in certain ways by ELF speakers and this can also provide evidence of effective ELF communication. Korean HE provides an ideal setting for such studies.

2.4.2 Issues of internationalization of Korean higher education

While the previous section outlined the perceived success of internationalization of Korean HE, there are also a number of issues or difficulties. In general, the relationship between the government and the university is decided by different funding systems (T. Kim, 2008). However, commonly in East Asia, national governments are strongly involved in the HE sector and they adopt various internationalization policies with the expectation to improve university league table rankings (D. Chan & Lo, 2008). Similarly, in the case of Korea, T. Kim (2008: 562) states that “underneath the façade of institutional autonomy, the government's policies are uniformly applied to the management framework of individual private

higher education institutions — e.g. tuition fees, policy, faculty recruitment, admissions policy, and curriculum development”. In truth, universities are considered as beneficial resources and thus, education policies are implemented most often for government purposes (T. Kim, 2008). Both public and private universities have had to abide by government education regulations to avoid any kind of unfair treatment they could potentially face such as paying fines or being excluded (Lee, 1998). This has been a concern in Korean HE as universities have not been able to establish solid identities and distinct features because of the strong homogeneity constructed by government initiatives (T. Kim, 2008).

Furthermore, as discussed in section 2.2.1, the unified HE system in Korea and in other East Asian countries also provoked criticisms of Westernized educational restructuring in HE (Deem et al., 2008). Undeniably, a great number of world renowned universities are operated under Western principles and ideologies and this pressures top Korean universities to comply with Western practices and lose their individual identity to be acknowledged as a reputable university in the world (Palmer & Cho, 2012). Deem, Mok and Lucas (2008) present evidence on how Asian countries have been reforming their HE by simply taking Western education standards and prevailing neo-liberalist ideologies. In conclusion, they argue (2008: 93) that:

We should not simply understand ‘internationalization’ in Asia as merely as following the American or Anglo-Saxon standards and practices. Although, the academic communities in Europe and the United States have been regarded as more ‘advanced’ than the Asian counterparts, higher education institutions in general and academics in particular must critically reflect on to what extent and in what way the so called ‘good practices’ identified from the West can really integrate well with non-Western education systems.

In order to realize this idea, Mok (2007a) proposes that during policy processing, stakeholders should have the determination to adhere to global expectations while also contextualizing by adapting to the country’s unique cultural framework. In other words, there is the need for HE reformation which can represent Korea’s distinct identity and original works and that can be applicable across the world.

Another issue Korean HE is confronted with is the imbalance between the quality and quantity in terms of internationalization performance. Korean HE has been making ostensible progress in improving internationalization in universities (i.e. increasing the number of foreign students and EMI courses, partnering with overseas programs, publishing journals in English etc.) (Cho & Palmer, 2012). Although many top Korean universities fall into the “internationally aware” category introduced by Foskett, (2010) (see section 2.2), internationalization is not only about increasing numbers in different aspects through Westernized standards but also by enhancing the quality of HE and research (D. Chan & Lo, 2008). It has indeed been a struggle for Korean HE to meet with the new immense challenges of globalization in the reformation of HE particularly regarding its quality (T. Kim, 2008). Conclusively, the Korean government should first ease its authority over Korean HE institutions to respect their individuality and universities should reflect on how to reshape Korean HE which can represent both national and local values and integrate intercultural awareness aspects during the intensifying process of internationalization (Cho & Palmer, 2012; Hawkins, 2008).

2.5 Research on academic ELF

As internationalization of HE around the world becomes more intensified, the role of English (see section 1.2 on ELF) becomes of paramount significance (Jenkins, 2014b). English without doubt has become a prevailing language in academia around the world and is linked to international universities’ extensive efforts to increase income and reputation. EMI classes (see section 2.4.1 for EMI in Korean HE) have been increasingly adopted as one of the strongest strategies of internationalization. This has resulted in a huge growth of international student mobility around the world (see section 2.2.1). Students fly overseas to universities for their future international career and among these students a vast majority use English as an instrumental tool to do their work in academia (Björkman, 2008; Mauranen, 2007). Yet, the native speaker ideology of standard English has been the norm of academic English until recently and this practice still holds existence in universities around the world despite a great number of them claiming to be truly ‘international’ or ‘global’ (Jenkins, 2014b). Consequently, scholars of ELF have strongly argued that the importance

should be on how successful the communication is or how clear and effective the message gets through rather than being compared by the English used by NSEs. They have put forward the idea that there is the need for more studies of academic English which brings the focus to NNSEs as they make up the vast majority of ELF users in academic settings.

Accordingly, Metsä-Ketelä (2006) explored the usage and functions of a vague indicator *more or less* which frequently appeared in the ELFA corpus among the NNSEs. Ranta (2006) demonstrates the innovative use of the progressive among ELF users and proves that the extended use of the progressive is actually unproblematic. Björkman (2011; 2013a; 2013b) particularly identifies how ELF speakers implement pragmatic and communicative strategies to facilitate communicative effectiveness. She also conducted a study on whether the morphosyntactic forms of spoken ELF used by engineering students hinder communicative intelligibility and discovered that there are only a few instances of overt disturbances (Björkman, 2008). Mauranen (2009) looked at how ELF speakers successfully co-construct discourse through 'chunking' variable units of different expressions to present unique features and non-standard forms of ELF use that were shaped in interaction.

A number of academic ELF studies which did not derive from the ELFA corpus have also been carried out. For example, Cogo and Dewey (2006) demonstrates how pragmatic strategies influence innovative lexicogrammatical changes and vice versa. Hülmbauer (2009) also investigated lexicogrammatical features to see the relationship between correctness and communicative effectiveness. Klimpfinger (2009) put focus on code-switching to present cross-linguistic influence of different L1 norms in ELF conversations. Finally, Smit (2010) conducted a longitudinal research of classroom discourse at a university in Vienna with the implementation of the CoP framework. More about her study is detailed in section 4.3.3. As seen from the examples listed above, academic ELF research have tended to scrutinize more of pragmatic, syntactic and lexicogrammatical features while this study only takes into account ELF use in social situations rather than formal academic settings and mainly looks into how ELF goes through an on-going co-constructional process with the influence of local and global contexts.

2.6 Conclusion

International student mobility in HE has increased remarkably around the world with the effort of adopting different internationalization policies and Korea has been no exception. The Korean government has implemented several internationalization policies and organized projects for more than a decade to become a part of the rapidly growing global network. This has affected Korean HE positively in terms of increasing the number of international students enrolled in Korean universities, partnerships with overseas institutions, research collaboration and publication in international journals. However, there have been concerns that HE institutions lack individuality because of the homogeneity created by government initiatives. Suggestions have been made by the stakeholders to preserve both national and local values when processing internationalization policies and also to develop strategies to enhance the quality of Korean HE rather than solely slanting towards increasing numbers.

Although there has been a significant increase of international students in Korean HE over the past decade, not a single ethnographic study has been conducted concerning the use of ELF among international students in HE in Korea. Therefore, rich descriptions of international students' use of ELF in Korean HE can contribute to an improved understanding of how ELF users creatively exploit their linguistic resources and co-construct their own English for effective communication in an East Asian context. In addition, this study aims to discover how international students co-create a community as 'intercultural speakers' by localizing and adapting themselves in a multilingual global context. More discussions on identity construction and community formation are presented in chapters 3 and 4.

Chapter 3 Language, multilingualism and identity

3.1 Introduction

Language is a term in which the meaning can easily be taken for granted. This study has much to do with the linguistic practices produced by members of a multilingual community. Hence, it is crucial to outline what I mean by language and how I perceive the aspects (i.e., multilingualism and identity) that surround it. In particular, I highlight the notion of language as a practice (Canagarajah, 2007b; Pennycook, 2010) to emphasize that language is the result of social interaction. I also take an ecological stance of language to present, later in chapter 7, how my participants naturally blended their multilingual resources influenced by their contextual background. Likewise, Blommaert's (2010) notion of multilingual repertoire deviates from viewing language as a bounded system and this is clarified to further address the areas of multilingualism and translanguaging. In the next section, ELF is viewed from different perspectives of multilingualism and this gives new thoughts to researching ELF interactions.

The sections on language and multilingualism (section 3.2-3.5) demonstrate strong links with dynamic and complex identity constructions. Hence, identity is an inevitable phenomenon that ought to be explored in relation to language and multilingualism. The next sections look at identity from post-modern perspectives in the globalized world and illustrate how it can be contested, fluid, multiple, hybrid, and newly negotiated through social interactions. Theories of identity constructions that have high relevance to understanding ELF interactions of multilingual speakers have been selectively outlined. Firstly, the relationship between language and identity is presented from a poststructuralist point of view with the emphasis on social identity. This is followed by ideas of language and cultural identity in globalized settings presented by Canagarajah (2007b, 2013) and Pennycook (2010). Then, the notions of third space and liminality are explained to understand identity in multilingual contexts; yet, it is argued that such notions may not always fit the case as for ELF communication. Alongside this, Wenger's (1998) illustration on 'parallel between practice and identity' is summarized. Lastly, studies on identity in ELF research with

the focus on multilingual and multicultural contexts come together to show that identity constructs go beyond bounded ideologies.

3.2 Conceptualizing language

Pennycook (2010) questions positing the existence of separate languages and argues that language should be viewed as a local practice. He shifts away from the perspective of language as a fixed system and looks at how language is formed in local contexts. By local practice, he implies that “language is part of social and local activity, that both locality and language emerge from the activities engaged in” (ibid.: 128). To avoid misunderstanding, Pennycook (2010: 129) makes a distinction between his terminology of language (as a local practice) and languages by pointing out that languages, “as described by linguistics and applied linguistics, are inventions of the disciplines that make them”. In many cases the diversity of languages is ignored because language is generally linked to its own territorial boundary. However, Blackledge and Creese (2010) point out that language practices do not necessarily rely on standardized varieties and thus, language should be viewed as a social practice.

From this perspective, it is not language that affects the way language users express their words, but the users produce and negotiate different forms of language in certain ways to achieve their purpose (Pennycook, 2010). Pennycook (2010) goes on to explain that considering language as something bounded has become dubious as languages are always under negotiation, change and development throughout history with the influence of multiple resources. These contribute to why languages need to take into account particular language practices in particular contexts (or localities) when examining language due to their fluidity and hybridity (ibid.). Therefore, it is important to investigate how people from particular communities draw on their language resources in different contexts (Makoni & Pennycook, 2012).

In order to discard the notion of bounded languages and to appreciate language diversity, Pennycook (2010) proposes looking into the idea of language ecology. Language ecology relates to language variation and language contact. This idea can provide a better picture of how languages diversify and develop locally in complex

sociocultural contexts. Canagarajah (2007b) likewise refers to Khubchandani (1997) and calls for an “ecological orientation” (p.98) to understand language. It is important to recognize the ecological nature of how language is mixed with other local practices and is shaped and embedded in particular environments. Thus, language should not be described *a priori* but it should be acknowledged as an outcome of social practice that is, local interaction (Canagarajah, 2007b; Pennycook, 2010). Both Canagarajah (2007b) and Pennycook (2010) link their argument to Global Englishes. English originates from multiple backgrounds and contexts and different histories of English have allowed English to adapt locally in various environments and to disseminate globally (ibid.).

Canagarajah (2013) takes a practice-based translingual perspective similar to that of Pennycook (2010) to understand the diversification of English. People now live in a globalized era where English has become free of boundaries for the sake of transnational influences (Canagarajah, 2007b). However, this does not suggest that English is a neutral language and that it does not belong to any particular community (ibid.). Seargeant, Tagg, and Ngampramuan (2012) remark that English is not only globally oriented but it can also be appropriated and localized in the context the language user is situated in. Canagarajah (2007b) also discusses the various forms of English that are adopted during interactions and addresses the possibility of English mixing with other local practices. Thus, English, in many cases, has been used as a translingual practice and can be part of any community depending on the speaker and the local context. In fact, ELF communication is what “facilitates the formation of translocal communities” (Tagg & Seargeant, 2014: 181). In this fashion, multilingual speakers can use English in their own situated and contextual manner without conforming to dominant ideologies (Canagarajah, 2007b; 2013). Along these lines, they are able to maintain their own values and identity (see sections 3.6.1 and 3.6.2). Likewise, this study examined how the negotiation of multilingualism with English as part of this operated in various interactional settings and the types of identity that arose from it. Findings have emerged from my empirical data on multilingual student interactions on a microsocial level. This offers a different angle of communicative practices of English in the social world.

Pennycook (2010) urges applied linguists to investigate ‘real-world’ problems vigorously by first of all accepting language as a practice in order to understand the role of language in society. This is due to the fact that most previous sociolinguistic studies have been conducted under the premise that language is an invented system. He comments “if we view language practices as a set of social activities that are always bound up with other practices, as mediating between the activity of language and the larger social sphere, we can see how social practices are relocalized in language and language practices are relocalized as other forms of doing” (ibid.: 136). Blommaert (2005; 2016) notes that ethnography is a useful approach in sociolinguistics as it embodies “a perspective on language as intrinsically tied to context and to human activity” (2005: 233). Accordingly, this study implemented ethnographic principles to grasp the participants’ various local language practices (i.e., multilingual English practices) formed in a specific context which is different from their L1 background.

3.3 Multilingual repertoire

Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouk (2005: 205) claim that “knowledge of language is rooted in situation and dynamically distributed across individuals as they engage in practices”. If language should be perceived as the result of social practice, it is important to understand the notion of multilingual repertoire and the phenomenon behind it in multilingualism research. Blommaert (2010) provides a view of language as a repertoire of resources which are socially constructed in real life contexts. ‘Multilingual repertoire’ links to Pennycook (2010) and Canagarajah’s (2013) idea of language as a practice in the way that it also moves away from the conventional notion of language. Rather than picking out language entities, this study also attempted to discover how identities and cultures are constructed by examining the display of shared linguistic repertoires in a multilingual student community.

Blommaert (2010: 6) addresses how globalization processes have affected people’s “spatial organization” and that migrants bring their language and culture to the new country they settle in. As a result, different ‘migrant’ languages and lingua francas have diversified linguistic repertoires in globalized neighborhoods and have generated intricate patterns of multilingual repertoires. Moreover, different language

resources are merged during communication and thus, multilingual repertoires of individuals operate collaboratively for meaningful interaction. This entails the need to go beyond current frameworks and to scrutinize “multilingualism and the dynamics of language change” (2010: 8).

Although Blommaert mainly deals with immigrant communities and issues of power and inequality, his theory of linguistic mobility has much to offer an understanding of multilingual communities of ELF users. He dispenses with the immobile, conventional and idealized concept of language and puts strong emphasis on looking at mobile resources in the globalizing era (Blommaert, 2010; 2016; Blommaert & Rampton, 2012). He argues that it is crucial to see how resources are aligned in in real life communication and how repertoires are constructed by specific language patterns and communicative practices (Blommaert, 2010).

To ease the confusion between language ‘resource’ and ‘repertoire’ from a multilingualism perspective, language resources are perceived as all types of “semiotic forms” (Blommaert, 2010: 41) which can be pictured as an unrefined cluster in the multilingual mind. Repertoires are what Blommaert calls constructed “bits and pieces of conventionally defined ‘languages’ (2010: 43)”. They are detected when such language resources are arrayed in context through social interaction and communicative forms such as the media, shop signs, posters and leaflets (Blommaert, 2010). To further clarify, Hall, Cheng and Carlson (2006) comment on the concept of CoP (see section 4.3.2) to provide a definition of *communicative repertoires* which are “conventionalized constellations of semiotic resources for taking action – that are shaped by the particular practices in which individuals engage...” (ibid.: 232). Hence, repertoires of specific language patterns, styles, and forms can be discovered through exploring language users’ linguistic practices.

However, one thing to remark here is that Blommaert (2010) is one of the many multilingualism scholars who got caught in the terminological trap⁵. Although he insists deterritorializing and deconstructing the image of distinct languages, he

⁵ A term introduced by Morán Panero (2015) during a paper discussion at the BAAL/CUP seminar, (De)Constructing Englishes to refer to the problem of postmodern ideas limited by modernist terms and constructs (Jenkins, 2015).

contradicts himself by describing repertoires as inventory constituents of “defined languages” (ibid.: 43). Jenkins (2015) addresses the issue of using the term language(s) in contradictory ways especially in regard to taking the perspective of language as emergent, fluid, hybrid and mixed. Nevertheless, Blommaert's (2010) point is that such resources should be disassociated with conventional language boundaries and the focus should be on the actual deployment of multilingual repertoires. Thus, working with the notion of linguistic repertoires requires disregarding the concept of territorialized languages and exploring linguistic practices of how people perform in different groups at different times. This also involves understanding the co-construction of cultures, identities and language use over time (Blommaert & Rampton, 2012).

For the purposes of investigation into ELF communication in a multilingual community, there is the need for reassessment or more theorization on the notion of multilingual repertoire. Jenkins (2015: 76) suggests the term ‘repertoires in flux’ to embrace “the emergent nature of ELF use”. ELF speakers’ repertoires may not always be shared multilingual resources from the beginning and they can be co-constructed during interactions either in the short-term or long-term. Thus, ‘repertoire in flux’ involves mobile resources as well as creatively constructed repertoires influenced by the multilingual members of the community.

3.4 Multilingualism and translanguaging

By virtue of epistemological postulates on language and with the rapid growth of transnational flows in globalized contexts, multilingualism has become a heated and intriguing subject to explore in language studies. The populations of Europe, North America and some parts of developed East Asia have been diversifying intensely and this means that linguistic diversity has spread across the world as well (Blommaert & Rampton, 2012). This phenomenon has led to super-diversity in various contexts. The term super-diversity, originally coined by Vertovec (2007), emphasizes different levels of multifarious populations and calls for inquiry on multidimensional aspects of cultures and linguistic repertoires in globalized contexts.

Early days of multilingualism research put focus on examining multiple language systems. However, as for the study of language, Makoni and Pennycook (2012: 441) argue that more research which highlights social human interaction as the primary subject is needed. This can result in deviating from mono and multilingual orientations to language, which sees language as discrete entities, and leaning more towards recognizing lingua franca multilingualism and translingual practices (Canagarajah, 2013) across communities that are not limited to fixed culture, ethnicity, race, nationality and geographical boundaries (Makoni & Pennycook, 2012). Thus, categorizations of language such as “varieties, codeswitching, bilingualism, mother tongue, borrowing” (ibid.: 449) have become obsolete to embrace the evolving multilingualism phenomenon in sociolinguistics (Blommaert & Rampton, 2012; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012; Otheguy et al., 2015). Suitably, many sociolinguistics scholars have suggested translanguaging as a more appropriate notion.

The term translanguaging was originally coined by Williams (1996) to illustrate learners’ linguistic practices in bilingual classroom settings. However, this concept has been extended by other scholars in recent years (see Canagarajah, 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; 2015; García, 2011; García & Li, 2013; Li, 2011; 2016; 2017; Otheguy et al., 2015). For example, García (2011) refers to translanguaging as the practices performed by bilinguals in order to “make sense of their multilingual worlds” (p.140). For Li (2011; 2016; 2017), translanguaging comes from the notion ‘linguaging’, which is a process of using language to acquire knowledge, to articulate and to be able to communicate appropriately. Otheguy, García and Reid (2015) define translanguaging as “*the deployment of a speaker’s full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of names (and usually national and state) languages*” (p.283, italics in original). Thus, translanguaging is a type of performance made by bilingual or multilingual language users when picking out different linguistic features, structures, systems and modes from their repertoire for effective communication.

However, it represents more than linguistic aspects and can display identities, ideologies, values and relationships (Li, 2011; 2017). Multilingual language users create a certain kind of space through translanguaging by putting together their

stories, experiences, history, attitudes, beliefs, values, ideologies, and cognition (Li, 2011; 2017). In this type of translanguaging space, multilingual resources are maximized and new identities, practices, and values are constructed (Li, 2011; 2017). Li acknowledges that multilingual speakers are aware of the existence of separate named languages but he also argues that it is the ‘translanguaging instinct’ which enables the speakers to creatively and critically (2016) “go beyond narrowly defined linguistic cues and transcend culturally defined language boundaries to achieve effective communication” (2017: 16).

From a translanguaging perspective, “bilinguals have *one linguistic repertoire*⁶ from which they select features *strategically* to communicate effectively (García, 2011: 1, italics in original). In addition, Makoni & Pennycook (2012: 447) state that “in lingua franca multilingualism languages are so deeply intertwined and fused into each other that the level of fluidity renders it difficult to determine any boundaries that may indicate that there are different languages involved”. In other words, language resources are constantly being altered and combined in the multilingual mind and language learning occurs naturally through language use.

Translanguaging differs from code-switching in the way that code-switching recognizes languages as distinct systems and its deployment is viewed as the practice of alternating language codes (see Auer, 1999; 2005; Gumperz, 1982) while translanguaging discards the idea of separate languages and views the speaker from an inner perspective; that the language user holds one linguistic repertoire with different idiolects and these are freely chosen with adaptation to the interlocutor and the social situation that is being faced (Otheguy et al., 2015). In other words, code-switching involves “a process that goes between languages” but, translanguaging goes “*beyond languages*” contesting conventional boundaries between named languages (Li, 2016: 3, italics in original). However, this does not imply that code-switching should lose its legitimacy of use in multilingualism research. Code-switching is an act viewed from outside the speaker and the use of this term can make sense in occasions where named languages need to be explicated (Otheguy et al., 2015) (see section 7.1).

⁶ I agree with García’s argument but, using the term ‘repertoire’ in this case may cause confusion with Blommaert’s use of the term which views linguistic repertoires as socially constructed resources (see section 3.3). In this situation, I suggest considering the term as a ‘linguistic cluster’ in the mind.

Multilingualism has become an important and positive phenomenon with the increasing flow of transnationalism over the past few decades (Franceschini, 2011). In particular, there has been a huge growth of international student mobility as international universities around the world have been responding to globalization through various internationalization policies (see section 2.2). Students go beyond their national borders and are exposed to different languages and cultures while they study abroad. Accordingly, Li and Zhu (2013) investigated Chinese university students in London on their choice of language and social groupings. They have particularly focused on students who became part of new groupings (i.e., the ones who shifted away from their group of origin or language variety) to discuss multilingualism and transnational identities. They looked at the multilingual practices of different Chinese varieties naturally mixing with other languages and have called this 'Global Chinese'. They discovered how the students flexibly positioned themselves and built their own social space through their use of multilingual resources. The translanguaging practices have proved how the students can withdraw their identities based on bounded territories and choose to create their own type of space.

However, Li and Zhu (2013) do not set limits to only Chinese students in English-speaking countries and, relevant to this thesis, international students who study in a different country over a period of time can also be categorized as 'transnationals'. International students are influenced by global and transnational processes and develop a particular social space. They exploit their multilingual resources to maximize their communication. In this case, multilingualism plays a major role during interaction with students from different linguacultural backgrounds and new relations and identities can be negotiated (*ibid.*). This is highly pertinent to the context of the current study. A relatively large group of international students was present at the chosen university of this study. In this type of transnational context, a mix of English, Korean and various other L1s were easily detected and there was a stronger bond between my participants when they freely used their multilingual and cultural resources.

In conclusion while multilingualism is a diversifying linguistic phenomenon that is prevailing across the world due to increasing globalization, translanguaging can be perceived as a type of individual practice or performance that arise from it. As Li (2017: 15) states, “[f]rom a Translanguaging lens, multilingualism by the very nature of the phenomenon is a rich source of creativity and criticality, as it entails tension, conflict, competition, difference, and change in a number of spheres, ranging from ideologies, policies, and practices to historical and current contents”.

However, more sociolinguists have started to claim that translanguaging goes beyond the theories of multilingualism and even using the term multilingualism may no longer be suitable to use as it implies the separation of languages (see Blommaert & Rampton, 2012; Blommaert, 2014; Creese & Blackledge, 2015). Furthermore, although, some language users cannot freely pick out bits from multilingual resources or negotiate their identities because of social structures and power, some others in the modern society are able to creatively and efficiently use their linguistic repertoires (Martin-Jones et al., 2012). Hence, Blommaert and Rampton (2012: 15, *italics in original*) propose “instead of focusing on communicative inequalities in institutional and instrumental settings, there is an emphasis on *creativity* and *linguistic profusion* when sociolinguistic research focuses on non-standard mixed language practices that appear to draw on styles and languages that are not normally deemed as belonging to the speaker”. Likewise, Li and Zhu (2013: 519) point out, “it is equally important to recognize the capacity of transnational individuals to mobilize their linguistic resources to (re)construct different relations and meanings within a specific social context and the creative qualities of language mixing, hybridization, and creolization”. Surely this position can provide a glimpse into what is happening in transnational contexts where individuals are able make the most out of the linguistic and cultural resources available to them.

3.5 ELF from a multilingual perspective

In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in associating English practices with multilingualism (see Canagarajah, 2009; 2011; Cogo, 2012; Hülmbauer, 2009; 2011; Jenkins, 2015; Kalocsai, 2014; Klimpfinger, 2009; Pennycook, 2010). Such

studies show that innovative and flexible use of English and multilingual resources can lead to fruitful ELF communication. Therefore, for the purpose of exploring ELF practices, it is crucial to also examine how English functions with different languages and how they adapt to different contexts.

There are some more useful theorizations that offer an insight of viewing ELF through the multilingual lens. For example, Canagarajah (2009) outlines plurilingualism and plurilingual English to comment on multilingualism in South Asia. In plurilingualism, the attention is on “the repertoire – the way the different languages constitute an integrated practice” (ibid.: 6). Moreover, Canagarajah (2009) claims that linguistic diversity is conspicuously seen in South Asian communities and that there is constant collaborative and creative interaction happening between different languages in order to achieve communicative purposes. Consequently, different languages are firmly intertwined making it difficult to pick out which is one’s actual first language and thus multilingualism influences languages to progressively change, hybridize and to eventually lose their ‘purity’ (2009: 10). Accordingly, Canagarajah (2009: 7) gives an interesting statement about plurilingual English which has a lot of common ground with contemporary ELF:

Speakers of language A and language B may speak to each other in a form of English mixed with their own first languages and marked by influence of these languages. Without accommodating to a single uniform code the speakers will be able to negotiate their different Englishes for intelligibility and effective communication.

Plurilingual communication allows flexible and innovative meaning-making processes. In Plurilingual English, deviation from the native speaker (NS) norm in terms of grammar or lexis can create a new meaning regardless of whether the participant has intended or not (Canagarajah, 2009). Thus, it is important to look at not only the linguistic practices of ELF speakers but also the process of how linguistic repertoires are fabricated and meaning is constructed in a collaborative manner.

Similarly and in respect to ELF communication, Mauranen (2012: 29) suggests conceptualizing ELF as a ‘second-order language contact’ to explain how English is

always in contact with various forms of different languages. Moreover, such forms of contact, which Mauranen (2012) refers to as “similects” (p.28), are also in contact with each other creating a mix of multilingual resources. In this manner, ELF speakers possess certain “hybrid repertoires” (p.29) and at many times, a language other than English may be dominant. As a result, various multilingual repertoires, that is, a hybrid of ‘similects’, are aligned and presented in particular ways by different ELF speakers during different stages of interaction. However, the notion of ‘similects’ needs to be extended as it only deals with ELF users’ L1 (Jenkins, 2015) and cannot be entirely applicable in situations like my research context which involve investigating international students in a non-English speaking context where multilingual communication involves at least a mix of English, different L1s and the local language.

Suitably, Jenkins (2015: 73) signifies the third phase of ELF (ELF 3) as an important point to examine the multilingual nature of ELF communication and refers to this phenomenon as ‘English as a Multilingua Franca’. To be clear, Jenkins further elaborates on the term as “multilingual communicative settings in which English is known to everyone present, and is therefore *always potentially ‘in the mix’* regardless of whether or not, and how much, it is actually used” (p.74, italics in original). In this case, multilingualism is not viewed as an aspect of ELF but ELF and multilingualism are positioned together as part of the same process. Rather than having ELF research focus predominantly on English, Jenkins (2015) suggests exploring the relationship of English and other languages and how multilingualism works with ELF users from different linguistic backgrounds.

Empirical studies on ELF and multilingual practices have shown that ELF interaction can be maximized by flexible use of ELF and other multilingual resources. For instance, Cogo (2012) conducted an ethnographic case study at a small IT company located in the UK to explore the use of ELF and multilingual practices. Data reveals how the workers adaptably made use of English, Spanish and German and created a sense of hybridity of sociolinguistic practices at the workplace. Their collaborative practices freely constructed the company’s identity, repertoire and languaging practices and presented ELF as an emergent phenomenon. Moreover, Hülmbauer (2009; 2011; 2013) examined naturally occurring ELF conversations and argues that

ELF speakers make sense of their linguistic behaviors by flexibly and creatively exploiting their own multilingual resources. She especially looks at cognates and explains how they are an important phenomenon for fruitful meaning-making processes (Hülmbauer, 2011). Klimpfinger (2009) presents how code-switching is a useful tool in ELF communication serving various functions including facilitating more meaningful nuanced expressions and negotiating the speakers' bi or multilingual identity and membership in the group. She also comments that ELF speakers creatively and strategically mix and integrate their multilingual resources to achieve their communicative objectives. As evidenced by the studies above, identity naturally emerges when inquiring into the linguistic phenomenon in multilingual contexts. Thereby, the next section attempts to address the intertwined issues of language and identity in beneficial aspects to this study.

3.6 Language and identity

Research into language and identity has been widely established throughout many years. Especially in the field of applied linguistics, identity has become the heart of language and discourse. With the intensification of globalization, numerous reconceptualizations of identity have emerged. The increase of transcultural flows has allowed people to express and construct their identity in various local and global contexts. Identity is now something that continuously goes through change and negotiation where people socially interact on a daily basis. Thus, it has become more complex than ever and recently, many scholars have proposed various approaches to capture this phenomenon.

Since the late 20th century, poststructuralist theories have been of great importance to understand the relationship between language and identity in the field of applied linguistics (Norton, 2010). Here, poststructuralists have built on theories which highlight the heterogeneity of linguistic communities and social structures (Norton, 2010; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). They emphasize the role of language in negotiating and maintaining identities but also highlight the fact that such actions frequently take place where there lies inequality. Many originate from Bourdieu's (1991) idea of linguistic capital or linguistic stratification which points out that linguistic practices represent a kind of social capital and struggle, and accordingly,

non-standard varieties or minority languages are easily stigmatized. Nguyen (2012) addresses issues of power relations and the role of language in his study. He investigated Tony, a multilingual Vietnamese immigrant in the US and his use of linguistic resources. The results show how Tony adopted multiple identities depending on his language choice which was much influenced by social power. He was strongly convinced by a standard language ideology and believed that his English was very poor although he was actually an efficient communicator in English. He also positioned languages in reference to power hierarchy in society: 1) English, 2) Spanish, and 3) Mandarin. Thus, he used English in order to survive in the real world, that is, to improve his social capital. For example, he gave his son an English name so that he could integrate to the American society more easily. As Norton (2010: 350) states, “every time we speak we are negotiating and renegotiating our sense of self in relation to the larger social world”. It can be said that there is a strong view in poststructuralism that language cannot be separated from identity and power.

However, Bourdieu's (1991) model fails to accommodate instances of resistance and where there does not exist inequality in linguistic practices (Joseph, 2004; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Heller (1992; 1995) implies that code-switching, for instance, should not be conceived as an unusual phenomenon but something to closely examine as it attempts to resist symbolic power. In her study of French language minority education in Ontario, one of the classes she observed displayed ambivalence towards the monolingual French norm. Although the students were expected to only use French in the classroom, they overtly resisted and code-switched from French to English or to other language varieties to balance between the school's language policy and their lack of confidence in French. Furthermore, Canagarajah's (2004) study shows how second language learners demonstrate resistance when they are detached from pressure in the classroom. Their multilingual communicative practices, that is, the use of code-switching and vernacular, allowed the learners to adopt identities of their preference. Thus, Riley (2007) warns not to exclusively concentrate on identity constructions associated with power relations. Correspondingly, this research does not deal with such linguistic stratification but looks at ways of how identities are established through free and flexible use of linguistic resources in ELF communication without necessarily adhering to NS norms. Investigation into ELF contexts brings into focus the constructed, negotiated and more importantly the

contested aspect of language, identity and culture from a poststructuralist perspective (Baker, 2015). Given the dynamic nature of ELF and the multilingual and multicultural contexts of ELF communication, this study adopts a poststructuralist approach to understand identities in relation to language, discourse and community. However, undeniably there have been power issues with standard language ideology of English that certainly cannot be ignored.

The idea that identity should be seen as a social construct, as opposed to an intrinsic feature, and that language and discourse play an essential role in identity construction has continuously been prominent in applied linguistics (Joseph, 2004; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Riley, 2007). Riley (2007: 87) claims that “identity can, by definition, only be treated with reference to others since others are its principal source”. He explains that social identity can be described by looking into one’s membership in particular groups. Joseph (2004) takes a similar perspective and illustrates how an individual can have multiple identities. He argues that one’s identity goes through variation in different contexts and thus multiple identities of an individual can be negotiated with people in contact and the communicative practices also vary depending on the identity a person takes. As Baker (2015: 82) notes “these constellations of different identities are what give our sense of self and identity its unique characteristics and also a dynamic aspect that provides for the accentuation of alternative group affiliations across contexts and times”.

Binding language and identity together can facilitate understanding a sense of self and others and how they function in interaction. Along with Riley (2007), Kramsch (2009) argues that one’s identity can be described in respect of social or cultural groups. On the other hand, she uses the term subjectivity to explain that “the self is formed through the use of language and other symbolic systems, both intrapersonally and interpersonally” (ibid.: 25). Subjectivity is the development of the self through language experience, in other words, the result of social interactions. This means that one’s self is built on through inner consciousness and in relation to the social groups one is part of. However, Joseph (2004) contends that the identity that is self-constructed (self-identity) is no different than the identity that is constructed by the influence of others (social identity). There are, according to Joseph, only differences between identities when it comes to individual and group identities. Nevertheless,

both Kramsch (2009) and Joseph (2004) elaborate on how language and identity are deeply attached. The social encounters of human beings in many cases are dealt essentially through language (Joseph, 2004). Through the accumulation of social and linguistic contacts, people are able to make certain assumptions of what others are like and gradually construct their identities (ibid.). This phenomenon was clearly noticeable in the community that was observed in my research context. Identities, in many cases, were negotiated through the use of multilingual resources. The participants expressed individual, cultural and group identities during their interviews and social encounters with other groups of students. There were also able to identify others from recalling previous sociolinguistic experiences they had with other participants. Therefore, Joseph (2004: 224) remarks that “...any study of language needs to take consideration of identity if it is to be full and rich and meaningful, because identity is itself at the very heart of what language is about, how it operates, why and how it came into existence and evolved as it did, how it is learned and how it is used, every day, by every user, every time it is used”. It is through language that individuals construct who they are and the people they encounter at different places and at different times (Weedon, 1997).

3.6.1 Third space and liminality

With regard to identity constructions of second language (L2) users from a multilingual perspective, some scholars have pointed out the concept of ‘space’ which emerges when an L2 user is in an ambiguous state between his or her native culture and the new target culture. Within this space, the L2 user is able to develop his or her own cultural identity and meaning. This type of ‘space’ is called ‘third space’ or ‘third culture’ (Bhabha, 1994; Kramsch, 1993). The general idea that an L2 user engages in two cultures (i.e., the native culture and the target culture) when encountering a new target culture is rather misleading in the way that it is more than merely experiencing two cultures and it goes beyond boundaries. People who cross the border and experience a new language, whether it is to learn a foreign language, to visit or to emigrate to a foreign country, create their own ‘third culture’ (Kramsch, 1993: 235). Furthermore, Rampton's (1995) notion of ‘liminality’ has a lot of common ground with ‘third space’. His ethnographic study of multicultural, urban, working-class

communities in the UK gives insights into language use and identity constructions in multilingual settings. He illuminates the term ‘language (or code) crossings’ and relates this to moments of ‘liminality’ to describe situations where speakers adopt language varieties that do not belong to their group.

Duff (2007) mentions the term ‘third space’ in her inquiry on Korean undergraduate students living in Canada. Her interviews reveal that the Korean students initially had the intention to become affiliated with the Anglo-Canadian community. However, after a few months, they realized that their goal was hard to achieve and that they socialized better linguistically and culturally in Korean, Asian or other Korean-Canadian communities. To this effect, their socialization in such communities led to the construction of ‘third space’. The students used English but were also engaged in a mix of Korean or other Asian languages. Hence, within this ‘third space’ hybrid identities have also developed.

However, Kramsch (2009; 2011) herself has been critical of ‘third culture’. She argues that due to the vastly growing global mobility and communication, this notion should put less focus on what the L2 users are in between and more attention to the “symbolic process of meaning-making that sees beyond the dualities of national languages (L1-L2) and national cultures (C1-C2)” (Kramsch, 2011: 355).

Kumaravadivelu (2008: 5) also provides another viewpoint and states “I do not believe that I am dangling in a cultural limbo. Instead, I believe I live in several cultural domains at the same time – jumping in and out of them, sometimes with ease and sometimes with unease”. Thus, it is difficult to neatly categorize whether ELF speakers are linguistically and culturally in a middle position or they are flexibly in different spaces at different points of time (Baker, 2015).

Therefore, taking into account ELF communication, it may not always be the case that ELF speakers develop a particular ‘third space’, meaning that there is also the possibility of hybridizing different languages and cultures and it is in fact, not clear what target culture they are in between. For example, as highlighted in sections 3.2-3.5, more recent sociolinguistics works on multilingualism (e.g., Blommaert, 2010; 2016; Blommaert & Rampton, 2012; Canagarajah, 2013; Pennycook, 2010) have emphasized on dispensing conventional language and cultural boundaries in

multilingual settings. In addition, several ethnographic ELF studies (e.g., Baker, 2009; 2011; Cogo, 2012; Kalocsai, 2014) have demonstrated that the linguistic practices of ELF speakers involve an intricate mix of different language resources and cultural references and more importantly, how the participants are not intersecting any specific culture. Alternatively, the next section deals with hybrid and new forms of identity constructions in globalized contexts.

3.6.2 Identity in global and multilingual settings

In recent years, the intensification of globalization has led to reconceptualizations and retheorizations of identity and it has become a useful idea to examine identity constructions in multilingual and multicultural settings (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Pennycook (2007) applies the notion of transcultural flows to associate identity with globalization processes and explain how the global use of English creates movements of cultural forms and new types of identities in different contexts. He critically views the role of English from a global perspective to understand the complexity of resistance, change, appropriation as well as identity. He argues that “cultural and linguistic forms are always in a state of flux, always changing, always part of a process of the refashioning identity” (ibid.: 8).

Pennycook (2010) is also concerned about seeing how global flows create new forms of localization and global identification through exploring linguistic and cultural practices. While he conceptualizes language as a social practice (see section 3.2), he also believes that identity is constructed through social practices in local settings. Likewise, Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) propose the notion of metrolingualism to point out how people with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds shape their identity through language and linguistic practices. Similar to Blommaert's (2010) notion of globalized village (or neighborhood) and linguistic mobility, it disregards the conventional boundaries of language and culture and views language as an emerging phenomenon in various interactions. Hence, in such transcultural flows, the natural blending of different languages, cultures and identities is a common phenomenon (Pennycook, 2010).

Moreover, Canagarajah (2007b; 2013) is in line with Pennycook and the notion of metrolingualism in many ways. As he states, “languages don’t determine or limit our identities, but provide creative resources to construct new and revised identities through reconstructed forms and meaning of new indexicalities” (Canagarajah, 2013: 199). This perspective gives much insight into an understanding of competent international students’ use of English and how they innovatively present their language resources and agency in interaction. However, Canagarajah (2013) does not entirely agree with Pennycook’s (2010) idea and critiques the exaggeration posed on redefined communities and identities in the postmodern era. He argues that communities and identities cannot always be constructed freely because of power and dominant ideologies and thus he underscores instances where identities negotiate within existing social structures and discourses.

While the notion of ‘third space’ (see section 3.6.1) puts strong emphasis on identities that are constructed in between different language cultures, Canagarajah and Pennycook attend to how processes of globalization influence identity construction in redefined and dynamic ways. Overall, both Canagarajah and Pennycook highlight cultural identity with reference to globalization. Cultural identity is associated with a variety of categories such as nationality, ethnicity, race, class, gender, religion, language and profession (Holliday, 2010). Zhu (2014) states “although cultural identity is not only about ethnicity and race, ethnicity and race are central to cultural identity to the extent that ethnic or racial identities are often conflated with cultural identity in practice” (p.204). This is because people tend to use “a range of *audible*, *visible* and *readable* cues” (p.205: italics in original) and make connections with their knowledge and past experience of cultures when categorizing someone. Suitably, Zhu (2014) introduces the term interculturality to avoid such stereotypes and to stress the fluidity and complexity of cultural identity; hence, providing a better understanding of emergent identity constructs in global contexts.

3.6.3 Identity and the community of practice

Wenger (1998) also takes a social perspective and views identity as a form of belonging in a community. He asserts that identity is shaped through the history of social participation in the community. This study has been inspired by Wenger's

(1998) idea that practice, both linguistic and social actions, entails the negotiation of identity and membership in the community. Wenger (1998) introduces parallel characterizations of identity and practice. He explains how people define themselves in communities of practice they are affiliated to (Wenger, 1998: 149).

Identity as negotiated experience: This recognizes that identity is reified not only through discourse and social categories but also through the experience of participation in the community. Thus, identity is a complex “layering of events of participation and reification” (p.151) which builds on through social encounters and establishment of relations with others.

Identity as community membership: This perceives membership as a sense of identity in the manner that people define themselves through understanding what is familiar and unfamiliar, meaning that they can act competently in the group. Here, being a competent member entails the comprehension of what is appropriate, common, authentic, applicable and negotiable in the community.

Identity as learning trajectory: This is pertinent to the poststructuralist view of social identity (Joseph, 2004; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Riley, 2007). This suggests that identity is constructed in social contexts and that it is comprised by learning of events and forms of participation. As members experience various events of participation, their identities create different types of trajectories: central, peripheral or even outside of the community. Wenger uses the term trajectory to claim that identity formation is not fixed but is an ongoing process. This also involves the history of the members’ participation and identity negotiations as well as renegotiations in the community.

Identity as nexus of multimembership: This emphasizes that a member is part of many communities of practice in different ways. People engage in different practices, act differently and construct themselves differently in different contexts. All forms of participation performed in different communities become crucial in constituting a member’s identity. Hence, the multiplicity of trajectories are interwoven and contributes to the formation of multimembership. This relates to the idea of multiple identities proposed by Joseph (2004) but complies more with Kramsch's (2009)

notion of 'self' (see section 3.6) as Wenger (1998) believes that a person has one identity which is a nexus of multiple trajectories that requires coordination.

Identity as a relation between the local and the global: This points out that identity is not always constructed in relation to the local context. Members can demonstrate solidarity without pursuing shared goals and they attempt to fit themselves in broader categories. For example, they may actively engage in the local community through having conversations about broader topics such as hobbies, vacations and sports interests. Therefore, identity is "always an interplay between the local and global" (p.162).

Hence, it could be argued that identity reflects "the practice of dynamically exploiting a co-created set of linguistic and other social behaviors, views, beliefs and attitudes" and such practice allows the speakers to label themselves as a member of the community of practice (Kalocsai, 2014: 2). See sections 6.2 and 8.2 for details on membership and co-constructed practices.

Duff (2002) drew on Wenger's (1998) notion of CoP to investigate L2 users' participation and identity negotiation in the classroom. Her study on classroom participation at a multilingual secondary school in Canada provides interesting findings. In her study, the teacher facilitated a respectful classroom for cultural diversity and implicitly encouraged L2 users to participate more actively but data shows that the L2 users did not adopt identity positions the teacher supported and remained relatively silent compared to the local students. Some of the L2 users who did not conform to established classroom interaction norms did not necessarily feel the need to show active participation in the class. Despite their different interactional practices in the classroom, the silent students who exercised their agency were still academically high-achieving students. Similarly, Morita (2004) examined how Japanese students negotiate their participation and identity in the classroom in Canada. The findings of her study links to Wenger's (1998) notion of identity as *nexus of multimembership*. She discovered that a learner can negotiate different identities in multiple contexts. The participants shaped their identity through various levels of participation in different classes and thus this proves that identity negotiation is situated.

The two studies present how participants deviate from (or resist) established cultural norms and practices and how they stick to their distinctive identities through non-conformity, exercising their agency and positioning themselves in multiple membership categories. This adds on to Wenger's (1998) identity in practice framework and confirms that the inquiry of participation is central to exploring identity construction. In the same way, examining participation in multilingual ELF contexts can facilitate the understanding of the ELF users' membership and identity negotiation in the community. It can provide a wide range of social categories such as ways of acting, engaging with others, how they familiarize and position themselves in the group through their multilingual resources. It can also explore how multilingual ELF users do not necessarily conform to pre-established cultural or language norms but shape fluid and complex identities.

3.6.4 Identity in ELF research

The increase of global flows has made the role of identity even more complex than ever. Consequently, identity has become a growing research interest in the field of ELF. Many ELF researchers have been investigating the relationship of language and identity from the perspectives discussed in previous sections, which all in common acknowledge that identity is socially constructed through interaction.

Pölzl & Seidlhofer's (2006: 172) study reveals that ELF speakers, "who are interacting in their own habitat", associate their L1 norms with their use of ELF during communication. Hence, this demonstrates that ELF communication is globally influenced but it also involves local linguacultural norms. This relates to Pennycook's (2010) perspective on how identities can be in new forms of localization in their own 'habitat' through globalization processes. Klimpfinger (2009) and Cogo (2010) discovered from their empirical data that ELF users negotiate identities through code-switching in multilingual and multicultural contexts. Cogo (2010) illustrates how ELF users' creatively and strategically used ELF according to their purposes and this also demonstrates identity construction as well as their membership in the group. For example, one of her extracts presents how three different languages (i.e., English, French and German) collaborate in the same conversation. In the extract, the

French participant talks about some pictures of an engaged couple and uses the word *cheesy* to describe that “the pictures are too much but they are also sweet at the same time” (ibid.: 301). Then she also explains the French expression *fleur bleu* to indicate that it has a similar connotation (ibid.). The German participant adds that there is also an expression in her language called *kitschig*. Although, different languages are involved, the participants know how to strategically make sense of them in between conversations. In the second extract, a Japanese participant uses the idiom “we are all *on* the same boat” instead of “we are *in* the same boat” (ibid., italics mine) during a conversation with the Portuguese and Italian participants. Here, the participants accept the way it was addressed by the Japanese participant and the Portuguese participant emphasizes their foreignness by stating “we are *all* foreigners” (ibid., italics mine). This example represents how the participants show solidarity and a sense of belonging in the community.

Jenkins (2007) investigated English teachers’ identity as part of her extensive research on teachers’ attitudes on ELF and ELT. From her study, she noticed that many of the participants showed ambivalent and contradicting attitudes toward their English accents. Although most of them strongly believed that it made sense to have a NSE identity in their role as teachers for career success, they were still attached to their L1 and nationality and this was also revealed through their English accents. Jenkins (2007: 231) goes on to comment that “some even noticed the contradiction and used terms such as ‘linguistic schizophrenia’, ‘double standard’ and conflicted”.

Jenks (2013) findings of online ELF communication suggest that when the participants use English they categorize their identity as NNSEs, language learners or foreigners although they are all proficient English speakers in ELF settings. From this, he raises ethical issues and contends that the researcher is in a position of power and thus there is a disparity of the social category between participant data (EFL) and the researcher’s preference (ELF). Similarly, Brubaker and Cooper (2000) recognize identity as both a category of practice and a category of analysis. During the process of identity reification they inform that “we should avoid unintentionally *reproducing* or *reinforcing* such reification by uncritically adopting categories as practice as categories of analysis” (ibid.: 5, italics in original). Accordingly, the following studies I

illustrate below, incorporate the participants' own interpretations and reflections regarding their use of English.

Both Baker (2009; 2011) and Kalocsai (2014) conducted ethnographic studies including the analysis of the participants' discourse as well as their own interpretations. According to Baker's (2009) interview data, one of his participants revealed how she has multiple identities through acknowledging and rejecting herself in certain groups. She illustrates that when she uses English, she does not comply with traditional Thai norms or attempt to talk like a NSE but she suggests that she has a new generation attitude and this may link more to Western cultures. Moreover, Baker's (2011) participants expressed liminal identities where they positioned themselves more in fluid and dynamic groupings. In his interview, a participant describes how she does not conform to the cultural norms of Anglophone countries but she also believes that NNSEs forget their own culture when communicating in English. Kalocsai (2014) employed the CoP framework and explored how ELF is used to negotiate membership. With this framework, she explains how the participants build and maintain multiple and fluid identities through the use of ELF and cultural resources. In conclusion, most of the studies cited above (Baker, 2009; 2011; Kalocsai, 2014; Klimpfinger, 2009; Pölzl & Seidlhofer, 2006) demonstrate a degree of resistance towards the ideology of bounded language and also reveal how identities can be constructed and expressed through ELF speakers' creative use of the language resources available to them.

3.7 Conclusion

Multilingualism has become an interesting subject to explore with the rapid growth of transnational flows. To this effect, language should no longer be perceived as a bounded system and this requires more appreciation on the dynamic nature of language especially when looking at how English is adapted in multilingual contexts. In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in associating English practices with multilingualism. Such studies indicate that innovative and flexible use of English and multilingual resources can lead to productive ELF exchanges. Furthermore, on account of intensifying globalization, the negotiation of social, cultural and multiple

identities in society has gained much attention. It has also been demonstrated how language is pivotal in the process of identity constructions and multilingualism positively affects the formation of vibrant and complex identities. Overall, it has been suggested that there is the need for more studies that consider both ELF and multilingual practices as related practices to closely examine how English operates with different languages. Accumulation of such research, as will be the case in this study, will disclose the role of English in modern multilingual societies and this will increase awareness on the essence of language as a constantly evolving social phenomenon. Furthermore, this study explores the extent to which identity constructions of students in the context of international mobility are highly complex, dynamic, fluid, and flexible rather than given or static.

Chapter 4 Culture and community in relation to language

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented how language, multilingualism and identity are fundamental to understanding the research context. Yet, they are not the only areas and not quite enough to grasp every dimension of this study. In order to explore a multilingual student community, it is also important to understand how communities are operated and maintained. From this, we can make sense of how culture is shaped through socialization free of stereotypical boundaries. Hence, culture and community are two other vital fields of study that needs further explanation.

In this chapter, the areas of culture and community in relation to language have been closely examined to better understand communities of ELF speakers. The discussion begins with conceptualizing culture as discourse and practice. Next, critical points of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, language socialization and second language socialization are delineated and evaluated from an ELF perspective. These theories are mentioned as they can be seen as a starting point of understanding the adaptation of language through social interactions. The complex nature of language and culture is then explored through the notion of languaculture. From this, it is suggested that language and culture can actually be disassociated and that the relationship between the two can be newly characterized in every “communicative event” (Risager, 2006: 188).

The concepts of community are highlighted in the second part of this chapter. First, ‘speech’ and ‘discourse’ community are introduced as they have served as a foundation in developing notions of communities with the focus on groups of people who share a common language or discourse. However, these have been disregarded in this study as they do not embrace the progressive features of ELF. Alternatively, the CoP framework is illustrated with the emphasis on the relationship between practice and community (see section 3.6.3 and 4.3.2). Then, it is explained how the framework is applied to the context of this study. This section concludes with example studies on ELF communities of practice.

4.2 Language and culture

4.2.1 Conceptualizing culture

Culture has been a research focus in a wide range of disciplines and a plethora of characterizations, concepts, theories and perspectives have been delineated and this is still an ongoing phenomenon. Thus, it is a concept too broad and vague to define in simple terms. In general, the most commonly understood idea of culture is viewing it as a thing which people in same groups have in common and it can be differentiated among different groups. People see culture as a set of beliefs, values, rules, or something that controls how people behave and these are useful ideas that help understand different dimensions of human behavior (Scollon et al., 2012). However, it is problematic that this kind of conception is what creates the boundaries between people from different groups and it disregards “the negotiated, contested, changeable and situated nature of culture” (Baker, 2015: 38). Moreover, Scollon, Scollon and Jones (2012) argue that culture should not be highlighted as a thing that distinguishes people from different groups but it should be perceived as a heuristic, “a tool for thinking” (2012: 3) when it comes to intercultural communication. Although the term culture will continuously be redefined and revisited in many ways, Scollon, Scollon and Jones (ibid.) construct the closest definition of culture as:

a way of dividing people up into different groups according to some feature of these people which helps us to understand something about them and how they are different from or similar to other people.

Appropriately, they propose the term discourse systems to illustrate how people draw on different “cultural toolkits” with reference to different social groups or activities they partake in. Basically, a discourse system can be envisaged as a “cultural toolkit” which consists of “ideas and beliefs about the world, conventional ways of treating other people, ways of communicating using various kinds of texts, media, and ‘languages’, and methods of learning how to use these other tools” (ibid.: 8). Discourse systems incorporate systems related to large groups of people which are formed by social categories or ideologies such as Confucianism and Utilitarianism and smaller groups of people such as families and other affinity groups (Scollon et al.,

2012). Moreover, people in such groups engage in different levels of participation whether it be peripheral or central.

Kramsch (1998; 2009) is another prominent linguist who sees culture as discourse. From her perspective, culture represents membership in a discourse community and the members of this type of community not only share daily practices, history, values and beliefs but are also aware of how to interact within the community. In line with Kramsch (*ibid.*), Holliday (2013) believes that discourse is the unique way of communicating in particular groups. Through specialized discourse, insiders of the community can easily distinguish themselves from the outsiders. In addition to the sociocultural aspect of culture, Kramsch (1998) proposes cultural imagination. She claims that this common imagining, which is negotiated by language, is an essential phenomenon that influences the way cultural reality is formed in discourse communities. This cultural reality is what controls one's judgement and behavior. Individuals can also belong to multiple cultural realities at the same time (Holliday, 2010).

Another notion which overlaps in many ways with culture as discourse is culture as practice. According to Street (1993), *culture* is a *verb* and the focus should be on what people do and how they interact with other people rather than identifying what culture people belong to. Risager (2006) delineates how system-oriented analogies have become outdated in examining concepts of culture and that practice-oriented linguistic philosophy has notably gained more value in the post-modern era. From this point of view, "symbols are created and recreated in 'the negotiation' between people in interaction" and "emphasis is placed on the procedural, social and conflictual aspects of the ascription of meaning" (*ibid.*: 49). Put differently, this position characterizes culture constructs as ongoing, interactive, dynamic, fluid and complex.

With relevance to the notion of culture as practice, Holliday (2010) describes culture as a "negotiated *process*" (p.58, *italics in original*) and this process is strongly influenced by personal trajectories. Through his social action theory, he stresses that individual experiences are what lead to culture construction and this process intensifies the level of complexity and fluidity of culture. Holliday (2010; 2013) offers

the notion of small cultures to better understand the construction of cultural realities. He outlines small cultures as cultural environments which encompass “small social groupings or activities wherever there is cohesive behavior, such as families, leisure and work groups, where people form rules for how to behave which will bind them together” (2013: 3). Small cultures can be any kind of human activity that happens on a daily basis and such types of activity process into the construction of cultural realities.

On the grounds that small cultures can be identified as all levels of cultural practices, this notion can be useful to apply to the framework of CoP (see section 4.3.2). The layering of small cultures in a multilingual community can, throughout time, naturally inform the members on what (both linguistically and socially) is familiar, appropriate and meaningful along with instilling ‘routini[z]ation’⁷ and cultural identity in the community. However, this does not imply that small cultures and the ‘P’ in CoP are equivalent. While small cultures refer to all types of everyday behavior such as even doing the laundry, cooking and working out, CoP is vitally concerned with the type of ‘practice’ that is produced when members “are engaged in actions whose meanings they negotiate with one another” (Wenger, 1998: 73). Furthermore, unlike how small cultures are “cultural environments which are located in proximity to the people concerned (Holliday, 2013: 3)”, CoP has less reliance on geographical proximity and adds more focus on the relationship that develops through mutual practices which is fundamental to forming a community (see section 4.3.2).

Overall, both culture as discourse and culture as practice have close connections to each other and to this study. To remark the correlation, Holliday (2013) contends that discourse is not a social action or a process but a constructed resource that influences people to adopt certain cultural practices. Clearly there is much more to culture than solely perceiving it as discourse and practice. However, my position is that when investigating contexts involving intercultural communication, culture should no longer be ingrained in stereotypes of the traditional definition. Increases in global

⁷ Routini[z]ation is a term introduced by Holliday which is “the process whereby a piece of behaviour is established to the degree that it becomes a normal part of thinking-as-usual, or part of the everyday institutional processes of an organisation” (2013: 49). This is a crucial aspect of the formation of small cultures.

mobility and the proliferation of social media have made it noticeably easier for cultures to interweave, hybridize or even create new forms. The context of this study involves various multicultural and multilingual encounters. Therefore, viewing culture as discourse and practice allows a better understanding of how cultures in an international community vibrantly flows through multifarious interactions.

4.2.2 Sapir-Whorf hypothesis

When it comes to the relation between language, culture and thought, many arguments start a discussion from an overview of the widely known canonical concept, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. This theory was introduced in the early days of applied linguistics by Sapir (1929, 1962) and Whorf (1956) who claimed that the structure of a language which is used habitually influences the way one sees the world (Kramsch, 1998). To further explain, Sapir (1962: 68, italics in original) stated that “language is a guide to *social reality*” and that “it powerfully conditions all our thinking about social problems and processes”. From his point of view, language creates the real world and no two languages are similar and thus, people with different language habits live in different worlds. Whorf (1956: 221) further elaborated that:

...users of markedly different grammars are pointed by their grammars toward different types of observations and different evaluations of externally similar acts of observation, and hence are not equivalent as observers, but must arrive at somewhat different views of the world.

However, due to the ambiguity of Sapir and Whorf’s articulation, different interpretations of the hypothesis have emerged. The notion was dichotomized into a strong and weak version known as linguistic determinism and linguistic relativity. From a linguistic determinism viewpoint, language determines or controls one’s knowledge and thought whereas linguistic relativity is the idea that language influences thought and the way people behave (Pavlenko, 2011; Zhu, 2014).

Linguistic determinism, the strong version of linguistic relativity, has been highly criticized for various reasons (e.g., Berlin & Kay, 1969; Gumperz & Levinson, 1996; Kramsch, 2004; Pinker, 2007). According to Kramsch (2004), different languages can indeed be translated even though mistranslation may occur to some extent. Secondly, bi or multilingual speakers know how to use more than one language and they are not controlled by the “habits of any one speech community” (ibid.: 239). Thirdly, the growing number of the diversity of speakers within one language makes it difficult to judge that the speakers of a certain language think and behave similarly. Although linguistic determinism has been rather discredited, the weak version of the hypothesis has been generally accepted and reinterpreted in various ways (Gumperz & Levinson, 1996; Kramsch, 2004; Lucy, 1992).

Gumperz and Levinson (1996) deviate from the traditional Sapir-Whorf hypothesis and propose a reinterpretation of linguistic relativity. They emphasize an intermediate standpoint in which universals, “the features shared by all languages and cultures”, and linguistic and cultural diversity are all viewed important (ibid.: 3). In other words, at the same time they acknowledge the underlying universals, different uses of language systems and the sociocultural context surrounding them. Therefore, the field of contemporary linguistic relativity shifts from an inner circle which ties grammar, lexis, categories and culture as human internalization to the outer circle which is associated with interactions in social context and different patterns of cognition influenced by the social context (Gumperz & Levinson, 1996). This perspective can be generally linked to the context of this study in the way that the linguistic practices produced by the members of the international community were strongly influenced by the particular local and social environment they were exposed to.

However, Risager (2006) addresses that linguistic relativity has always centralized on native language speakers and it has primarily been related to how language develops in first language contexts. She further adds that Gumperz and Levinson (1996) likewise do not consider second language or multilingual contexts but that more recently Kramsch (2009) has dealt with the bi/multilingual subject in relation to linguistic relativity. Kramsch (2009) criticizes how foreign language education, in general, has been based on a “standardized linguistic system” (ibid.: 3) and that

students are taught to become accurate and fluent in the language resembling that of a native speaker. Hence, she disregards the monolingual ideology in language learning and highlights the reality of foreign language learners by exploring motivation, perception, experiences, emotions and identities of individual selves. Likewise, this study examines how a group of international students in Korean HE use their multilingual skills to communicate in English. Accordingly, looking at the students' creative English practices and their narratives can shed light on the real use of English in the globalized world.

4.2.3 Language socialization

Ochs (1986: 2) defines language socialization as both “socialization through language and socialization to use language”. From a language socialization perspective, children and novices in a community acquire certain knowledge of social tenets and beliefs implicitly by engaging in social activities through language (Ochs, 1986; Watson-Gegeo, 2004). Moreover, this concept highlights that “sociocultural information” (i.e., grammatical and conversational structures) is embedded in different kinds of spoken discourse (Ochs, 1986: 3). The structures entail an organization of social order and cultural reality. Thus, language in communication is used as an influential means for socialization and a critical tool to deliver an understanding of the world (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986).

Language socialization studies perceive that language learning occurs from exposure and regular participation in social interactions, as opposed to rationalist and innatist theories. The ideas of interactional mind and sociocultural process in everyday communication are of paramount significance (Duff, 2007; Kramsch, 2004). This paradigm accounts for both sociocultural and linguistic knowledge and attempts to discover the development of such knowledge through various social interactions during different periods of a certain age (Duff, 2007).

Primary works of language socialization in the early days investigated how children at a young age responded to conversational patterns and speech acts (Duff, 2007). For example, Schieffelin and Ochs (1986: 270-284) explored three developmental stories of children (studies they conducted in the 1980s): an Anglo-American white middle-

class, a Kaluli and a Samoan. The comparison of these three stories revealed significant differences. Ochs and Schieffelin demonstrated how spoken interactions are culturally developed between caregivers and young children. This indicates that in order for children to become members of society that is, to be able to participate in social interactions using the language, they go through a process in which social principles and beliefs are culturally rooted. It can also be acknowledged that experts of the language group play a critical role in teaching the novices how to socialize either implicitly or explicitly (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002).

Language socialization has strong potential in contributing to the extension of the linguistic relativity theory. The idea that language is learned through participation in social interactions gives a useful insight to this study. However, the traditional concept of language socialization does not entirely fit into my research context as it has primarily looked at how children or novices gradually integrate into a particular community by acquiring discourse practices produced by expert members whereas all of my research participants were in the same boat and have learned to become part of the community together through the use of English in their unique ways. Nowadays in many cases, the field of language socialization endeavors to scrutinize the process of adapting to more than one or two languages and also understand how sociocultural factors affect the participants in different ways through multiple languages (Watson-Gegeo, 2004). By virtue of the intensifying globalization phenomenon, knowledge is now quite diverse among individuals and different communities, meaning that the sociocultural tenets and beliefs can be bi or multicultural even though a person is surrounded by a monolingual environment for a long period. This can be linked to second language learners who join a new culture which is different from the first one they have experienced (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002).

4.2.3.1 Second language socialization

L2 socialization follows the same convention as language socialization but the attention is drawn on children or adults who have already acquired their first language when experiencing a new language and the culture surrounding it (Duff, 2007). Duff (2002; 2007) argues that L2 learners have the possibility of not being

able to adapt themselves entirely in the new discourse environment as they did when they acquired their first language due to various reasons. This is not just because the new discourse community may not accept them to a certain extent but also for the reason that L2 learners may pursue goals or aims that do not require full adaptation or acculturation to a new discourse community and they might feel more comfortable when they stick to their first community (Duff, 2007). In addition, the development of L2 socialization does not result in the replication of the L2 communicative patterns and cultural habits but it may generate hybrid cultures, practices and beliefs when L2 is partially internalized or when the norms and practices are not accepted (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002).

However, in terms of ELF communication, there is no target culture and thus it is not clear what culture ELF users are actually putting focus on (Baker, 2009, 2011, 2015). Accordingly, a number of ELF researchers (see House, 2003; Dewey, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2011; Kalocsai, 2014) suggest that the notion of CoP (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) offers a fluid and dynamic perspective on understanding the use of ELF along with culture and identity construction. Moreover, Watson-Gegeo (2004) refers to legitimate peripheral participation from the CoP framework and claims that this underlines a more fluid, realistic and criticalist way of learning in which the learners gradually obtain central roles through participation in activities of CoP over time (see section 4.3.2). The above viewpoint highly corresponds to my research subject. My participants did not have a target culture in mind when they were communicating in English. In fact, they claimed that they mix different languages such as Korean or their L1 very naturally when using English. They situated their English depending on where they were and who they were with. Accordingly, the next section looks at how there is no fixed target culture when it comes to language. In transnational contexts, any type of culture can accompany a particular language contingent on the practices produced by language users.

4.2.4 Languaculture in global flows

Until now, language and culture has been illustrated as inseparable concepts that are tightly associated to each other and Risager (2006) refers this to the generic sense of understanding language and culture. However, she takes a transnational perspective

and highlights the differential understanding of language and culture. In a differential sense, she believes that language is not tied to a specific culture and depending on its practices, different cultures can be associated. In this sense, language and culture can indeed be separated. To this effect, the relationship between language and culture can be defined and redefined in every new “communicative event” according to the participant’s view, experience, knowledge or background (ibid.: 188).

To better understand the complex concept of language and culture, Risager (2007: 169) outlines three crucial perspectives: sociological, psychological and system-oriented. The sociological perspective links to linguistic practice, which is about how language is performed and presented in society. The psychological perspective looks at linguistic resources, which is socially constructed knowledge possessed by individuals. The two perspectives are reciprocal and both are essential to understand language evolution in society and one’s linguistic development throughout time. Lastly, the system-oriented perspective relates to the linguistic system and views language as discursively constructed. Unlike the two previous perspectives, the linguistic system is not a natural and necessary locus of language.

Risager (2006; 2007) adopts the three perspectives of language to explain her conception of languaculture (or linguaculture). For Risager, language and culture can be separated but at the same time language is also never culturally neutral and there is always meaning embedded in any kind of language. Hence, languaculture research attempts to understand different meanings that arise through language. Although Risager (2006: 119) originally explores a more complex dimension of languaculture, linking it to cultural perspectives (i.e., the semantic-pragmatic, the poetic and the identity), this goes beyond the scope of the subject of this study and thus I address the simplified description of languaculture (Risager, 2007: 112):

Languaculture in linguistic practice: This emphasizes that individuals have their own languacultural intentions when producing language and these intentions are either restricted or continued during communication. The interlocutors also understand the exchange of utterances according to their own languaculture and experiences.

Languaculture in linguistic resources: This points out that individuals develop their personal languaculture during their language acquisition process. Each individual carries different language and culture inside them. This enables them to express themselves and understanding meaning.

Languaculture in the linguistic system: Here, languaculture is described as a discursive construction in the linguistic system. From this, it is also important to note that language cannot be seen as one unified languacultural system.

Followed by the level of languaculture, is the level of discourse. Taking into account the cultural view of language, the concept of discourse should also be recognized. Here, Risager (2007) argues that discourse is not bound to one particular language but can move in and out of different language communities. In every communicative event, there are two types of flows: one is the linguistic flow of a language and the other is a discursive flow which deals with different topics. This implies that speaking in a specific language, does not necessarily link to dominant ideologies. Risager (2007) gives an example of Danish immigrants in Barcelona having a conversation in Danish about the Iraqi war. This case shows the mix of transnational flow of the Danish language and the discourse on Iraqi war. Consequently, Risager (2006: 187) urges the need for more investigation on “divergent situations” rather than “convergent situations” to reduce the bias on the dominance of first language cultures. For example, my research context complied to a divergent situation where there involved a group of English speakers from different backgrounds and the linguistic practices influenced by the speakers’ own knowledge and experiences manifested in communication. A convergent situation on the other hand, could be where speakers are all from the same linguistic background, have the same cultural knowledge and not much diversity of the language can be detected during interaction.

The growth of globalization and international mobility has opened up new paths to rethink and reconceptualize the relationship between language and culture and Risager has been a strong influence. Although Risager does not particularly advocate the ELF paradigm, her argument allows a clearer understanding of the complexity and transnationality of languaculture flows in lingua franca communication (Baker, 2015). Baker (2015) takes the notion of languaculture to understand the complexity

of language and culture in intercultural communication. Yet, he critiques that Risager limits her notion to existing languacultures and does not embrace newly constructed cultural forms and references that arise in communication which is in fact a crucial aspect that is frequently detected in ELF research. Accordingly, Baker (2015) claims that the fluid and dynamic nature of ELF communication is what creates the richness and diversity in context and implies that the notion of languaculture should acknowledge lingua franca communication.

4.3 Conceptualizing community

The term community is deeply associated to language, culture and society (Seidlhofer, 2007). Language users, as members of a social community, acquire sociocultural knowledge such as social rules and appropriate norms through interactions within their group (Kramsch, 1998). The community's common beliefs, attitudes and values are also displayed by how the members use the language (ibid.). Therefore, different types of communities and the process of how they have been formed, maintained and developed are also crucial components to examine in order to understand the intertwined and complex relation of language and culture in ELF contexts. The concept of communities in the field of sociolinguistics has gone through developments over the past decades. It is now believed by an increasing number of scholars that 'language' transcends geographical, political, social and national borders and the traditional concept of communities (e.g., speech communities), which is based on close proximity of the members cannot be maintained in such circumstances (Seargeant & Tagg, 2014). Hence, the concept of CoP can be a more pertinent notion for examining ELF communication (Wenger, 1998). Especially as for investigating communities of ELF users and as mentioned in section 4.2.3.1, CoP is a suitable framework to understand the fluid and dynamic aspects of culture formation and identity constructions through examining social participation in the community.

With regard to the development of the concept of communities in relation to language and culture, I start off with the traditional and rather outdated concept of speech community. Hymes (1986: 54) defined a speech community as "a community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety". He further comments that it is an important notion

which highlights its main feature as a social community instead of accentuating detailed linguistic features. Moreover, Gumperz (2009: 66) describes a speech community as:

any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage.

Thus, a group which maintains a system of verbal behavior that is intelligible and embodies social information can be considered a speech community. Members of a speech community do not have to share one language or the same linguistic structure. A speech community requires at least one common language and the speakers should be able to convey and interpret social meaning by using that language for communication (Gumperz, 2009). Labov (1972: 513) stressed that “the speech community is defined not by the presence or absence of a particular dialect or language but by the presence of a common set of normative values in regard to linguistic features”. His emphasis was that the norms of the language were more of value rather than linguistic forms when determining a speech community. Saville-Troike (2008) additionally comments that when looking into speech communities, separating the participation and membership in the community is an effective method as being able to speak the same language to participate does not equal to the members’ knowledge and skills.

‘Speech community’ has been a useful concept for many studies especially in the field of ethnography. However, the boundaries and constraints of speech communities have led to the extension of different concepts of communities which are more functional and goal-oriented. The situation of communities has gone through vital changes over the past decade with the increase of global interactions (e.g., ELF communication) and it has generated the importance of understanding communities beyond fixed social boundaries (Canagarajah 2007a; Seidlhofer 2007).

4.3.1 Discourse community

'Discourse community' (see also section 4.2.1) is a concept that developed from 'speech community'. While 'speech community' refers to members who share the same linguistic codes, 'discourse community' goes beyond and consists of members who use language to communicate with other members to meet their shared goals (Borg, 2003; Kramsch, 1998). Essentially, a discourse community is distinguished from a speech community in the way that it is not constrained by space and time and that it is formed by members who share "functional rules that determine the appropriacy of utterances" (Swales, 1988: 211). Porter (1986: 38) also puts it as "a group of individuals bound by a common interest who communicate through approved channels and whose discourse is regulated". Thereby, members can engage across different zones, meaning that they do not essentially interact face-to-face, and can also reply to written texts from the past (Swales, 1988). Unlike how a community creates discourse in a speech community, discourse creates the community in a discourse community (ibid.). For example, stamp collectors spread around the world can be united with the common interest in stamps from Hong Kong. Although they have never met face-to-face, the community can be maintained in the form of text via newsletters (Swales, 1990).

Furthermore, a discourse community can be created by finely constructed philosophies or can be operated by conflicting ideas. It also shares the subjects that are suitable for further investigation and discussion, how such subjects are functioned to prove validity and what rules and norms are respected (Porter, 1986). An individual can also be part of multiple discourse communities of different genres (Kramsch, 1998; Swales, 1988). To conceptualize discourse community and to alleviate controversy, Swales (1988: 212) lists six features of discourse communities:

1. The discourse community has a communality of interest.
2. The discourse community has mechanism for intercommunication between members.
3. The discourse community survives by providing information and feedback.
4. The discourse community has developed and continues to develop discursal expectations.
5. As a result of all of the above, the discourse community possesses an inbuilt dynamic towards an increasingly shared and specialized terminology.

6. The discourse community has a critical mass of members with a suitable degree of relevant discoursal and content expertise.

These features deviate from traditionally formed communities within national boundaries and move closer towards describing fluid language use in communities in the globalized era. However, they have been outlined based on English learners who pursue their goal of acquiring academic writing styles (although Swales adds spoken communication to his conceptualization later in 1998). Hence, the early concept of discourse community has been a more fruitful tool for research on how written texts bind members together (Borg, 2003). Kramsch (1998) conceptualizes discourse communities which includes spoken interaction with more attention to social groups. For Kramsch (1998) the members of a discourse community choose the topics they wish to talk about, how they present information and their styles of interaction. From her perspective, cultural discourses are what bring the members of a discourse community together.

Smit (2010) argues that the concept of discourse community on its own is more applicable to the field of ESP (English for Specific Purposes) in professional contexts rather than ELF interactions. She adapts to James's (2005) work and provides a clear explanation of the primary difference between speech communities, discourse communities and communities of practice. She believes that 'speech community' and 'discourse community' concentrate on established and stable language entities whereas the nature of ELF is more of a dynamic, flexible and evolving use of language. Moreover, members in discourse communities draw on communicative conventions to pursue their goals. This means that the members also share a culture associated to certain discourse conventions (Smit, 2010). She suggests CoP as an appropriate model to understand contextualized spoken language practices produced by multilingual ELF users, but at the same time she also combines the principles of 'speech community' and 'discourse community' into her study as she discovered both types of communities in her research context (see section 4.3.3).

Here, I need to explain that I do view culture as discourse (see section 4.2.1) and have explored the formation of cultures through the discourse of a multilingual community. However, this is just one aspect of understanding the community and

thus, when seeing the community from a more holistic angle (i.e., to understand not only culture through discourse but also culture as practice and other surrounding aspects including language and identity), I have adopted the CoP framework to better understand the operation and maintenance of the chosen community.

4.3.2 Communities of practice

Lave and Wenger (1991) proposed a perspective of learning that could be processed through one's own experience and participation in society. As addressed in section 4.2.1, CoP highlights social participation as a crucial process of learning (Wenger, 1998). Moreover, the negotiation of meaning and identity is embedded in both the social and linguistic practices of a community (see section 3.6.3 and 4.2.1). As participation in a community of practice gradually increases, the members process from a peripheral status to becoming a core member of the community (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

Wenger (1998: 73) elucidates three dimensions of practice to explain how practice and community are associated to each other: mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire. 'Mutual engagement' is about how the members of the community engage in activities to negotiate meaning. 'Joint enterprise' is created by a conjoint process of negotiation produced by the participants of the community. In other words, it is the shared goal in the community and includes coherent actions which are taken to achieve the goal. Lastly, 'shared repertoire' refers to resources which are used to negotiate meaning of a joint enterprise. The members build up a repertoire through "routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, gestures, symbols, genres, actions, or concepts" the community has developed over time (1998: 83). With the shared history of resources, they create meaningful language and culture (Wenger, 1998). The three dimensions are constantly negotiated and redefined and can be created without explicit agreement or discussions (ibid.).

This framework captures the linguistic and social acts of the members in a community and demonstrates how culture is co-created through shared practices. As CoP is not grounded on traditional homogeneous communities, it discloses the complexity of communities by allowing us to conceive communities as flexible and

open to various memberships through different contact boundaries (Canagarajah, 2013). Conclusively, the foremost component of CoP is the practices performed by the members to reach the shared goals (ibid.).

Unlike speech communities or discourse communities, CoP consists of a much smaller group of people who engage in shared practices. This indicates that CoP cannot be effectively applied to ELF users in a wider sense of community but can be used to investigate a particular group of people who use ELF to communicate (Ehrenreich, 2009). Dewey (2009) suggests viewing the concept of CoP from a more fluid perspective given the nature of ELF communities. He argues that the definition of CoP needs some modification to capture the diversity and change in discourse and communication. For the reason that ELF users do not neatly aggregate in a single community, it is clearly important to envisage a flexible type of community for investigation. Wenger (1998: 127, italics in original) points out that such communities can be conceptualized as “*constellations of interconnected practices*”.

This study explores an actual community of practice small in scope and thus it is appropriate to use the concept as a methodological tool. Yet, I adapted the concept allowing the community to be fluid and flexible where ELF users from outside the community joined the main participants and took part in shared practices at different events (see section 5.3.1). In this study, I conceptualize members of an international student committee (the IntCom) at a Korean international university as a community of practice. The participants of this study were all international students (non-local) studying in Korea. Some were newcomers and others had been studying from six months to more than three years. There was a mix of exchange and regular students. Thus the process of how the membership trajectory had shifted from peripheral to core was explored by examining how the members co-constructed and developed cultural forms in the community. The ‘mutual engagement’ was characterized by mutual participation in events at the university such as setting up and attending social events, chatting about various topics, having meals or coffee and so on. The participants regularly interacted in different settings after or in between classes. Through routinized ‘mutual engagement’, the participants developed complex relationships and identities in the community. The ‘joint enterprise’ was negotiated by the participants on different levels. As IntCom members, they had a shared goal of

accommodating new coming international students. However, they also had other goals such as learning Korean language and culture, obtaining good grades and making friends from around the world and Korea. The 'shared repertoire' was common knowledge that developed in the community over time through social⁸ and linguistic practices. It can be seen as the history of mutual engagement. For example, it included different types of multilingual practices (e.g., a mix of English, Korean and different L1s), collaborative humor, gossips and ways of greeting and parting. More about the IntCom and the participants are detailed in section 5.4.

4.3.3 Research on ELF communities of practice

Although there has been a considerable amount of work progressed on CoP in the sociolinguistics field, research on "ELF as a community-based social practice" is still in its infant stage (Kalocsai, 2014: 3). More ELF studies that apply CoP on a long-term basis are needed to create a firm empirical base on the ethnography of ELF communities (Ehrenreich, 2009; Kalocsai, 2014; Seidlhofer, 2009). In this section, I look into three studies that have put focus on empirically grounded, richly contextualized, ethnographic research on ELF communities.

Kalocsai (2014) carried out a longitudinal research on Erasmus exchange students at a university in Szeged, Hungary. For her study, she used interviews to identify the social practices of an Erasmus community of practice. She also involved herself in casual conversations and applied the conversation analytic approach to examine the students' interactions. The data was collected outside the classroom (e.g., at parties, during trips). Her research was highly contextualized with copious ethnographic features which went beyond the use of language and sought to understand the social practices and cultural essence of an ELF community. Findings revealed that the students established a new culture, in other words, a 'third space' within the community. Features of jokes and humor were conspicuously seen among the Erasmus community and to this effect, "being fun" led to the development of ELF

⁸ Although social practices can include linguistic practices, in this thesis I use the term linguistic practices separately to differentiate with such as aspects referring to any type of activities or non-linguistic behaviors/actions.

competence. Code-switching and language support were other elements that contributed to ELF competence. The repertoires of code-switching enabled the students to converge and thus, this influenced their use of ELF. Despite the fact that the students had lack of self-confidence in using English in the beginning, such factors consolidated friendship and the Erasmus family to a greater extent.

Another longitudinal ethnographic approach was conducted by Smit (2010). Smit implemented a discourse-pragmatic method to investigate a hotel management educational program (HMP) in Vienna during the whole four terms (two years). Interestingly in her study, she notes the existence of speech communities, discourse communities and a community of practice. For example, there were certain speech communities shared in the classroom such as German, Greek and Korean speaking students. The class which took this program was seen as an ELF classroom community of practice. Smit also underlines how the classroom members shared English as a discourse and as they communicated through ELF, newly established language use developed within the discourse community.

Her analysis of classroom talk consisted of three main elements: co-constructing understanding, co-directing talk and people, and co-explaining knowledge. When misunderstanding occurred in communication, interactional repair could be seen among the participants. For them, producing the correct linguistic form was not a matter but constructing meaning was a crucial aspect in their repair work. Additionally, over time, the members actively participated in repairing and intelligibility issues were reduced as the members familiarized themselves with each other. Secondly, the role of co-directing between the teacher and the students gradually became distinct. In the beginning of the program, only the teacher developed class contents through control acts and students mainly asked questions about facts whereas later, students also played roles in developing contents by inquiring for reasons and explanations. Lastly, the third analysis proved that the students preferred direct and explicit textualizations when introducing topic subjects for the reason that indirect explanandum led to confusion or ambiguity in lessons. Another point to make is that as a multilingual classroom and with the diversity of English proficiency, everyone's English was considered appropriate in the particular field of expertise. This study delineates the significance of explicitness in an ELF

classroom community for successful communication and co-constructing a shared meaning. Although Smit's (2010) study appears to be rather complex, the main idea is that the participants of the classroom community of practice developed their own creative ways of successfully communicating through English and when there occurred interference with intelligence, meaning making always came before the correctness of linguistic forms.

Lastly, Ehrenreich (2009) investigated ELF communication in two German multinational corporations for months. She used the concept of CoP to describe the constructed features of ELF communicative practices among the managers. Her data was collected through interviews, observations, shadowing and recordings. The findings showed that linguistic proficiency was not a concern for the community during the negotiation of creating their joint enterprise. The shared view was more about using ELF appropriately to get work done efficiently. Moreover, "linguistic plurality" was also a part of the shared repertoire of the members of the community (ibid.: 138). The managers used English to communicate with their suppliers or customers from different regions such as other European countries, China, Canada or the US. Furthermore, the mechanism of how the history of mutual engagement developed into another shared repertoire was understood from a sample of a telephone conversations between a German project manager and a Chinese sales manager. The transcript revealed ambiguity of the language between the two interlocutors. However, both understood the situation quite well and there was no need for elaboration during the short conversation. As a result, Ehrenreich's study illustrates how the managers adapted themselves in different ELF communities of practice and also how they developed their own community through shared practices. Another emphasis was that the appropriateness of the language in the business community was not from the English which the members learned in school but was about how the managers accommodated English for their own use.

The three studies presented above have demonstrated how ELF is effectively contextualized by using the communities of practice framework as an analytic tool. The researchers conducted meticulous, in-depth investigations on how and why the ELF speakers use the language in a certain way in different contexts. In addition, they viewed ELF as a social practice of a community rather than targeting the codification

of the language. Hence, the three studies have provided fruitful evidence and valuable insights on how ELF communities are socially constructed.

4.4 Conclusion

The different concepts and theories of culture and community in relation to each other and to language have provided a better picture to understand multilingual communities of ELF users. First of all, it can be seen that language and culture have an intertwined and complex relationship. Language is not tied to one specific culture and is extensively involved in transnational discourse. Individuals develop their own languaculture according to their personal sociocultural experiences. Moreover, with intensifying globalization, the concept of communities has been adapted and developed in different ways. A number of ELF researchers have sought possibilities of developing the concept of communities of practice to fit multilingual ELF contexts. Further empirical research, such as this study, on the fluid, dynamic and hybrid nature of language and culture in the globalized world is required especially in Expanding Circle contexts such as East Asia. This study thus aims to present interesting new evidence of ELF practices and contribute to continuous development on new conceptualizations and theorizations of culture and community. This study also aims to demonstrate how the co-construction of cultural 'doings' (i.e., social and linguistic practices) is an important contribution to the consolidation of the community.

Chapter 5 Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter starts with an explanation of the research aims and research questions of this study. Then, it moves on to an overview of the research approach to investigate a multilingual student community. In this section, I justify how a qualitative ethnographic approach best fits the nature of this study as obtaining rich contextual data is the foremost principle. In the next section, the flexible use of this framework is also outlined. This is followed by a presentation of how the CoP framework is applied to the research context. It is suggested that this framework can explore both social and linguistic practices as well as culture constructions of the chosen community. An introduction of CoP and example studies that applied this framework have initially been outlined in sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3.

The next part deals with detailed descriptions of the research context and participants, the researcher's role, and research instruments. In these sections, I delineate the process of snowball sampling of the participants, a description of their background information and my balanced role as both an insider and outsider of the community. The purpose and use of each data collection method are illustrated accordingly. This is followed by a thorough explanation of the data analysis procedure. The last sections include the timeline of ethnographic fieldwork, ethics and risks and demonstrating trustworthiness of my research in relation to the limitations of the methodology.

5.2 Research aim and questions

The research aim of this study is to explain how international students socialize and adapt themselves through multilingual ELF practices in Korean HE. With the implementation of the CoP framework, the goal is to understand how the members' social and linguistic practices shaped the group's culture and built a sense of solidarity in the international student community. I was particularly interested in

identifying the role of ELF in an East Asian context. The research questions are once again illustrated as follows:

1. What role does ELF play in a multilingual student community in Korean higher education?
 - a) What role do shared social and linguistic practices play in the co-construction of the multilingual student community of practice?
 - b) Which shared identities are constructed and perceived by the community?
 - c) What are the community's perceptions of their language practices, including ELF?

Question 1a) attempts to describe the use of multilingual resources in the community. It looks at both social and linguistic practices the members adopt in order to stick together and feel a sense of belonging in the community. I was especially interested in understanding how in the context of Korea, different languages and cultures influence the members to speak English in creative ways. Question 1b) explores the members' multilingual ELF practices in more detail to discover how the participants express multiple identities. Question 1c) closely examines the members' views on what it means to be a competent or fluent English speaker in the community. The next section presents how I link ethnographic approaches of ELF in an East Asian context to the in-depth study of a community of practice. This choice of qualitative framework provides a greater understanding of how communities of practice can constitute themselves through the ELF agenda in Korean HE.

5.3 An ethnographically informed qualitative approach

The study employed qualitative ethnographic methods to better understand the role of ELF in a multilingual student community. While previous ELF research predominantly focused on linguistic description, pragmatics, ideology, attitudes and perception, there has been a steadily growing number of empirical studies which look at communities through ethnographic methods (see Baker, 2009; Cogo, 2012; Ehrenreich, 2009; Kalocsai, 2014; Smit, 2010). Ethnography facilitates in-depth study by generally focusing on a few number of cases, a small scale setting or a small group

of people (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The task in ethnographic research is to explore aspects of people's daily lives, their social behaviors and identities in the field (Duff, 2008; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). It involves rich or thick description of social actions in context (Geertz, 1973). The term thick description was first introduced by Geertz (1973) and has been widely used in anthropology to "describe phenomena from the natives' point of view" (Brewer, 2002: 39). Fetterman (2010) calls this 'the emic perspective' and stresses that "the insider's or native's perspective of reality – is at the heart of most ethnographic research ... [and] is instrumental to understanding and accurately describing situations and behaviors" (ibid.: 20). Moreover, data should be collected from real life situations with the least possible distortion made by the researcher (Pole & Morrison, 2003). Hence, ethnography is an appropriate approach for the main focus of this inquiry which is to see how the social and linguistic practices among members from different linguacultural backgrounds have developed by using ELF as a communication tool.

My fieldwork approach was grounded and emergent without specifics decided beforehand. I solely had the intention of finding a social group of international students at a Korean university. I was not aware of who my participants would be, when and where exactly I would be observing them and whether it would be inside or outside the classroom. The fieldwork started from a wide-scope opened-process and later was narrowed down once I selected my participants. My research focus and questions were not fixed from the beginning and I had another option of conducting a case study research with individual participants in the event that I could not find a social community or if the participants I choose do not form one over time.

Ethnography traditionally looks at well-established communities or cultures over the course of a year or longer (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). However, I was able to explore a community for five months (defense of this aspect is detailed in section 5.3.1). Furthermore, although I focused on mainly a small group of international students, the community they were part of was highly fluid. The participants of the study had multiple memberships within the university setting and thus there were many different groups overlapping each other. In other words, this study relied on ethnographic methods in a situation of a non-fixed, flexible community and shorter time span compared to long term ethnographic immersions.

Although ethnographic research has many beneficial accounts, it has been challenged regarding its methodological legitimacy by advocates of the positivist tradition, especially in natural sciences (Brewer, 2000; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The principal criticism is that descriptive data which comes from unstructured and flexible ethnographic methods can turn out to be misleading or overly subjective (Brewer, 2000). However, ethnographers defend that ethnography does not have the intention to meet the characteristics of positivist approaches such as being precise, quantitative or objective and thus such criticism is irrelevant. It is more about the suitability of the approach whether the research requires more detail and in depth social knowledge rather than quantitative measurements (Pole & Morrison, 2003). This is relevant to the current study because rich data has been collected from a small number of participants in different settings where they use English to communicate.

Shah (2017) argues that participant observation in ethnographic fieldwork is the process of knowledge production in action that is, the realization of theory. She criticizes that many scholars of non-anthropological disciplines claim to have conducted ethnography; easily using its term, but what they have done in many cases is merely a long-term, open-ended qualitative research or case study. Thus, if one was to do 'real' ethnography, Shah (2017: 51-52) encourages scholars to follow the four criteria of participant observation, which builds the foundation of ethnographic research:

(1) *Intimacy and estrangement*: This has to do with being critically engaged with the participants. It is important to start fieldwork with strangers so that overtime when the researcher has developed intimacy, he or she can maintain the balance between the role as an insider (friend) and outsider (researcher).

(2) *Duration*: It takes a long time (preferably at least 12-18 months), to get to know people intimately and understand in depth what they *say* and *do*. Commitment to time also enables the researcher to embed him or herself in different stages of people's lives.

(3) *Holism*: In a more interconnected globalized society, it is crucial to adopt a holistic approach when exploring communities. Holism “is the significance of understanding the total social context of the people we are trying to understand” (2017: 53)

(4) *Revealing social relations of a group of people*: This is about intimately knowing a group of people, their surroundings beyond the group and social relations. From this, we can understand the processes that influence the group of people and vice versa in and out of our field sites.

5.3.1 Seeing a ‘community of practice’ through the ethnographic lens

My work is not anthropological, but it is ethnographically based in my discussion of multilingual ELF use in a global HE setting. Although the length of immersion in this study may not seem convincing from an anthropological perspective, I make a strong case of the holistic and multi-sided perspective of this study and of my deep knowledge of the community and its boundaries. In this section, I argue what is ethnographic about my study in depth.

The community of practice (Wenger, 1998) of the study is the international student committee (IntCom) with the focus on nine participants (see section 5.4.2 for details). They are all undergraduate international students at a university in Seoul and are a mix of exchange and regular students from different countries. I have selected this particular community as the members were highly active students at the university, had close social relationships to each other, were committed to their roles and had pride being part of the IntCom.

In chapter 4, I have illustrated what I mean by ‘community’ as part of my conceptual framework (see section 4.3) and here, once again, I conceptualize the term but in a more practical sense with regards to my methodology. Communities, as much as I understand, are always in process and can no longer be seen as static and being constrained under geographical borders or bounded entities. The concept of rather ‘bounded community’ in anthropology have been considered problematic to an increasing number of scholars in the field and this applies to my study as well. In other words, traditional conceptualizations are “no longer felt to be adequate to the

realities of an increasingly mobile, shifting and interconnected world (Candea, 2007: 168)".

Candea (2007) argues, "[i]f anthropology was to remain convincing and meaningful, it would have to adapt its methods...this involve[s] freeing ethnographers from the conceptual boundaries of the delimited site and allowing them to follow movements of people, ideas, objects, to trace and map complex networks" (ibid.: 169). He discusses how in anthropology, viewing communities as free and unbounded has become of significance in the globalizing and vastly changing era but he still defends the traditional concept of delimited community setting of research in its own way. He claims that the ethnographer is "free to follow others as *they* do the bounding, the localization, and the delimitation" (2007: 172, italics in original) and this to a great degree complies with how I have defined my community. I have allowed my participants to set the frame of the community and I have simply followed them, making the very least distortion to the site (this is explained in the next paragraph). It was about deciding on to what extent I could make my community flexible and fluid, meaning to what extent I could accept and be responsible for in my research. Thus, as Candea (2007) suggests, I established my own "arbitrary location"⁹ (ibid.: 179) and observed the participants interacting freely within this radius. My 'arbitrary location (or boundary)' was respected as long as the participants were engaged within the perimeter of ELF communication with the university students; this is how I have let the community of the IntCom flexibly opened.

To explain further, the IntCom members obviously had other lives and socialized with people who were not part of the committee. The participants were influenced by, talked about, communicated with non-committee members as well and this affected the way they would behave even if it was within the IntCom. Thus, the reality of the community would not be truthfully reflected if the study solely looked through the narrow lens of the IntCom community itself. Accordingly, although I have mainly observed the committee students, I have also looked at the practices of non-

⁹ Candea (2007) describes one main aspect of creating arbitrary boundaries as "framing field-sites for the delimitation of which we ourselves are responsible and accountable" (p.175). Overall, he refers to arbitrary location as "the actually existing instance, whose messiness, contingency, and lack of an overarching coherence or meaning serve as a 'control' for a broader abstract object of study" (p.180).

committee international students who interacted with the participants. I have viewed the IntCom as a microcosm of the bigger picture, a community of ELF users at the university if not perhaps ELF users as a whole (i.e., international students in the world).

Furthermore, this thesis has endeavored to holistically incorporate important aspects surrounding the issue of understanding the socialization of a multilingual community: language, the multilingualism phenomenon, identity constructs, and culture and community formation (see chapters 3-4). Internationalization of Korean HE has also been explored to better understand the contextual background of this study (see chapter 2). The literature chapters show that I have considered the bigger picture of what my community entails. As for participant observation, I have followed and examined my participants engaged in both committee and non-committee activities. The participants' narratives also revealed parts of their lives outside of the committee (e.g., with friends, tutors, family and life back at home). Their narratives allowed me to further examine their thought processes and reasoning of their multilingual social practices.

Moreover, as mentioned in section 4.3, ELF communication transcends geographical, political, social and national borders and likewise in this case, the traditional concept of communities, which is based on close proximity of the members cannot be maintained in such circumstances (Seidlhofer, 2011). A more pertinent notion for ELF communication is the CoP (Wenger, 1998). Wenger (1998) associates the notions of 'community' and 'practice' and explains how these two can be conceptualized without heavy reliance on fixed culture and structure. For Wenger (1998), three main criteria define the community of practice: 'mutual engagement', the 'joint enterprise' and 'shared repertoire' (see section 4.3.2). Communities of practice exist everywhere and gather members through shared practices. The members were able to stick together as they had a shared goal to pursue (see section 5.4.2.1). This study implemented the CoP framework which corresponds in many ways with ethnographic principles. It captures the linguistic and social acts of the members in the community and demonstrates how culture is co-constructed through practice. Thus, applying the CoP framework from an ELF perspective can bring about a clear understanding of how language and culture are intertwined.

Using the CoP framework, I investigated everyday practices of the participants, not only as members of the IntCom but also as international students at the university. These ‘practices’ were what made the community alive. Particular focus was on how the participants efficiently and creatively use their multilingual skills to communicate with each other. Over the five months of fieldwork, the participants showed how their work relationship in the IntCom gradually developed into strong friendship. The shared practices naturally started from committee related activities to the integration of social bonding such as traveling, partying, having meals and drinks together. In this study, I intend to spell out the various practices, both social and linguistic, the participants were engaged in during the process of community consolidation. I include not only the fieldnotes of what I have *seen* but also the voices and narratives of what have been *said* by the participants.

In order to investigate the practices and use of ELF in a multilingual student community, it is suitable to collect data from a more fluid and dynamic community which is defined by shared practices. Considering that all of the participants were able to communicate in at least three languages (see section 5.4.2), I have viewed them as proficient multilingual ELF users and have approached the investigation by examining how they efficiently and creatively use their multilingual skills to communicate with each other. The CoP framework has been employed in the study to design research questions, data collection and analysis. Within this framework, the aim was to disclose both social and linguistic practices that led to constructing the group’s culture. A closer examination of the community of practice can inform us of what it means to be a competent multilingual ELF user, how the participants draw on shared resources during interactions in order to accomplish the shared goals. Individual and collective identity constructions within the community were disclosed as well.

5.4 Research context and participants

The study took place at a prestigious research intensive university located in Seoul, Korea. Similar to many universities in Seoul, this university had two campuses: one located in the heart of Seoul and the other located in a suburban area near Seoul. I

conducted my fieldwork only on Seoul campus as the majority of international students were enrolled there.

At the time of the fieldwork, out of approximately 20,000 undergraduate and graduate students at the university, around 1,500 (7.5%) were international students coming from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. However, around half of the student population (10,000) was based on Seoul campus and as the majority of international students were also based there, I could say that ostensibly, at least one out of every 10 students was an international student. Although this is relatively small compared to major universities in the UK, the US or China, there was still a fairly recognizable international student community present at the university during the time of the fieldwork. Nine international students who were part of the IntCom have been observed regularly throughout the semester with the main focus on four participants. In some cases, I was able to observe a crowd of more than 100 international students at social events. The participants were selected from snowball sampling (see section. 5.4.1). Greater detail of the participants' profile and background is discussed in section 5.4.2. I have observed mainly the committee members as they were frequently engaged in various activities and social events on campus.

5.4.1 Choosing the participants: snowball sampling

The process of participant sampling was grounded, emergent and complex. It required a considerable amount of contemplation and decision-making. Three months before starting the fieldwork, I have emailed several professors who taught courses specifically catered for international students at universities in Seoul. From the few who replied, I was able to meet with a Korean professor to discuss my research two weeks before the start of the official spring term. She had been teaching Korean music and history to international students every semester. Although my initial plan was to observe a group of international students in and outside the classroom, I found it very difficult to gain access to classrooms in universities in Korea. In addition, the professor who agreed to provide help also suggested that I observe international students from mainly outside the classroom as her classes were teacher-led with very little discussion. Thus, I was only able to find my participants

and observe them outside the classroom, which means my data would contribute to understanding non-local students' practices in university social settings in a Korean or even East Asian context.

To collect rich data and to understand the culture of a social community, I decided to choose a group of students who were close friends. To start off, the professor introduced me to two of her former students who were from Guatemala. I met with the Guatemalan students at a café near their university to introduce my research and explain what kind of participants I would need. Unfortunately, the students responded that they mainly speak Spanish outside the classroom and that their close friends were all from a Latin background. However, they kindly offered help and invited two of their classmates who had close friends from different linguistic backgrounds. One was from Malaysia (Mei) and the other was from Ecuador (Elena). Both were positive about my research and agreed to be my participants without hesitation. Both were very friendly and chatty from the first meeting so I got to know them better easily. We agreed upon a date for the first interview that day.

In the next few days, I met with Mei for the first interview in a group study room at the university and right afterwards, she invited her friends from France (Emilie), Lithuania (Kamile), South Africa (Daniel) and the US (Marc). Mei proposed this idea to help me find more participants and she decided on which friends to invite. They were all members of the IntCom. I explained my research and gave out participant information sheets to everyone who came. All except Emilie agreed to become my main participants as she said she was going to have a very busy semester ahead. However, she allowed me to observe her when she was around with the main participants especially at social events. Later, I chose Daniel over Marc as one of the main participants because both were NSEs and Daniel was fluent in more languages. The next day, Elena also introduced me to a German student (Anna) who was her closest friend at the university and Daniel gave me his Japanese friend's (Yuto) contact detail so that I could meet him. Both Anna and Yuto happily agreed to become my main participants.

With every potential main participant I met, I have introduced myself and my research and gave out participant information sheets (see appendix A) with a brief

schedule of my fieldwork plans. They signed consent forms (see appendix B) after they had the opportunity to ask questions. I ended up with six main participants who were all part of the international student community at the university. However, later for my analysis, I decided to exclude Elena and Anna as my main participants given that the community of practice had become clear and the two were not members of the IntCom. Nevertheless, their interactions in-group conversations with the main participants were analyzed.

Within two to three weeks of the fieldwork, I especially became much closer to Mei and Kamile as I had the opportunity to follow them for several days in between and after their classes. As they were part of the IntCom, I naturally got to know the other members as well. Other than my main participants, I noticed that I had been interacting regularly with five IntCom members and thus I have asked them to sign consent forms for participant observations. In the end, I had four main participants (Mei, Kamile, Daniel, Yuto) for the primary source of data and five other participants (Leo, Clara, Lisa, Marc, Emilie) for regular participant observations of the IntCom (see section 5.4.2 for profiles). See figure 1 below to understand the groupings of my participants.

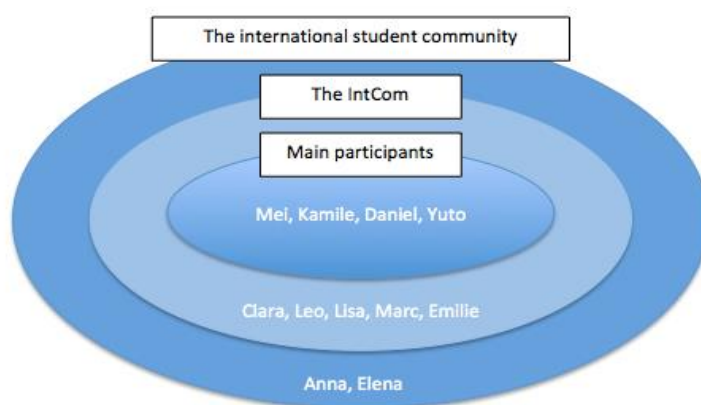


Figure 1: Participant groupings

The fieldwork began at the start of the official spring semester and all of the main participants except Daniel were enrolled at the university from the previous semester (fall semester). Daniel who was a regular full time student commenced his study two and a half years before the rest of the participants and he was in his last year. Mei was

a regular student in her first year. Kamile and Yuto were exchange students and had to go back to their home country at the end of the spring semester in summer.

The first set of interviews was conducted primarily to get to know the four main participants better. After this procedure was when the participants naturally started inviting me to the university's social events so that I could attend as a participant observer. I was also informed of the upcoming events on Facebook by joining the IntCom page. Audio-recording naturally occurring group conversations started after the participants felt comfortable with me and freely started chatting with me about their personal stories. I was able to examine the participants' Facebook posts after the first interviews.

As the main participants had been studying at the university for at least six months and that they had already created a strong social bond with each other, my goal was to understand how the community's trajectory had developed over time through triangulating individual narratives, group conversations and participant observations. Yet, four of my participants (Yuto, Clara, Leo, Lisa) were new members of the IntCom and thus I was also able to observe how they became core members of the community over time.

Even though my participants were observed only when they socialized outside the classroom, my research still makes it a strong case for examining 'students' as they were student committee members of the university and thus participated in specific activities that were catered for only students on campus. Furthermore, their daily conversations in many cases involved topics related to assignments, exams, classes, their peers and professors.

5.4.2 Introducing the participants

Mei who was aged 20 came from Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and spoke Malay, English, Mandarin, Cantonese and two types of local dialects, Hakka and Hokkien. Her Korean language level was high intermediate. She was a regular full time student majoring in international studies at the university. She was in her first year (second semester) and had been in Korea for seven months. It was her second semester being part of the

IntCom and she was always involved in social events created for international students at the university.

Kamile who was aged 22 was an exchange student from Lithuania studying East Asian languages and cultures. She spoke Lithuanian and English. Her Korean language level was high-intermediate. It was her second semester at the university but she first came to Korea about a year before as she was an exchange student at a different university for a semester. Her major's focus was on Korean language and culture. At the university she was taking an intensive Korean language course. She had been part of the IntCom since the previous semester.

Yuto who was aged 20 was an exchange student from Hiroshima, Japan majoring in Korean language. He had lived in Korea for eight months and it was his last semester at the university. He spoke Japanese and English. His level of Korean was very advanced and thus many international students envied him. Same as Kamile, he was taking an intensive Korean language course at the university. At the time of the fieldwork, he had recently become a committee member. He was one of the most active and social members in the IntCom.

Daniel who was aged 22 came from a coastal town in South Africa. He was from an Afrikaans and Dutch background so he was a native speaker of both English and Afrikaans. He was a regular full-time student in his last year studying business at the university. He was a member of the IntCom and it was his third year being part of it. His Korean language level was intermediate. See Table 1 for an overview of all the participants' profile.

Name	Age	Nationality	Languages other than English and Korean	Korean level	Major	Student type	IntCom team
Mei (main)	20	Malaysian	Malay, Mandarin, Cantonese, Hakka, Hokkien,	high-intermediate	international studies	regular (1 st year)	executive board, dance team
Kamile (main)	22	Lithuanian	Lithuanian, Russian	high-intermediate	East Asian languages and culture	exchange (staying 1 year)	social events, dance team
Yuto (main)	20	Japanese	Japanese	advanced	Korean language	exchange (staying 1 year)	buddy scheme, football team
Daniel (main)	22	South African	Afrikaans	intermediate	business	regular (4 th year)	marketing team
Clara	20	German	German, French	beginner	sociology	new exchange (staying 1 term)	social events, dance team
Leo	24	Italian-German	German, Italian	beginner	law	new exchange (staying 1 term)	social events, dance team
Lisa	21	German	German, Spanish	intermediate	political and social studies	new exchange (staying 1 year)	social events, dance team
Marc	21	American	none	intermediate	business	regular (3 rd year)	executive board
Emilie	22	French	French	advanced	Korean language and culture	exchange (staying 1 year)	social events team

Table 1: Participant profile

5.4.2.1 The international student committee

The main goal of the IntCom at the university was to foster new international students to adapt easily in Korea through various events. Out of around 1,500 international students nearly 300 followed the committee's updates via the IntCom Facebook page and varying from around 20 to 150 students participated in each event throughout the semester. However, all international students received the committee's newsletters and information on upcoming events via email. Main events held by the committee were meet and greet (airport pickup) service, orientation for newcomers, exploring Seoul, movie nights, quiz nights, cultural performances, seminars on Korean culture, buddy scheme orientation and closing ceremony. The committee also held forums for international students so that their suggestions and complaints about the university could be heard.

The committee members consisted of around 15 international students and 15 Korean students. The international students were from Germany, Mexico, Italy, Japan, Lithuania, South Africa, Ukraine, France, the US, Malaysia and Russia. The Korean members carried out most of the administrative paper work as this required fluent Korean skills in both speaking and writing in many cases (e.g., to communicate with Korean staff members, to book day trips, to order catering food outside the university etc.). The international members took part in creating, promoting, setting up and facilitating events. My focus was only on the international student members as it was difficult to break the ice and bond with the Korean members. This was due to the fact even just a few years of age gap meant very big in Korean culture and they did not see me as a friend but more as an older researcher. Moreover, the international members had much closer relationships with each other and spent more time together. This was confirmed during interviews with the main participants. However, the international members who had an advanced level in Korean such as Yuto and Emilie were very close to the Korean members and communicated mostly in Korean with them. Henceforth, when mentioning the term “IntCom members” in this thesis, I am mainly implying the international student members.

The committee chose new members every semester. There were four main teams within the committee: the executive board, the social events team, the buddy scheme team and the marketing team. Mei was on the executive board, Daniel was in the marketing team, Yuto was in the buddy scheme team and Kamile was in the social events team. There were also two recreational teams within the IntCom: the dance team and football (soccer) team. Both teams had around 10 additional members. Mei, Kamile, Clara, Leo, Lisa and I were part of the dance team and Yuto was in the football team (see Table 1 above). All of my participants were actively engaged in the committee’s activities and the events they created for international students. The IntCom had their own committee room for work shifts. Members who were part of the main teams had work shifts of two to four hours during the week. They had to stay in the room with two to three other members and work on tasks designated by the executive board. Most of the tasks were related to generating ideas for creating, planning and promoting events and managing budgets. Friends of the members or members who were not on their work shift also dropped by the committee room and mingled around during their break time. The committee also had weekly meetings to

discuss various issues regarding their events and afterwards they had a tradition of having social dinners together.

5.5 Researcher's role

During the fieldwork, I took an insider view and became naturally part of the IntCom at the university. This significantly contributed to obtaining participant observation data. I socialized with both the participants and other IntCom members. Within the committee, I was an actual member of the dance team, along with eight others and five of them were my participants (Mei, Kamile, Clara, Lisa, Leo). My role in the team was the manager who made sure everything was going smoothly as planned and I had to help the members with customizing uniforms as they needed a Korean to look into different websites and process the order. I was included in the group chat of the dance team on Kakaotalk (Korean messaging application) so I was regularly updated with upcoming practices and performances. My observation fieldnotes are based on activities in the dance team and the four main teams (i.e., the executive board, the social events team, the buddy scheme team and the marketing team) as well as small gatherings and IntCom events.

When I was on campus, it was easy to meet them as many of them socialized in the committee room during their gap between classes. Some were also in the room because it was mandatory during their work shift. Moreover, the IntCom hosted social events for international students once or twice a week on and off campus so they gathered quite frequently throughout the semester. I helped the IntCom members when setting up and facilitating events on campus.

The age gap between the participants and I was small so it was easy to build rapport (Duff, 2008). Moreover, as I also went to university in Seoul and graduated only a few years ago, I could relate to the students and understand their life in Seoul on many levels. We had a lot in common to talk about and joked around very naturally. As an insider in the community, it was important to keep up with updates about what is going on at the university (i.e., gaining information about the international community, individual participants, university events, etc.). I was able to do this by first of all checking my Facebook newsfeed regularly to see if there were any updates

with the participants or on the IntCom page. Furthermore, I tried to join on campus events created for international students whenever possible. I also met with the participants regularly in small groups to catch up during lunch or coffee breaks. I could feel that I have become closer to the participants and other IntCom members as time passed by. Especially some of them talked about their personal issues and asked for advice. Some others asked me to go shopping with them. Even gestures when greeting and parting naturally changed from waving hands to giving hugs. I was also aware of the conflicts and gossips going around the community sometimes even better than some of the participants. In this case, it was important as a researcher, to be cautious and try not to be involved.

In exchange for allowing me to observe and collect data from the participants, I helped them out in several ways. In many cases I was a local friend they could comfortably talk to and ask favors. I translated for them on various occasions such as when they went shopping, when they needed to find travel information for their family or friends visiting Korea, when they were looking for part time jobs or when they needed some help with their assignments that required Korean language skills. Even for some who were interested in pursuing graduate studies in the UK, I was able to provide them information and share my experiences. However, they still acknowledged me as part of the international group as I was much closer to them than I was to other Korean students and also because I came from a British university. I was invited to many social gatherings where mostly international students were invited.

I also had to take the role as an outsider because I was not actually a student at the university and I was a researcher aiming to learn more about the community each day. The participants and other IntCom members were well aware of both my roles as an insider and an outsider. Especially during interviews, I was able to ask questions from an outsider point of view, which I would not normally ask during participant observations. Moreover, in the IntCom, half of the members were Korean and thus to avoid any misunderstanding from the beginning, I had to make sure all of them were aware of who I was and why I was participating in the events hosted by the IntCom. As a participant observer, I maintained balance between the role as a participant and as a researcher; that is, involving sympathy as a member of the community but with a

degree of distance and objectivity when handling data (Cohen et al., 2011; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Pole & Morrison, 2003). In particular with the main participants, we developed a special bond and promised to meet again in Korea or in Europe. The participants and I have kept in touch from time to time. I have also contacted them a few times for confirmation when analyzing data. We are friends on Facebook so it is easy to follow each other's updates as well.

5.6 Data collection

Ethnographic research aims to provide rich or thick description of a specific community or culture by being highly engaged in the participants' daily lives (Dörnyei, 2007). For this purpose, multiple data collection techniques including observation, interviewing, audio recording and research diaries are encouraged to address a wide range of issues. It is important to triangulate methods to obtain different sources of information regarding the same phenomenon (Cohen et al., 2011).

5.6.1 Research instruments

This thesis draws on a rich collection of datasets and each dataset contributed to different types of findings. Both naturally occurring group conversation data and fieldnotes (section 5.6.1.1) were particularly useful for describing an ethnographic account of the community (see chapter 6). These two datasets informed both the community's shared social and linguistic practices (see also section 7.3). Fieldnotes were beneficial especially when I could not audio-record conversations at big events or when non-participants were involved. Thus, parts of fieldnotes have been extracted in chapter 6 to complement my data analysis. Interview data (section 5.6.1.2) shaped the understanding of the construction of shared identities (section 6.3) and perceptions of the community's language practices, including ELF (chapter 7). Facebook (section 5.6.1.3), Kakaotalk (5.6.1.4) and documents (5.6.1.5) were not analyzed due to space constraints but they provided background information during fieldwork. More on each dataset are detailed in the following sections.

5.6.1.1 Participant observation: audio recording and fieldnotes

The main bulk of the fieldwork in ethnography is observation. The researcher develops an insider role by observing, interacting with the participants and discovering culture and social meaning in the community (Brewer, 2000). Moreover, observation provides the researcher with authentic data from naturally occurring settings which makes it easier to understand the situation (Cohen et al., 2011; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Shah, 2017).

In this study, unstructured, ad hoc ethnographic observations were carried out throughout the semester in natural settings. Unlike structured observations, which are generally used to test hypotheses, unstructured observations provide detailed description and can develop hypotheses for further investigation (Cohen et al., 2011). Fieldwork was conducted overtly, but during observations I took the role as a participant to gain 'insider knowledge' (ibid.: 457). The more time I spent with my participants, the less explaining was needed for them because I gradually understood a lot of what was going on in their lives and I was able to sympathize easily and connect to their social behaviors and actions.

The primary sources of data in the study are audio recordings and fieldnotes. After I obtained consent from the main participants, an audio-recording device was used whenever possible. Note-taking did not happen during participant observations for the reason that I took an emic approach as an insider. Proper note-taking proceeded after parting with the participants. I first added succinct comments on my smart phone note pad and later I elaborated on the comments on Microsoft OneNote (a note-taking software) (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

After I got permission from the IntCom executive board to attend their events, I started observing my participants and other international students on campus such as at movie night, quiz night, the university's football match, culture festivals, the buddy scheme orientation, dance practices and performances. I also observed the participants in the committee room, group study rooms, at cafés, restaurants, the student cafeteria, in student dorms and so on. However, in the case of events which usually had a large number of international students attending (around 50-100 students), the participants frequently went around in different groups to chat and

thus conversation topics changed very quickly. I was also busy mingling with different students so I did not audio record conversations at big events but I have written fieldnotes to cover for this. I only attended university events on campus for ethical reasons because several events off campus involved drinking and partying.

During the first month, I met with the participants as much as I could that is, four to five times a week (see Table 2 in section 5.7), in order to build rapport in a short period of time. Whenever, I met them I tried to bond with them for a long time. On most days when I was with my participants, I stayed with them the whole afternoon or sometimes even until late evening. This plan worked out successfully as intended and I was able to understand the community in depth. In three weeks, just like the newcomers of the IntCom (e.g., Yuto, Clara, Leo, and Lisa), I genuinely felt that I have become a member of the community and learned what appropriate behaviors were. Later from the second month, as I figured that I could reduce the amount of participation and due to exam periods, I met with the participants twice to three times a week.

I audio-recorded naturally occurring group conversations only when the participants were in small groups (three to five people). This happened usually when I met the participants for lunch or coffee. I informed the participants that I would be on campus on a certain day and whoever was available would meet with me during their gap hours between classes. Sometimes the participants let me know that they are having lunch with some friends and asked me to join them. The majority of international students lived in student halls which were located on campus or less than five minutes walking distance. Thus, in many cases the participants and I decided to meet spontaneously or I occasionally ran into some of them near or on campus.

In the end, I obtained five months of recorded participant observation (i.e., fieldnotes). The fieldnotes were mainly from big social events, work shifts in the committee room and small lunch or coffee gatherings. They have been used to understand the background and context for analyzing data (see appendix D) and to inform ethnographic findings in chapter 6. They were especially useful when describing an ethnographic account of the community and understanding the participants' conversation data. Furthermore, I collected 7.5 hours of audio-

recordings from group conversations: four lunch meetings and two at cafés. There were four non-main participants involved in three of the conversations; they were also international students (Anna, Elena) and two were part of the IntCom (Leo, Clara). The collected observational and audio data provided a rich description of what culture the participants co-constructed within the community through the use of ELF and an understanding of their creative linguistic practices. In sum, the data demonstrated how a multilingual group of students from different linguacultural backgrounds created a sense of community by fruitful use of ELF.

5.6.1.2 Interviews

The interview is the most widely used method in qualitative research (Dörnyei, 2007). Interviews are used to elicit the participant's attitudes, perception, feelings, motivation and behavioral meaning which are difficult to discover solely through observations (Brewer, 2000; Richards, 2003). Flexible interviews can be more appropriate for qualitative inquiries because they provide more in depth information about the participant and more elaboration on their stories (Dörnyei, 2007; Silverman, 2011).

However, depending on the participant's anxiety level or the interviewer's gender, ethnicity, age, power, and social class, a response can be distorted from what the participant actually has in mind (Brewer, 2000). Although interview data can be misrepresented, this can be tolerated to a certain extent when the interviewer has less control and the interview is unstructured (Brewer, 2000; Dörnyei, 2007). Less structured interviews with naturally occurring conversations can give access to more meaningful responses and useful data (Silverman, 2011). Therefore, in ethnography, it is essential to have an ice-breaking time and establish a good relationship with the participants before an interview proceeds (Cohen et al., 2011; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

Three sets of semi-structured interviews were carried out at different points during the semester with the main participants. All of the interviews were conducted face-to-face in study rooms on campus or at cafés near the university. I had an audio-recording device and an interview guide with questions ready for every interview

(see appendix C). The average time of the interviews was around 30-40 minutes (see section 5.7). At the beginning of the semester, I mainly asked the participants about their background information such as the participants' profile, why they came to study in Korea and their life in Korea and in their home countries. I have also covered the influence of multilingualism in their lives. From these interviews, I had the opportunity to gain more information about the participants in detail and started feeling comfortable with them.

After two months, I conducted the second set of interviews for retrospection from the previous interviews and group conversations. I fully transcribed the first set of interviews and three group conversations to prepare questions for the participants. The participants were given the opportunity to elaborate on certain topics that have been discussed earlier. It was useful to clarify uncertainty and to confirm my interpretation from the participants' perspective (Duff, 2008). Other questions focused on the participants' identity, views of English fluency and their adaptation in Korea. After the second set of interviews, I came up with more fruitful questions that would be beneficial for the study. At the end of the semester, I met with the participants for the last set of interviews and asked questions about their views on the use of Korean English¹⁰ and making Korean friends at the university. Lastly, I had the participants sum up their experiences at the university and add any comments they wished to.

Conducting three sets of interviews at different points of time was incredibly helpful in collecting a great amount of valuable data. I was able to make sense of how the members of the IntCom consolidated through shared goals, mutual practices, commitment and friendship. The participants' narratives on their perspectives and experiences allowed me to interpret situations better when observing the participants at various events. I was able to make important connections between the participants' viewpoint and the display of their real life social and linguistic practices.

¹⁰ With adaptation to Shim's definition (1994), Hadikin (2014: 10) refers Korean English to 1) Koreanization of Japanized English loanwords, 2) nativization of English loanwords, 3) Englishization of Korean lexis, 4) Phonology and 5) Influences of English on Korean discourse.

5.6.1.3 Facebook

Facebook is currently the most popular social networking service in the world and it has reached one billion users in a single day in 2015 (Cohen, 2015). Facebook is also a useful media to bind university students together. Universities around the world have been using Facebook for various purposes that is, to promote the university, provide information and create university events.

This applied the same for the selected university in the study. The IntCom had an official Facebook page to support international students at the university. They mainly promoted upcoming events, posted photos of international students from past events and uploaded monthly university newsletters in English, Korean, Japanese and Chinese. I kept myself updated by checking new posts regularly and recorded fieldnotes of these. Moreover, most of the participants were highly active on Facebook. Therefore, even though I could not join every event the participants attended I was able to see how they spent their time from photos and comments posted on individual accounts and sometimes also on the IntCom page. The participants were always interested in traveling around Korea or countries near Korea. Thus, Facebook was also a useful tool for them to exchange travel information by commenting on each other's photos.

5.6.1.4 Messaging application: Kakaotalk

International students at the university localized themselves in Korea in several ways. One of the most distinctive features was using Kakaotalk, a Korean messaging application, on their smart phones as their main source of communication. Kakaotalk is used by nearly 75% of the whole Korean population and 93% of smart phone owners in Korea (Mac, 2014). Thus, in order to communicate with Koreans, international students downloaded Kakaotalk and used it while living in Korea. Even when they contacted other international students they always used Kakaotalk. The participants and I contacted each other via Kakaotalk as well. Kakaotalk was an important part of the participants' everyday lives. There were also multiple group chats the participants were involved in. I was able to observe the participants in one of the group chats as a member of the dance team. I also took fieldnotes based on the messages I received from this group.

5.6.1.5 Documents

Written documents in many cases have been disregarded in ethnography. However, it is important that ethnographers take into account the examination of documents when looking into social communities as it could provide crucial information about the activities happening within the research context (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The university printed monthly English magazines for all students to read especially international students. The magazines had information on student life, upcoming events, summaries of previous events at the university, university societies, student cafeteria menus and so on. One of the magazines that was issued in the beginning of the semester included information about the IntCom and interviews with three IntCom members. This was useful as it confirmed my participants' interviews on what the IntCom does. Furthermore, the IntCom displayed monthly leaflets for international students in front of the IntCom room and the leaflets were also uploaded on the IntCom Facebook page. The monthly leaflets were illustrated in English, Korean, Chinese and Japanese. They contained information about the IntCom events, Korean culture, useful tips to get around the university, day trips supported by the international office and so on. Lastly, the IntCom put up posters around the campus regularly during the semester to promote their events and at the end of the semester to recruit new members. These posters were helpful as there were times I received information about particular events before my participants asked me to join them. In sum, Facebook, Kakaotalk and written documents all provided a valuable secondary source of information in learning about the IntCom. However, due to time and space constraints, they were used only for background information of the IntCom and university events and thus, I have not analyzed specific discourse from these.

5.6.1.6 Research diary

A research diary is a crucial part of the researcher's fieldwork (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Richards, 2003). A researcher can reflect on his or her work and organize thoughts during the research process. Such a diary may also help notice distortions or bias in the fieldwork (Richards, 2003). This was a practical source to self-evaluate my progress and also to hold a history of the research project (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). I kept a research diary to record my feelings and my experiences from an insider perspective (see appendix E). I jotted down comments

regarding participant observations and interactions made with the participants. While, the fieldnotes were based on objective observations, I put more emotional aspects on how the fieldwork proceeded on a particular day in the research diary. This diary was also useful to record how my interpretations and coding of the collected data developed over time.

5.7 Timeline of fieldwork

Activity	Data collection period
Preparation for fieldwork	Mid-February – End of February
Choosing participants	First week of March (start of official spring semester)
First set of ethnographic interviews	Second week of March (30-40min each)
Participant observation (7.5 hours of audio-recording and fieldnotes)	March: 4-5 times a week April: 2-3 times a week (reduced due to exam period) May: 3 times a week June: 2-3 times a week (reduced due to exam period)
Social media and document observation	Early March – Mid-July
Second set of (retrospective) interviews	Last week of April and first week of May (30-90 min each)
Last set of ethnographic interviews	First and second week of June (20-30 min each)
Last encounter with the participants	Mid June (end of official spring semester)
Last observation and fieldwork related contact with participants	End of June – Mid-July
End of fieldwork	Mid-July

Table 2: Timeline of fieldwork

5.8 Analyzing the data

For the purpose of analyzing rich and in-depth ethnographic data, this study employed qualitative content analysis which puts focus on thematic (or thematic coding) analysis (Bryman, 2012; Robson, 2016). I have followed the analytical procedures illustrated by Dörnyei (2007: 246): 1) transcribing the data, 2) pre-coding and coding, 3) growing ideas – memos, vignettes, profiles, and other forms of data display, and 4) interpreting the data and drawing conclusions. Both interview and naturally occurring group conversation data were analyzed using the same methods. Main themes were generated through the triangulation of interviews, naturally occurring group conversations and fieldnotes. However, each data set contributed

differently for each theme. Group conversation data was particularly useful for the analysis of the participants' discourse and their use of multilingual ELF practices (research question 1a). Interview data was especially helpful for understanding the participants' social practices, identity construction (research question 1b) and perceptions on the role of English and Korean and their linguistic practices (research question 1c). Fieldnotes provided a fruitful source of the community's shared practices and repertoires (research questions 1a and 1c).

For both the interview and naturally occurring group conversation transcription, the main focus was on contents but I included pauses and transcribed noticeable prosodic features such as laughter and strong emphasis. No punctuations were used other than question marks for rising intonation and the first letter of pronouns were all capitalized. Comments to explain the context were added in italics when necessary. The transcription conventions are listed on page xv. I have fully transcribed all audio-recordings so that I do not miss any useful and important data (sample transcripts can be found in appendices F-J). All transcripts were initially saved on Microsoft Word. They were also stored into QSR NVivo 11 (a qualitative data analysis software) by chronological order and later segments of the data were classified separately into different codes. At this point, it was important not to leave out data that may be crucial and highly relevant to this study (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Fieldnotes were initially organized and synced into OneNote by chronological order and later were added into QSR NVivo 11 during coding process. All in all, I have used more traditional qualitative methods as my ethnographic tools because most of my analysis relied on linguistic data rather than looking at anthropological aspects.

Analytical tools were considered at an early point of the research (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Richards, 2003; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). In the initial stage of analysis, which was during the fieldwork, I transcribed raw data and worked on preliminary analysis (pre-coding) shortly after each encounter with the participants. I printed out every transcribed data and read them multiple times. I highlighted sections that seemed important and always supplemented them with memos for coding. This made it easier for me to sort out data and devise codes as I was familiar with the data (Robson, 2016). Pre-coding was a process of making categorizations of possible codes regarding the participants' social and linguistic

practices. While I had pre-established themes from the research questions and interview guides, new and unexpected themes have also emerged from both the interview and naturally occurring conversation data (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Richards, 2003). My initial coding was divided into three sections: goals and future plans, social practices and linguistic practices. I attempted to summarize every relevant topic that appeared in the data and this resulted in an extensive list of 13 main codes with 109 sub-codes (see appendix K). It was important to have clear definitions of each code for coherent classifications especially because many of them were described in simple terms (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). Conducting preliminary coding of the data (i.e., describing and interpreting the data) while fieldwork was in progress helped reduce a great amount of unclassified data during the actual analysis (second-coding) and it allowed me to recall details of fieldnotes more easily.

Second-coding goes beyond the descriptive level and involves a more critical and deeper analysis (Dörnyei, 2007). This type of coding involves narrowing down the extensive version of codes into smaller numbers (Robson, 2016). This phase concentrates on discarding unfitting codes and possibly merging codes that have many overlapping segments (Dörnyei, 2007). I have reviewed interview and group conversation transcripts repeatedly. There were numerous coding attempts of recategorizing, redefining, relabeling, combining, omitting, adding and comparing with fieldnotes and documents for a more elaborate analysis of the potential themes based on the research focus and questions (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Miles et al., 2014). The sub-headings in both analysis chapters (6 & 7) have been based on my final coding scheme (see appendix K). My fieldnotes have been crucial in providing the context and information about the IntCom and my participants in my analysis. The first half of the themes in chapter 6, arose from the CoP framework. First, interviews and naturally occurring group conversation data were closely examined to extract examples to support each CoP element. Then, I further explored my fieldnotes for the interpretation of my data and for more examples to put into my chapter. Dörnyei (2007) suggests producing research memos as another analytical tool to accompany coding. These types of memos include the researcher's thoughts, working ideas and interpretation of the codings (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007; Miles & Huberman 1994; Miles et al. 2014). I continuously wrote memos during my coding

process and this enabled me to organize my codes better and to provide useful summaries of each analytical process. In the last stage, I developed final conclusions of the analyzed data. These have built on the previous three procedures that have been adopted. Various codings, ideas, explanations and interpretations have come to a more logical categorized conclusions. While the first half of the analysis (chapter 6) weighs on ethnographic aspects of the study: culture formation (forms of “doing”) and identity construction, the second half of the analysis (chapter 7) narrows down the focus to language and multilingual accounts. The focus in chapter 6 is on both social and linguistic practices; however, the role of languages, multilingual students’ perceptions and practices are dealt in chapter 7.

My analytical framework contributed to producing and organizing codes based on the research questions by analyzing the international students’ socialization processes through social and linguistic practices. This promotes taking a step forward into the confirmation of my theoretical framework that has been strongly influenced by the fluid and dynamic nature of language, culture and identity. This entails carrying on to a deeper structural level of interpretation to answer the research questions.

5.9 Ethics and risks

First of all, permission was gained through the university ethics committee (ERGO). The participants were given a participant information sheet (see appendix A) before any type of fieldwork proceeded and this research was conducted overtly with consent forms (see appendix B) signed by the participants. The participants were not informed in detail of what I was investigating but they were aware that I was interested in how they socialized and adapted in Korea through English by examining their social and linguistic practices. Moreover, I introduced myself and my research to the IntCom president and executive board to ensure that they were content with me attending IntCom events. The president had a participant information sheet for reference. Afterwards, every IntCom member (both Korean and international students) knew who I was and why I was there.

There can be a potential risk of losing confidentiality due to insecurity of data such as audio recordings or transcriptions. However, this is minimal as data will be kept in a

secure area where only the researcher can access. I have referenced the participants' information such as their nationality or linguistic background for this research project. The participants were observed and their naturally occurring conversations and interviews were audio-recorded throughout the semester. There were also potential safety risks that I had to be aware of when meeting the participants off campus. I made sure that when I met my participants off campus, it was always in public places and when conducting research at university sites, guidelines were followed. Pseudonyms were used for anonymity protection and the exact dates of when data was collected are not mentioned in this thesis. Moreover, names of people, societies, certain universities and the university's facilities that were mentioned in fieldnote and research diary extracts and sample transcripts attached to this thesis (appendix F-J) have been replaced (e.g., [name 1], [uni 1]). It was also made clear that the participants had the right to withdraw at any point and any kind of information/data could be removed if requested.

5.10 Trustworthiness

As opposed to a positivist and quantitative point of view, Lincoln and Guba (1985, 2013) argue that there needs different criteria to measure naturalistic and qualitative studies. Their notion of *trustworthiness* entails four criteria to prove quality in qualitative research: *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability*, and *confirmability*. These criteria correspond to the traditional concepts of internal validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity.

Although this study was carried out for only five months (i.e., not longitudinal), I showed *credibility* through triangulating multiple methods. "Multiple realities" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 296) were acquired by participant observations of various interactions, audio-recordings of authentic conversations, regular interviews, social media, detailed fieldnotes, documents and a research diary. Moreover, the IntCom members were observed frequently as a group and thus, I was able to document situations where the members operated together, albeit collecting audio-recordings from a small number of participants. The triangulation of different methods displayed the complexity of participants' socialization through their social and linguistics practices.

Transferability (also known as generalizability) in qualitative studies is often challenged by positivists as it is difficult to generalize from a relatively small group of participants to a bigger population (Stake, 1995; 2005; Yin, 2003). A small number of participants were investigated for data collection. However, this study does not attempt to generalize international students' use of English in a Korean higher education context but to provide thick descriptions of data through contextualization to allow reader/user generalizability (Merriam, 1998). This study is one example of international students' multilingual practices at a Korean university and this could contribute to the accumulation of research on international students in East Asian contexts. Such richly contextualized findings, analysis and interpretations can help the reader judge whether the findings can be applicable to different contexts.

Dependability refers to whether the research findings could be replicated.

Confirmability indicates that the findings could be confirmed by others. In order to enhance *dependability* and *confirmability*, I have presented my role as the researcher and detailed description of the research design in this chapter. I have also illustrated my conceptual and theoretical framework (chapters 2, 3, 4) to explicate my interpretations and position in this study. Moreover, I kept an audit trail (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of the decisions I made during the fieldwork and data analysis process. Most of them are found in my fieldnotes and research diary.

5.11 Conclusion

This chapter overviewed a qualitative ethnographic approach and research methods respectively. The purpose of the selected ethnographic tools was to collect rich data of the participants' stories, experiences, perceptions and actual multilingual practices. The CoP framework has also been recommended as a useful methodological tool for this study on a theoretical and practical level. The limitations of methodology (i.e., small number of participants and relatively limited time period of study for an ethnography) have been complemented by demonstrating the quality of this study through Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria of *trustworthiness*. However, this does not cover every possible limitation the study may face. I intend to explicitly add limitations of particular data sources when applicable in chapter 9 which is the

conclusion of this thesis. Overall, triangulating multiple data sources enabled the gathering of fruitful in-depth data regarding the participants' multilingual ELF practices in different contexts.

Chapter 6 The Intcom community and identity constructions

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two main sections: an ethnographic account of the IntCom as a community of practice (section 6.2) and shared identity constructions (section 6.3). The findings are particularly useful in answering research questions 1a and 1b (see section 5.2). In section 6.2, results from interviews, naturally occurring group conversations and observation fieldnotes are illustrated in relation to the three main elements of the CoP framework – the joint enterprise (section 6.2.1), mutual engagement (section 6.2.2) and shared repertoires (section 6.2.3-6.2.6). Section 6.3 explores various identity constructs the participants revealed at the university. These derived from mainly interviews with the supplement of some group conversation data.

6.2 The IntCom as a community of practice – an ethnographic account

As illustrated in chapter 5 (see section 5.3.1), the community of practice in this study is an international student committee (IntCom) at a university in Seoul. The participants in the study have demonstrated how they, as the members of the IntCom, have maintained the community over one academic semester through various social actions and discourse. Accordingly, this section outlines the three elements of a community of practice (i.e., the joint enterprise, mutual engagement and shared repertoire) taking into account the nature of the IntCom.

The joint enterprise (section 6.2.1) is described by presenting the participants' shared goals in the community. The participants addressed these during interviews and I also visited the IntCom's official website and Facebook page to retrieve more information. Mutual engagement (section 6.2.2) is delineated by providing descriptions of the shared social activities which has been extracted from the participants' interview and group conversation data and this has been supplemented by observation fieldnotes. The shared repertoires (section 6.2.3) are divided into four main sections: 1) habitual practices, 2) friendship and membership building, 3)

shared discourse topics and 4) shared discourse practices. Both interview data and group conversations were useful for understanding the development of the repertoires.

6.2.1 The IntCom's shared goals – the joint enterprise

There were various reasons behind why the participants (both regular and exchange students) came to Korea to study. For example, there were participants majoring in Korean language and culture and thus it was part of their study abroad program at their university in their home country (e.g., Kamile and Yuto). Some of them were interested in Korean entertainment culture (i.e., K-pop, K-drama etc.) and they were already familiar with Korea and the language. Whereas, others stated that Korea was someplace completely new to them; hence, they wanted to learn more about the culture and have first-hand experience. Furthermore, some of the participants (e.g., Mei and Daniel) received full scholarship from the university, the Korean government or their own government for this specific university (see section 5.4.2 for participant profiles). Despite different rationales the participants had, a personal goal most of them developed while they studied in Korea was to improve their Korean language skills. This was a subject that has been brought up several times throughout the semester whether it was during interviews or group conversations (see section 7.2.3 for more detail).

Many of the participants found it difficult to make friends with Korean students because of personality, language barriers or cultural differences. From their experience, they could only become closer to local students who were social and willing to make foreign friends. This is also the reason why some of the participants have joined the IntCom; that is, not only to be able to meet and accommodate international students but also to become closer to Korean students as they consisted half of the total members. In extracts 6.1 and 6.2, Yuto and Kamile explain what the IntCom can offer.

Extract 6.1¹¹ (interview 1 – Yuto)

1. Y: I think the IntCom can um:: make a good opportunity to um get to know each other like
2. Koreans and international students
3. R: ok like both
4. Y: yea both

Extract 6.2 (interview 1 – Kamile)

1. K: it's gonna help me culture wise I think the IntCom helped me get close to Koreans
2. which in the end helps me with my thirst of knowledge about Korean culture because I'm
3. always with them I ask questions they ask me questions so it's just like culture

The participants also commented that they appreciate having the opportunity to meet students from all over the world and learn different cultures which is something they have not expected before arriving at a non-Anglophone university. They expressed that they would like to maintain friendship and continue on befriending more international students so that they can have a more opened view about them. Extracts 6.3 and 6.4 confirm some of the participants' views on meeting international students at the university (although Mei mentions "Korea", she is discussing the context at the university in the extract).

Extract 6.3 (interview 1 – Mei)

1. M: Korea's so multi like so many foreigners are here
2. R: uhu
3. M: which is not that similar back home
4. R: oh ok
5. M: so I can learn like a lot of cultures and like make different like friends from different
6. countries and all

Extract 6.4 (interview 1 – Daniel)

1. D: like the connections I've made here with getting to know people like I can't think of I
2. couldn't have done the same anywhere else in the world
3. [...]
4. R: yea like meeting people from like uh different countries [and Koreans]
5. D: [yea that's like better than anything else] yea

As for the IntCom, the community had shared goals as a whole. The IntCom's purpose of establishment is stated on the website as follows: 1) to provide guidance on university life, cultural experience and other useful information to international

¹¹ Transcription conventions can be found on p.xv.

students, 2) to extend cultural exchanges between students at the university, 3) to help international students take part in various cultural events on campus and 4) to intensify globalization at the university. The participants have verified some of the rationales above in their interviews by discussing the IntCom's main roles and what they hope to achieve from this. The IntCom's aim has been to assist new coming international students (especially exchange students) starting from picking them up from the airport to helping them open bank accounts, getting a new phone contract and hosting various on and off campus events including farewell parties at the end of the semester. As Kamile explains in extract 6.5, the IntCom guides international students to "integrate in Korean society" (line 2). In extract 6.6, Yuto comments that the IntCom creates "a lot of events" for international students and through these various activities, Daniel illustrates in extract 6.7 that the IntCom can 1) connect more people, 2) help people have a better social life and 3) accommodate them with their studies.

Extract 6.5 (interview 1 – Kamile)

1. K: basically the IntCom is an organization to help the I wanna say foreign students but
2. ((laughs)) for exchange students they help uh foreigners integrate in Korean society and
3. help with the buying a sim card buying everyday things

Extract 6.6 (interview 1 – Yuto)

1. R: and what are the main things the IntCom does for the students
2. Y: um: as I told you like making the a lot of events
3. R: oh yea yea
4. Y: like activities and buddy program

Extract 6.7 (interview 1 – Daniel)

1. D: and through like our stuff we just like connect more people
2. R: mhm
3. D: and have like um help people have better um social life I guess
4. R: ok
5. D: to accommodate them with their studies

6.2.2 Membership in the IntCom – mutual engagement

"Practice resides in a community of people and the relations of mutual engagement by which they can do whatever they can do" and thus membership "is what defines the community" (Wenger, 1998: 73). In order to achieve the shared goals, the members of

IntCom were 'mutually engaged' in several activities. In the beginning of the semester, the old members started from choosing new members: the first round of the recruitment process were document reviews and the second round were interviews. According to Mei's response in extract 6.8, the members advertised their recruitment online (Facebook page), by posting small notes on campus and also by opening a booth in front of student halls of residence. The IntCom itself was introduced to international students during the orientation two weeks before the start of the semester. This was when most students learned about the events hosted by the committee. The IntCom also supported the international dance and football teams (see section 5.4.2.1). In extract 6.9, Yuto explains that the football team and other clubs and societies are also introduced during the orientation.

Extract 6.8 (interview 1 – Mei)

1. R: for like um members of the IntCom? how do you promote?
2. M: they put it on the Facebook and also they they stick like o::h do you know like in Korea
3. I think you would know like in Korean high school like you know where they pin like little
4. small little paper and they stick it at the toilet and all
5. R: oh yea yea I know
6. M: (?) and they open a booth
7. R: oh ok
8. M: like in front of the dorm
9. R: uhu
10. M: like where all the international students stay so like that

Extract 6.9 (interview 1 – Yuto)

1. R: if they want to join how do they know about it how did you promote?
2. Y: ah when the first orientation for international students we joined it and presented it
3. about our football team
4. R: oh so during the orientation they talk about [different] clubs and societies
5. Y: [yea]

A few days after recruiting new IntCom members, the old and new members had the opportunity to get to know each other better through an 'MT'¹² (membership

¹² In Korea, it is very common for different student communities (e.g., societies, classmates) at university to have MTs occasionally during each semester. An 'MT' stands for Membership Training although it does not have much to do with actual professional training. MTs that happen in the beginning of the semester are typically for newcomers to introduce themselves to each other and to existing members of the community and there are various social activities (e.g., games and drinking alcohol) planned to break the ice. MTs normally take place in rented cabins or recreational buildings somewhere in a suburban area outside the city and the event is carried on normally for one or two days. Some MTs go through a formal orientation led

training) orientation. Most of the participants mentioned that this was the time when they started feeling more comfortable and familiar with other members after joining the IntCom. Attending MTs was an important tradition in the IntCom for solidarity and the executive board members ran this event twice during the semester.

6.2.2.1 IntCom activities

The main activity in the IntCom was creating weekly events for international students except during exam periods. The members envisaged ideas for events with reference to last year's events. When they came up with ideas for new events, they had to discuss the budget as there was a certain amount of funding supported by the international office each semester. This at many times caused frustration and conflict among the members as the budget had to be distributed proportionately. Extract 6.10 presents this type of conflict I have noticed in the IntCom. As Wenger (1998: 77) states, "disagreement, challenges, and competition can all be forms of participation" and this type of engagement "often reveals a greater commitment than does passive conformity" demonstrating the complexity of shared practices.

Extract 6.10 (fieldnotes)

I met with Mei afterwards to discuss things about the uniform order. It went well with the international office and the dance team will receive the uniforms right on time. Later, Mei told me that she has been arguing with one of the executive board members about the budget. This member did not want Mei to order the dance team outfits without getting approval from the committee's executive board but Mei was frustrated as she already got approval from the international office who gives financial support to the IntCom.

The members also promoted the events both on and offline and most often some of them had to rehearse presenting as hosts of the events. Some others had practices for performances with non-IntCom international students who were interested in taking part in the events. The performances included group dancing (performed by the dance team in the IntCom see section 5.4.2.1) and cultural talent shows (e.g., singing and dancing with national costumes). For on campus events, the IntCom members always met at least one and a half hours in advance to set up events. This type of activity came with frequent jokes and small talk. I was usually present during

by staff members of the university and then the rest is left for the students to have social time; some other MTs only have entertaining activities programed.

rehearsals and event set ups and gave feedback. Strong social bonding developed among the IntCom members especially when setting up events as it was usually just themselves before all the other international students arrived for the event. Extract 6.11 shows when I met with the committee members prior to the start of the event to help with setting up.

Extract 6.11 (fieldnotes)

Buddy scheme orientation

This scheme aims to connect local and international students.

There are 10 groups and each group has 10 Koreans and 10 internationals.

The committee members are in each group. As usual, the majority arrived an hour and a half earlier to set up the event. Each member had different roles (helper, supervisor, group leader, photographer, ticketing). Some of the non-participant members seemed to have gotten used to me participating and came up to talk to me about their stories.

Off campus events for example included visiting palaces, markets, and theme parks, hiking, partying, and going on day trips in and outside of Seoul. For these types of events, the IntCom members and registered students met on campus and took the transportation together. Facilitating events was another important role the members were responsible for. The members always kept an eye out for unexpected issues. After the events, the members all stayed and wrapped up the venue. After everything was tidied and in place, they usually went for dinner and drinks near campus to treat themselves. The next extracts provide a better idea of some specific events the participants were engaged in.

In extract 6.12, Kamile clarifies that the members are responsible for all IntCom events and there are different teams within the IntCom (see section 5.4.2.1). She also provides examples of the activities the IntCom organizes such as movie night and trips. In extract 6.13, Mei provides a timeline of different events that are run by the IntCom. Early types of events start from pick-up service at the airport, showing the students around and helping with getting a phone contract, a health check-up and opening a bank account. I also helped some of the international students with starting new phone contracts. There are several activities the students can sign up for during term time and they learn this information during the orientation. At the end of the semester there is also a closing ceremony, which is a farewell party for students going back to their home country. Both Kamile and Mei, mention the buddy scheme, which is the biggest program hosted by the IntCom and opened for all students at the

university. This scheme goes on throughout the whole semester. The purpose of this scheme is to build a bridge between international and Korean students. There were around 100 students (a fair mix of both international and Korean) taking part in this scheme during the fieldwork. The students were assigned to different teams (sometimes they were paired up as well) and they had to act as a team and show teamwork at buddy scheme events. I have participated in facilitating some of the events as an IntCom staff member. The events included several day trips in and outside of Seoul.

Extract 6.12 (interview 1 – Kamile)

1. K: we are responsible for all the events all the help and stuff like that but the thing is like
2. inside the group there are other groups
3. [...]
4. we have the buddy program which recruits Korean students like not the IntCom people
5. like other Korean students random people and <Kr> oegukins {foreigner} and they pair
6. them up like one on one and like they're together for the semester they get close and
7. they (?) yea so like the IntCom is the staff and inside we have like social events team in
8. which is also last semester we had to prepare activities so like we had a movie night I
9. think we organized our trip

Extract 6.13 (interview 1 – Mei)

1. M: we organize events like when they first before they come here we contact them and
2. [we assign] like one Korean with like five foreigners they contact them and all and they do
3. pick up service
4. R: [oh separately?] oh ok
5. M: they pick up them from airport and then they show them around and bring them to do
6. health check-up and like make a phone number and make a bank
7. [...]
8. M: yea so I think we need one for the other regular international student and then after
9. that they make like orientation for them and then they plan activities and all for them to
10. pop up activities and we are like next week we are going here here here like sign up and
11. we'll go together and like the bigger program is like the buddy program where they match
12. like Korean and foreigner
13. R: oh ok
14. M: and then all the activities till like the closing ceremony and that's all
15. R: oh ok
16. M: it's mostly what we do

The members also had other regular duties. As illustrated in extract 6.14, all members were obliged to attend weekly IntCom meetings on campus. These meeting lasted for about an hour and were always in the evening so that everyone could attend after classes. The members were to resolve any issues that occurred during the week, provide summaries of what their team had accomplished with regard to event

planning and to discuss future tasks. After the meetings, there was a tradition of the members having dinner together before parting.

Extract 6.14 (fieldnotes)

The IntCom committee members [...] have weekly meetings to get the society going and to create social events. This society is financially supported by the university's international office so that the members can create various events for international students.

Another regular duty the members were committed to was the work shift. Every member except for the executive board members had a two-hour weekly shift in the committee room. According to the shift timetable sheet, there were shifts from 9am to 5pm during weekdays and four members were on the same shift. During the shift, the members had their own piece of work to do for upcoming events. They were also in charge of answering queries (e.g., regarding how to get around the city/university, finding a doctor, communication issues with locals etc.) for the international students dropping by the committee room. International students also occasionally visited the room to say hi to their IntCom friends or to sign up for events. Some members just stayed in the room for hours when they had long gaps between classes. I had a copy of the shift timetable during the fieldwork and thus I also frequently helped out or mingled in the committee room when my participants were on shift.

In extracts 6.15 and 6.16, Kamile and Mei explain the shifts they had in the committee room (which was also called ‘the bang’). In extract 6.16, Mei comments that the members are not actually working and “they hang out and play games” more during their shifts. Later, I have realized that this was because there were not many international students dropping by for queries and some members on shift did not have much work to do when they were not responsible for the next upcoming event.

Extract 6.15 (interview 1 – Kamile)

1. K: for example we have shifts and we have to wait in the <Kr> bang {room} and the <Kr>
2. bang is like the place like we have to have shifts for two hours there and I would always
3. have shifts from one until three and my classes end at one

Extract 6.16 (interview 1 – Mei)

1. M: like in the IntCom we have like a shift thingy where we have to work there
2. R: oh ok
3. M: like when people come meet me to answer their question but it's not really working
4. we just hang out [and play games]

Other than mandatory work the members dealt with, Secret Santa was a special custom in the committee which the members looked forward to from time to time. The IntCom had this custom throughout the semester although it was not Christmas time. There was a Secret Santa box in the committee room always filled with little gifts for the members. Extract 6.17 discusses what I have learned about the IntCom's Secret Santa tradition.

Extract 6.17 (fieldnotes)

After wrapping up the movie night event, some of the members and I went to the committee room to drop off some things. In the room, I found a box full of little gifts with each member's name written on it. This was the Secret Santa box. Koreans call this 'Manito' which has the same concept as Secret Santa. Each member is a Secret Santa to another and they occasionally put in something small (e.g. souvenirs, sweets, key chains, stationary, etc.) for their assigned friend with his or her name on it. The members do not find out about who their Secret Santa is until the end of the semester.

Extract 6.18 presents a conversation the participants had about Secret Santa. Yuto was well-known in the committee for having very large portions of meals. The participants chat about how Yuto got free coupons for bowls of rice he could use at the student cafeteria.

Extract 6.18 (group conversation – Kamile, Daniel, Mei, Researcher)

1. K: oh my god Yuto is crazy
2. D: he eats so much rice
3. K: every time we go somewhere he takes like I'm not even joking he takes three <Kr>
4. gong-ki bab {bowl of rice}
5. M: [yea]
6. D: [yea]
7. R: ((gasps)) really?
8. M: that's a LOT of rice
9. [...]
10. K: when we had Secret Santa he got the like tickets
11. M: yea tickets [for the <Kr> gong-ki bab {bowl of rice}] ((laughs))
12. K: [for the rice]
13. D: that's smart
14. M: it's a good it's a good present for him but why does he eat so much rice?
15. R: ((laughs))

6.2.2.2 Shared activities outside of the IntCom

Although the shared activities the members of the IntCom were engaged in were usually event related tasks, the IntCom members also demonstrated participation in

social activities that were not specifically within the committee. It was very natural for the participants to meet with each other or other friends during their gap hours between classes to grab lunch or coffee near campus. This was also when I met my participants the most.

Extract 6.19 (interview 1 – Mei)

1. M: I just call my friends to like eat out like near here there's a lot of restaurants

The participants also enjoyed nightlife in Seoul and went drinking or partying on weekends. During interviews, my participants mentioned several times about having drinks or partying with IntCom members or other international students. In extract 6.20, Kamile comments how she had to hastily finish her class assignment in a few minutes as she was tired from late night drinking. In extract 6.21, Mei informs that she and her friends go for drinks during “gap time” (which she means after classes) and go clubbing once or twice a week. In extract 6.22, Yuto describes a day when he first met an international student from Germany when he arrived in Korea and he says that he became friends with him by having drinks together.

Extract 6.20 (interview 1 – Kamile)

1. K: I really wrote in four minutes because I was so tired I came back I was with the IntCom
2. yesterday they were drinking and I came back so late

Extract 6.21 (interview 1 – Mei)

1. M: and for the gap time mostly like for the Korean culture they just go to like pub near
2. here and we just hang out and we just drink
3. [...]
4. M: once or twice but sometimes when they want to go clubbing it's like at night
5. R: oh yea
6. M: they go like Hongdae¹³
7. R: yea ((laughs))
8. M: yea the Korean nightlife

Extract 6.22 (interview 1 – Yuto)

1. Y: yes the first night [yea] and I went E-mart¹⁴
2. R: [ok ((laughs))] ok
3. Y: to buy some stuffs

¹³ Hongdae is a popular drinking and partying area among university students in Seoul.

¹⁴ A famous supermarket chain in Korea.

Chapter 6

4. R: uhu
5. Y: then there were really tall guy
6. R: uhu
7. Y: was there and I talked to him cause I thought he is a international student here and he
8. was
9. R: uhu
10. Y: so we became friends also and talk like let's drink tonight [in his room] then I like one
11. more German guy
12. R: [oh ok ((laughs))] uhu
13. Y: I called him and like let's drink together
14. R: ok
15. Y: so we drank together the first night and so then we hang out a lot

Traveling was also a popular activity among the participants. They took every chance they could to travel and explore as much as they could while they studied in Korea whether it was in Seoul, around Korea or in neighboring countries of Korea. They usually traveled together or with other international student friends. Daniel illustrates in extract 6.23 about a time he, Leo and Lisa explored a slum area of Seoul. Daniel was especially interested in visiting unusual places in Seoul and he enjoyed taking pictures of those areas. In extract 6.24, Kamile talks about a spontaneous trip to Jeju Island she decided to go on with Leo, Lisa and other international student friends.

Extract 6.23 (interview 3 – Daniel)

1. D: like on Sunday me Leo and Lisa we literally walked through the whole city
2. R: oh like that
3. D: like we went um when was it on Sunday so me Leo and Lisa we went to Yongsan to buy
4. something there for his camera or something
5. R: uhu
6. D: and then after that we um from Yongsan we walked to Itaewon and I went to (?)
7. R: ok
8. D: and then from there that wasn't the actual trip actually like it was we read about this
9. massive slum near Gangnam
10. R: oh you told me in the beginning
11. D: and we actually went me Leo and Lisa
12. R: oh you went?
13. D: yea we walked through there and we took a bunch of photos
14. R: oh really
15. D: it was pretty interesting yea

Extract 6.24 (group conversation – Kamile, Daniel, Researcher)

1. K: I'm going to uh Jeju in the end of May and we're thinking about renting a car there the
2. problem is we have ten people and we only have one person that has the international
3. driver's license

4. D: oh yea
5. R: oh who are you going with?
6. K: I'm going with Lisa Leo and other people you probably don't know ((laughs))
7. [...]
8. K: it was super super random we were sitting in the <Kr> bang {room}
9. R: it was super super what?
10. K: super super random we were sitting in the <Kr> bang {room} and they were talking
11. about their trip and I was like like oh you're going to Busan uh no Jeju yea yea we're going
12. to Jeju and they were like do you wanna go? and I was like I'm not sure I didn't plan to
13. and then the next day I bought the tickets

6.2.3 Shared repertoires

The shared repertoire of a community of practice cultivates over time through the accumulation of mutual engagement. Hence, “it reflects the history of mutual engagement” (Wenger, 1998: 83). Likewise, this section focuses on the shared repertoires that developed as the members spent more time together to achieve the shared goals. Types of repertoire includes “routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, gestures, symbols, genres, actions or concepts” as well as meaningful discourse created by the members, forms of membership expression and identity negotiation (ibid.).

6.2.3.1 Shared habitual practices

In this section, I discuss the habits the participants naturally developed together as friends and as members of the IntCom and refer to this as ‘habitual practices’. The participants showed development of intimacy through changes in the way they greeted and parted in the community. When the new members (e.g., Leo, Clara, Lisa, Yuto) first joined the IntCom they waved hands or made small high-fives as gestures of greeting and parting with the old members and each other. Within a few weeks, the gesture naturally advanced to giving big hugs. The old members (e.g., Mei, Kamile, Danie, Marc and Emilie) had already been giving each other hugs as a form of greeting and parting. This has been applied to myself in the same way in the community. After two to three weeks of following and observing my participants, I found myself always giving hugs to them as well and this was something that made me feel closer to them.

Moreover, the participants were able to choose from their shared linguistic resources to say *hi* or *bye*. In most cases they chose English or Korean as it was the shared linguistic repertoire among all of participants. Most of the utterances include *hi*, *hey*, *how are you?*, *what's up?*, *yo*, *see you*, *later*, *bye* as well as *ahnyeong* (both *hi* and *bye* in Korean), *ya* (*hey* in Korean), *naeil-bwa* (*see you tomorrow* in Korean). Other times, the participants also greeted or parted in their interlocutor's L1 as a form of showing their friendship. For example, Mei was especially close to students from Latin America and she frequently used Spanish resources such as *hola* and *adiós*. Moreover, the members who shared the same L1 normally greeted each other in their L1. There were particularly more German and Mexican members in the IntCom during the fieldwork and thus I have frequently noticed a mix of German and Spanish resources other than English and Korean in the community. Extract 6.25 presents examples of multilingual repertoires observed during fieldwork.

Extract 6.25 (fieldnotes)

*Greeting and parting messages were in both Korean and English: ahnyeong, see you later
Some simple Korean words were used a lot among the members: mwohae? mwoya?*

At the university's football tournament

They were cheering in 4 different languages: English, German, French and Spanish. From this event as well I could see that the committee members stayed close together as a group and that they got much closer to each other after the MT last weekend. Mei was trying to understand what the German members were saying sometimes and the expressions such as "was ist falsch mit dir" {what's wrong with you}, "que pasa?" {what's up?} were used to joke around.

[name] said, "vamos!" to Mei before going to eat lunch.

I could also see that Korean members especially mixed English and Korean frequently and tried to use easy Korean with some of the international members as they are keen on learning Korean.

Another type of habitual consensus the members formed was the gathering point at the university. The campus hub was an outdoor area in the center of the university with stairs, benches and grass to sit on. The hub was where the IntCom members and international students normally agreed as a meeting point before heading somewhere together. In this thesis, I avoid using the actual name of the area to respect the anonymity of the university. When the IntCom hosted daily trips outside of the university, they always gathered the participants in front of the hub. As Wenger (1998: 83) states, "the repertoire of resources can be reengaged in new situations" and this type of practice naturally applied to international students also when not involved in IntCom activities. For example, when groups of international students

decided to go drinking or clubbing in evenings, they met in front of the hub. The hub became a common area for international students to gather during the semester and even when some of the participants were not sure of where to meet for certain gatherings, they checked the hub first. Some examples of the how the hub was used can be seen in extract 6.26.

Extract 6.26 (fieldnotes)

After dance practice we all split and Marc, Mei, [name 1] and I started chatting outside by the university hub. Mei updated me and Marc about her relationship on how it isn't going well.

Mei and [name 1] soon had to go home to get ready to go clubbing in Gangnam.

After Mei got ready she met with [name 1] again at the hub with other international friends. They were waiting for others to go clubbing together.

As described in extract 6.27, the committee room was not solely a room for duties but it was a room for socialization. It was a comfortable place where the members felt a sense of belonging. It was somewhere they could stay as long as they wanted when they had particularly nowhere to go during the day. There were always other members in the room so the atmosphere was usually enjoyable.

Extract 6.27 (fieldnotes)

The IntCom room is the place to mingle and bond. Even if it's not the member's shift any member comes by and hangs out. For example, Daniel meant to go to the doctor today but it was lunchtime at the clinic so he stayed around until 1pm. Mei didn't have any shift either but just hung around until 3pm. Some members ordered food delivery in the IntCom room for lunch.

Yuto once expressed that he felt more relaxed in the committee room than his own dormitory as he had to share with someone he was not close to. Yuto explains in extract 6.28 that he felt very welcomed when he first visited the committee room and thus it did not take long to get to know the members better. In extract 6.29, Mei comments that she is “always there” in the IntCom room and chats with the members. I also found myself always starting my day of fieldwork in the room.

Extract 6.28 (interview 1 – Yuto)

1. Y: like the first time I went to the IntCom room they really welcomed me so it's it didn't
2. take so long to get know each other

Extract 6.29 (interview 1 – Mei)

1. M: gap hours? like I just go to the IntCom room and like talk with them
2. R: and also like you were talking about it before
3. M: ((laughs)) yea I'm always there

Lastly, there were regular common practices on how the members of the IntCom rewarded themselves. When the members were on shift in the committee room, they ordered food. It was that time of the week in which they could reward themselves from not just IntCom duties but also from class assignments and exam preparation. They ordered either pizza, Chinese food or simple Korean food because they were cheap and they could be finished up quickly. Furthermore, as mentioned in section 6.2.2.1, the members had a custom of having dinner and drinks together after wrapping up IntCom events. They felt a sense of accomplishment and relief after each event and cooled themselves down with their fellow members. Many of the IntCom photos that were posted on Facebook other than at events were also during these dinners. Yuto was usually the one taking hundreds of photos at these times.

6.2.3.2 Friendship and membership building

The participants proved how they strengthened their membership by being committed to the IntCom and sympathizing with other members. The IntCom set rules about attendance with regards to the work shift, weekly meetings and events. If a member showed very low participation, the executive board would have had to reconsider his or her membership in the IntCom. It was also crucial for the members to cooperate and demonstrate effective teamwork even in difficult circumstances. Daniel emphasizes in extract 6.30 about what he believes keeps the members close. He highlights the importance of commitment when it comes to relationships among members of a community. His point is that if one individual take actions the other way when there is a plan for everyone to stick to, it “completely ruins the whole idea of being committed” (line 17). Similarly, in extract 6.31, Kamile criticizes members who showed lack of commitment. During exam period, the IntCom required volunteering members to organize and give out customized university jackets ordered by international students. Many of the Korean members who were very dedicated to their academic work could not help out at this time especially because it was exam period and Kamile assumed that they made false excuses of having classes

or something important at that time. She was quite disappointed in them and kept mentioning that this was “hilarious” which she means ‘ridiculous’ in a sarcastic way. She eventually went to help out with some other volunteering members later that day.

Extract 6.30 (interview 2 – Daniel)

1. R: like how do you know you guys are close to each other what makes you guys
2. D: commitment I think
3. [...]
4. D: well like to become a group it depends on the individual inside of it
5. R: ok
6. D: but I think like I said you get people that's like if you make plans for example
7. R: mhm
8. D: we usually stick with the plans you make in the group and you get this people that does
9. things without the group's approval or something and then they just do something
10. differently to what we ask them to as we decided to as a group
11. R: ok
12. D: and then it doesn't work out in the end and I think that's like that completely froze
13. over the whole um
14. R: is this particularly about the events? event making?
15. D: amongst others yea
16. R: oh ok
17. D: and being like that completely ruins the whole idea of being committed
18. R: oh ok
19. D: and doing things as a group [as a community together]

Extract 6.31 (interview 2 – Kamile)

1. K: all of the international staff is just like we have to do something so a lot of the people
2. are like I'm gonna come as soon as I can (?) so yea all the Koreans are it was hilarious
3. when the jackets arrived on Monday uh [name 1] the girl that's responsible for the jackets
4. she messaged in the group um people that don't have class can you come to the IntCom
5. to help with the jackets none of the Koreans replied
6. R: I know I know
7. K: it was hilarious so the girl was like so no Koreans are gonna come? and they are like ah
8. <Kr> sueob {class} sueob
9. R: ha
10. K: it was hilarious I'm getting used to this

Sympathy was also what consolidated the members' friendship. When someone was experiencing hard times (e.g., illness, relationship issues, family problems etc.), they expressed their concern and sympathized. They were willing to provide comfort and aid for their close friends. For example, there was a magnitude earthquake in Ecuador in the middle of the semester and this directly affected the family of Mei's classmate and close friend. Although this friend was not part of the IntCom, she was an

international student at the university and thus many IntCom members volunteered in helping out with the relief fund for Ecuador. They took turns staffing the booth in front of the campus hub. Evidence of this is shown in extract 6.32.

Extract 6.32 (fieldnotes)

Yuto also mentioned how the IntCom members volunteered to take part in a fundraising event for earthquake victims in Ecuador. The members set up a booth near the hub and took turns staffing the booth. They talked to students passing by to explain the situation and ask for some donation.

Extract 6.33 is an example of the participants sympathizing with Yuto when he was very ill. The participants in the conversation express their concerns about Yuto and hopes that he could at least go to the doctor and receive proper prescription. This extract also reveals Yuto's attachment to the committee room (see section 6.2.3). From the conversation, it can be assumed that Yuto has been ill for a while but instead of resting on his own bed he was sleeping in the committee room all day (line 2). Both Daniel and Kamile speculate that Yuto has not been to the doctor and suggest that he should go see one (lines 11-12). When Leo explains that he has noticed Yuto taking medicine, Daniel brings up his concern again and says that Yuto should at least find out if the medicine he is taking is effective.

Extract 6.33 (group conversation – Leo, Daniel, Kamile, Researcher)

1. L: but actually Yuto is sick as hell
2. D: he was sleeping in the IntCom room all day today
3. K: yesterday he
4. L: he has to do a shift
5. K: I don't know he's just super super sick
6. L: we were all trying to get him to his room but he didn't want to
7. R: ((gasps))
8. D: yea
9. K: he's just so obsessed to the IntCom I think he has like some kind of allergy or
10. something?
11. D: he should go see a doctor
12. K: I think he should go to a doctor
13. L: maybe he already went cause he keeps telling that he's taking medicine
14. [...]
15. D: I mean he should see at least if the medicine is doing what it should
16. L: hm?
17. D: I mean like he says he's taking medicine but it doesn't seem like it's doing anything

The IntCom members consisted of a mix of regular and exchange students. There was always a moment of farewells at the end of each semester. The participants remarked

their sad feelings when reminding themselves about later saying goodbye to their close friends at the university. This was a shared emotion that was repeatedly drawn out in interviews and group conversations. This is what also indicated solidarity and close friendship in the community. In extract 6.34, Kamile is afraid that once she parts with her close international student friends, the relationship she has with them will not be the same (lines 1-8). When she thinks about leaving after the end of the semester, she feels very depressed and it makes her cry. She mentions that Yuto counts how many months they have left before they need to leave and she just wants Yuto to “shut up” about it (lines 15-16).

Extract 6.34 (interview 3 – Kamile)

1. K: at the end I try to stay positive but I think that oh we're gonna stay in contact all the
2. time and we're gonna see each other and it's maybe that's the hardest part and you
3. understand that it's basically kinda done with most of the people you're probably not
4. gonna see them ever again you might text
5. R: ok
6. K: but little by little you don't have you can't relate anymore you don't have these things
7. R: mhm
8. K: and it just fades away little by little it's it's really depressing
9. R: uhu
10. K: I don't really cry but let me think about it yea I didn't cry when my friends left but when
11. it's time for me to leave somehow I cry like a baby ((laughs))
12. [...]
13. K: it's gonna be really hard like Mei and Daniel the full time students the Korean staff
14. R: yea
15. K: u:h I don't wanna think about it three months Yuto is killing me we only have three
16. months shut up shut up ((laughs))

Extract 6.35 was part of an interview I had with Mei around the end of the semester. She expresses how sad she feels about her exchange student friends starting to leave in the next few weeks. This was very difficult for Mei as she already experienced a similar situation the previous semester and as a regular student she knew she would have to go through this for three more years.

Extract 6.35 (interview 3 – Mei)

1. M: n:o n:o because this semester I got really really connect with all the exchange students
2. so it's like friend wise
3. R: mhm
4. M: and relationship wise so
5. R: yea
6. M: like it's really hard that they are really leaving
7. R: ok

8. M: it's just like less than three weeks actually
9. R: yea
10. M: most of them and then the other are leaving maybe a week after and stuff

In extract 6.36, Yuto recalls a time when he said goodbye to a very close friend the previous semester. He remembers the extremely sad feeling he had at that time. However, he says that this semester would be even more difficult as he became part of the IntCom. Yuto was especially attached to the IntCom more than any other member. He was the only member who attended every single IntCom event, he was the one who stayed in the committee room the most and he was very close to both international and Korean members. One of his goals was to become the most famous international student on campus and the members believed he had actually achieved this.

Extract 6.36 (interview 3 – Yuto)

1. Y: last December was so sad because [I had one] really good German friend
2. R: [you were sad] oh really
3. Y: but it just three months but for the first time I cried
4. R: oh really
5. Y: when he leaving
6. R: wow ok so it is really hard
7. Y: yea but in this semester it's gonna be totally different cause
8. R: how?
9. Y: h:m to finish the IntCom
10. R: mhm
11. Y: and leaving
12. R: mhm
13. Y: I'm leaving too so
14. R: ok
15. Y: it's really I don't wanna cry in front of people too
16. R: uhu but do you think it'll be even harder
17. Y: yea much more harder

6.2.3.3 Shared discourse topics: conversations on C1 or Cn

As the participants came from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, there was a common ground for having conversations about their own culture or other cultures they have learned. These conversations demonstrate Risager's (2006) idea of languaculture. The participants' discourse took place in divergent transnational contexts with various discursive flows. In extract 6.37, Mei and Daniel discuss tea culture in their home countries. Mei who is from Malaysia believes that Malaysians

inherited this type of custom from the British (line 1). She compares it with Korean culture stating that instead of having 'Soju' (popular Korean liquor) in Korea, people would have tea or coffee back home (lines 4-5). In lines 20, 22, and 25, Daniel talks about tea culture in his hometown in South Africa. His grandparents would have traditional afternoon tea on the weekends. In line 30, Mei also teaches Daniel and myself a Cantonese expression "yumcha" (to drink tea) which is commonly used in Malaysia to suggest having tea together.

Extract 6.37 (group conversation – Mei, Daniel, Yuto, Researcher)

1. M: but then because back home we always drink tea and coffee I think it's from freaking
2. British culture so=
3. D: same as us we still have that yea
4. M: yea it's like when from here when we hang out they go for <Kr> Soju {Korean liquor}
5. and back home they go for like tea or coffee and stuff
6. Y: ((laughs))
7. D: yea yea
8. M: really like the milk tea and all and we just hang out around and drink coffee and tea
9. ((laughs))
10. R: yea they drink a lot of tea in the UK
11. D: [yea]
12. M: [yea] and it's the same as us like every morning grandma would make like black coffee
13. and stuff
14. D: yea yea
15. M: and when we go out we just drink tea so I never realize but after I came here I tell
16. people they're like this is so British I'm like oh yea ((laughs))
17. Y: (((laughs)))
18. D: (((laughs)))
19. M: like I don't know we just got the culture ((laughs))
20. D: but back home always on a Sunday
21. M: mhm
22. D: or Saturday at four o'clock I would go to my grandparents they always have coffee and
23. tea
24. Y: ((laughs))
25. D: like a tradition afternoon tea
26. M: afternoon tea yea for us it's like after class or like at night it's mostly at night
27. D: there too yea
28. M: when people go for alcohol we're like oh do you want to drink tea? ((laughs))
29. R: really?
30. M: yea in uh dialect <Can> yumcha {drink tea} it's like drink tea but now that I make it
31. in English it sounds so like=
32. R: =<Can> yumcha means drink tea?
33. M: yea in like in Cantonese
34. D: ok
35. M: it's like <Can> yumcha it's like drink tea and then we just go and we just sit outside
36. and we just talking and drinking tea

Prior to extract 6.38, Leo, Daniel and I were expressing our opinions about body piercing and tattoos. Leo tells that although he is not fond of tattoos, he would get one from a Māori tribe if he were to visit New Zealand (lines 1-2). Then he goes on and explains in detail about how the tattoo making works in the tribe (lines 4, 5, 7, 12-15). This extract clearly demonstrates how language certainly cannot be attached to a particular culture and that it also cannot be neutral. Language can jump in and out of various transnational boundaries and can embrace different cultures at different times by the users. Likewise, in extract 6.38, an Italian German, South African and Korean are having a conversation in English (as a lingua franca) in Seoul about an indigenous tribe in New Zealand.

Extract 6.38 (group conversation – Leo, Daniel, Researcher)

1. L: I don't know I'm not the biggest fan of tattoos but I told myself if I'm going to New
2. Zealand one day I want to get one of the traditional Māori tattoos
3. D: oh [that's really hard core]
4. L: [because heard] yea they use like the traditional standard of doing tattoo so they got
5. the hammer and a little sickle
6. R: ((gasps)) wow
7. L: and they just really just uh what's it called um they just put it into your skin
8. D: yes penetrate
9. R: woah
10. L: yea it's supposed to work a little bit more than the usual tattoo
11. D: for sure it does ((laughs))
12. L: yea but the interesting fact is that um you cannot choose the design for your tattoo
13. because the tattooist makes a conversation with you and he's trying to figure out your
14. character and while he's talking to you he's like making your own personal tattoo every
15. sign and every line has something to do with about yourself
16. R: where is this?
17. D: in New Zealand like Māori culture
18. L: the the yea what's it called
19. D: yea Māori
20. R: o::h
21. L: the indigenous people there
22. R: yea yea
23. L: that's maybe one thing I would consider to do

6.2.3.4 Shared discourse practices

Numerous types of linguistic practices arose in naturally occurring group conversations. However, due to word limitation, I have chosen the most conspicuous ones that appeared in my data. While section 6.2.3.3 (conversations on C1 and Cn) looked at the practices on a topical level, this section highlights the functional types of

linguistic practices (gossiping and humor). Multilingual practices and the role of shared linguistic repertoires such as ELF and Korean are outlined in the next chapter.

Gossiping was a form of linguistic practice that displayed the community's social bond. The participants were able to gossip as there was trust built around the community. From my observations with the new IntCom members, gossiping did not occur until the middle of the semester when they familiarized themselves with the members' personality. Extract 6.39 presents a time when there was noticeable gossiping happening during a meeting with the dance team.

Extract 6.39 (fieldnotes)

During the meeting, there was gossiping about other international students on how they are annoyed with [name 1] and that they had an issue with a girl called [name 2] but this seems resolved now. Leo and Lisa talked about [name 2]. They also talked about how they could easily see some international students flirting at parties. The members made Mei blush as she has a new boyfriend. Mei later told me about everything when I was on the way back to the station.

In extract 6.40, I ask Mei what makes her and some of the IntCom members very close and she responds that if you can gossip with someone it means that you are close (lines 2-3).

Extract 6.40 (interview 2 – Mei)

1. R: what makes you guys really close? how do you know you guys are close friends?
2. M: well we just like go out together and we just like gossip together [[[laughs]])] and stuff
3. and all when you can gossip with someone it's like oh you're close
4. R: [[[laughs]])] close enough to trust them
5. M: yea yea close enough to trust and we're like you won't tell because I heard about
6. really bad secrets ((laughs)) like really dumb some that they do like you won't tell anyone
7. if I tell anyone I'm rude but when you talk about really dumb stuff that you do like maybe
8. I couldn't say it was me it's like you feel like ah [you're connected and all]

Topics that frequently emerged in conversations between the participants were about couples and relationships. There were several new international student couples during the semester and stories about them were always interesting to chat about. Many of the stories were about how the couples would manage a long distance relationship after the semester ends or about some being on the verge of breaking up. Some other gossips were about issues or arguments the IntCom members had with others. For example, one of the main issues that occurred among the international students was about relationships with roommates. The international students who

first arrived at the university were assigned to a dormitory room with another student. The students usually had to share a room with a complete stranger in the beginning and at times they did not get along. Clara especially had conflicts with her roommate at the time. Extract 6.41 is a conversation the participants had about Clara who eventually made her roommate move out of the shared room because of her intimidating personality. Mei adds that whenever Clara was angry at her roommate she would swear in German.

Extract 6.41 (group conversation – Mei, Yuto; others present – Daniel, Researcher)

1. M: but Clara's someone that's really like strong like so I think she made her roommate
2. leave too
3. Y: shit ((laughs))
4. M: I feel that but I think probably Clara did that because every time she's so mad she
5. swears in German and I kind of understood

Adding humor to conversations was also a type of practice that strengthened friendships and maintained the community. Witty comments encouraged laughter and lightened the atmosphere in the community. Conversation in extract 6.42 happened at an Indian restaurant. Daniel decides to add a bit of humor in his words to get rid of his egg on his plate. Instead of again plainly saying that he would like to give someone an egg, he uses the word “sponsor” for a small laugh.

Extract 6.42 (group conversation – Daniel, Researcher, Kamile)

1. D: anyone wants some egg? I don't eat egg
2. R: are you sure that's an egg?
3. K: yea isn't it?
4. R: I don't have an egg
5. D: I'll sponsor you an egg
6. K: ((laughs))

There were also types of co-constructed humor in conversations (Coates, 2007; Holmes, 2006; Kalocsai, 2014; Matsumoto, 2014; Pullin, 2009). Extract 6.43 reveals a joke about the participants having to use a fork and a knife for their chicken steak menu. As the participants had been living in Korea for a while, they were quite used to using chopsticks. As soon as Mei gives out the forks and knives, Kamile responds in a sarcastic and funny way asking how to use a fork and knife as she has not used them for a while (line 1). Mei collaborates with Kamile, in line 2, saying that you do not use

such cutlery in Korea. The participants all have a big laugh in this conversation. Soon after, Daniel drops his cutlery and he adds another type of humor stating that he cannot take himself anywhere as he is like a little kid (lines 6-8). The audience goes for another laugh and Kamile quickly reacts again about not being used to using a fork and a knife (lines 11-13).

Extract 6.43 (group conversation – Kamile, Mei, Daniel, Researcher)

1. K: thank you a fork and knife? how do I use this? ((laughs))
2. M: ((laughs)) this is Korea we don't use knives in cafeteria [((laughs))]
3. D: [((laughs))]
4. [...]
5. *Daniel drops his cutlery*
6. D: I can't take myself anywhere
7. R: o:h
8. D: I'm like a little kid [((laughs))]
9. R: [((laughs))]
10. M: [((laughs))]
11. K: I'm not used to this anymore
12. D: yea
13. K: I don't own a fork or a knife

The next extract presents another example of collaborative humor. Prior conversation to extract 6.44, the participants were talking about certificates that are given out to IntCom members at the end of each semester. The certificates were actually forms of awards that came with different titles such as 'the most hard-working member', 'the best attendance' and 'the most participative'. In line 2, Kamile jokes about buying a certificate. Mei at first does not understand Kamile's joke (line 3), but after Daniel cooperates with Kamile's humor by saying "I got them for sale" (line 5), Mei comprehends the situation and responds by laughing.

Extract 6.44 (group conversation – Daniel, Kamile, Mei; others present – Researcher)

1. D: I just have a few
2. K: do you wanna buy a certificate?
3. M: buy?
4. K: why not?
5. D: I got them for sale
6. M: ((laughs))

Teasing through calling names was another element that commonly appeared in conversations. Yet, the participants avoided insulting or disrespectful names. Mei was the petite, perky and joyful member in the community who made people adore her.

Kamile and Mei were the closest to each other in the IntCom and Kamile who was more of an older sister like friend was the one making fun of Mei when some of her actions were like a little child. Extract 6.45 is set in a restaurant. In the first line, Mei expresses that she got some sauce on her and Kamile teases her by calling her a “piggy” in a cute way. Mei continuously displays her identity of acting like a little child and she seems used to Kamile making fun of her in this type of situation as she naturally moves on to the next conversation asking if Kamile has tried the menu yet (line 3).

Extract 6.45 (Group conversation – Mei, Kamile; others present – Daniel, Researcher)

1. M: a:w I got the sauce on me
2. K: piggy piggy
3. M: <Kr> aishi {shit} now it's on my leggings oh fine how you haven't tried
4. K: I did it's good
5. M: how is it yea
6. K: awesome
7. M: awesome yes

Prior to extract 6.46, the participants and I were chatting at a café terrace and coincidentally Kamile was passing by. In extract 6.46, Kamile asks Leo if he is supposed to have his shift. Leo answers that he has already done his shift and continues in a witty way that he is a “reasonable person” and so he would not skip his shift. This becomes a humorous conversation for the audience and Clara makes fun of both Kamile and Leo by addressing Kamile as “mother bear” who cares about his son Leo.

Extract 6.46 (group conversation – Kamile, Leo, Researcher, Clara Daniel; others present – Mei)

1. K: don't you have a shift?
2. L: I already had my shift
3. R: ((laughs))
4. L: I'm a reasonable person
5. C: ((laughs))
6. K: actually I
7. C: ((laughs)) mother bear is caring about you
8. D: yea

6.3 Shared identity constructions

Various types of identities were constructed in the community overtime and these were displayed through both interviews and naturally occurring group conversations. The participants were able construct their identities in the community without

hindrance or struggle (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). A mix of acceptance, resistance, adaptation and hybridization of different identities were freely negotiated during interviews and naturally occurring group conversations. In this section, identities in relation to language such as multilingual identity have been excluded. These can be found in the next chapter.

Section 6.3.1 illustrates how some of the participants revealed their cultural membership that were conventionally assumed by others, while section 6.3.2 shows resistance to this type of membership and adherence to a more global or local identity. There were also participants who demonstrated adaption to the local culture but still avoided its forms in different contexts. Section 6.3.3 displays how the participants saw themselves as transculturals in an international student community. In many cases, identity negotiations in the community have demonstrated a shared group identity; hence representing a sense of belonging.

6.3.1 Cultural identity

Leo was born and raised in Germany but as his parents were Italian immigrants, he embraced both cultural identities. He said he would cheer for both Germany and Italy if there were a sports game against the two nations. At the university, many students had customized jackets with the university's name, logo and their major; which was a form of revealing a part of their identity. Students who studied languages also had the flags of the country of the language on their jacket. In extract 6.47, Leo displays his identity by expressing his interest in wanting to speak to students who are wearing a jacket with a German or Italian flag. Leo is on the other side of the world from his hometown and he feels connected in some way when he sees these students. Daniel who is from South Africa also empathizes with Leo.

Extract 6.47 (group conversation – Leo, Researcher, Daniel)

1. L: every time I see someone with a German flag or Italian flag I really want to talk to them
2. ((laughs))
3. R: ((laughs)) yea
4. D: ((laughs)) I can imagine

Another example of Leo's cultural identity is found in extract 6.48. Leo is from Düsseldorf, Germany and he differentiates himself with German speakers from Austria and Switzerland by labeling their accents as "funny". His *audible* cues are what confirm his cultural and national identity as a German (Zhu, 2014: 205). In lines 7-9, he makes hand gestures to show the different levels of German language from his perspective. He explains that even Bavarian German, which is known for having a strong southeast accent in Germany, is still the closest to 'standard German' compared to Austrian or Swiss German. For him, Austrian German is on a lower level, and even below is Swiss German.

Extract 6.48 (group conversation – Leo, Daniel, Researcher)

1. L: like they don't speak really German in Austria because the accent is really funny
2. R: oh for you guys really
3. D: the same as Swiss German I guess
4. L: yea
5. D: completely different
6. L: German is like here <Gr> ja {yes}? like German this is Bavarian German this is Austrian
7. German and somewhere down there is [Swiss German] ((showing different levels with
8. hand)) ((laughs))
9. R: [Swiss German] really (((laughs)))
10. D: (((laughs)))
11. L: because it's so funny
12. D: yea
13. L: in German I always laugh my ass off ((laughs))

Yuto is from Japan and in extract 6.49, he interestingly describes how his East Asian identity lowered his confidence in speaking Korean when he first arrived in Korea. Yuto had an East Asian ethnicity and in line 6, he uses his *visible* cues (Zhu, 2014: 205) stating that he looks "like a Korean". He associates his ethnic identity with the appearance of Koreans. Previously, he experienced the locals regarding him as a Korean and so the locals would speak to him as if he was a native speaker of Korean. Yuto felt nervous about encountering the locals as he knew assuming from his appearance they would expect him to speak like a Korean. In other words, he felt obliged to speak Korean fluently to meet the locals' expectations although he was not at the stage yet.

Extract 6.49 (interview 2 – Yuto)

1. R: ok and so when you talk in Korean you're more nervous
2. Y: now it's not but=

3. R: =now it's not but when you first arrived?
4. Y: yea I really felt nervous
5. R: why was that?
6. Y: because I didn't have confident to talk in Korean and I look like Korean
7. R: ok ((laughs))
8. Y: I don't know it's Asian face so they talk to me in Korean fluently of course
9. R: oh ok so you feel like you would need to
10. Y: yea

Extract 6.50 overlaps with the current section and the next section on adaptation. In this extract, Mei discusses what she has learned while living in Korea in terms of friendships and relationships. In lines 3-4, Mei accepts her assumed cultural identity by commenting that she knows how the Malaysians behave when she is in Malaysia, yet she says in Korea it is “weird” and “different” for her. In lines 6-7 she acknowledges that she learned how to cope with people who come from different cultures. Although it was interesting to meet people from various backgrounds, she faced complex and diverse situations and also went through difficulties. Yet, in the end she adapted and learned how to deal with relationships at an international university (lines 11-13).

Extract 6.50 (interview 3 – Mei)

1. M: and then yea because you don't have your family here you have to rely on your friends
2. but then you have like friendship problems too and there's also relationship problem that
3. is weird because it's different cause you know like when I'm in Malaysia I know how the
4. Malaysians behave
5. R: mhm
6. M: but here it's like all foreigners and different people come
7. from different culture that's really different yea I learned about different countries too
8. R: mhm
9. M: how you cope with them
10. R: mhm
11. M: at first it was really interesting and then problems starts to get by and then yea
12. R: ok
13. M: I learned life and yea mostly like the relationship with different people
14. R: ok
15. M: I guess because this campus is really really diverse I think
16. R: mhm

6.3.2 Adaptation

The participants portrayed change and adaption of their identities in both the local and the global context. They have developed identities that would enable them to

integrate and socialize better in an intercultural environment. They also realized themselves gradually localizing and becoming more 'like a Korean'.

6.3.2.1 Global context

In extract 6.51, Daniel shows how he became “more adaptive” (line 4) to situations in Korea. For example, he learned how to “work with people of different cultures” and overcome language barriers. Daniel had been studying in Korea for three years and he explains how much easier it became to deal with differences (line 6). He believes that he had sub-consciously picked up things and learned how to behave differently over time.

Extract 6.51 (interview 3 – Daniel)

1. D: and I've kind of learned to work with people of different cultures often with a language
2. barrier and things like that
3. R: ok
4. D: I've managed to get sort of over that I mean I'm more adaptive to that and
5. R: mhm
6. D: it's a lot easier for me now than it was a few years ago
7. R: ok yea yea
8. D: I don't know what I've learned automatically I think like
9. R: ok
10. D: well sub-consciously I pick things up and
11. R: yea yea
12. D: do things differently

In extract 6.52, Daniel displays change in his personality. He expresses that he has “become more open-minded” compared to when he was in his home country. Daniel was born and raised in South Africa and was normally surrounded by the people from similar cultural and language backgrounds. However, when he arrived in Korea, he had to make the choice of letting go a part of this identity by “becoming more open-minded”, “more accepting” and “taking things easy”. He learned to be content with things that does not always work the way he wants to as well. He understood that in order to survive in a new global environment he had to experience transformation to a certain extent.

Extract 6.52(interview 2 – Daniel)

1. D: I've become more open minded
2. R: than when you were in South Africa?

3. D: yea I don't know that's the thing I accept a lot more things that I (.) I mean in terms of I
4. don't know I think I'm a lot more accepting like
5. R: ok
6. D: I would take things easy if some things doesn't go the way I prefer I would just be like
7. whatever
8. R: uhu
9. D: if it works it works
10. R: ok
11. D: it doesn't have to work the way I want it to

In extract 6.53, Kamile also provides a few indicators to demonstrate her transformation especially in terms of meeting new people which is what all of the participants had to face from their arrival at the university. She states that she has learned to communicate with others better and to be more open-minded (lines 1-4). In line 6, she reveals her pre-existing identity explaining that she is not an easy going person back in her home country. However, while living in Korea she had to withdraw her intolerance and stubbornness (lines 9-10) which would not have been useful in her social life in Korea. It can be seen that both Kamile and Daniel (extracts 6.51, 6.52) developed adaptive forms of identity.

Extract 6.53 (interview 3 – Kamile)

1. K: h:m I learned it's not about Korea maybe I learned how to talk with people better I
2. guess not to feel that awkward and
3. R: ok
4. K: and be more opened
5. R: what do you mean by talk with people better?
6. K: well I'm I'm back home I'm not the most easy going people person people person which
7. one
8. R: person
9. K: person ((laughs)) so maybe here I learned how to be more opened and talk easily don't
10. feel stubborn and then I would with the people I know already
11. R: so it's like you learned how to socialize with people
12. K: yea I think so

In extract 6.54, Yuto compares his previous character of when he was in Japan and what he has newly established while living in Korea. He states that he “didn’t talk that much before” and “didn’t hang out that much”. He later made a major change and met many international students and Koreans at the university. He admits it is a “good thing” that has happened to him. At other times, he seemed very thankful of the opportunity he had in Korea and the friends he had made there as he gained

confidence and became a different person. Even after he went back to Japan at the end of the semester in summer, he came to visit Korea twice within three months.

Extract 6.54 (interview 1 – Yuto)

1. Y: like I didn't talk that much before
2. R: uhu
3. Y: and I didn't um:: hang out that much [like]
4. R: [oh ok]
5. Y: like this [and] um:
6. [...]
7. R: oh ok but you socialize more in Korea?
8. Y: yea yea like meeting a lot of international students and Koreans yea that's a good thing

In extract 6.55, Yuto mentions that his personality has changed greatly while he has been in Korea (line 1). From this, he believes that it has become more feasible for him to find a job outside of Japan after he graduates (line 3). In line 7, Yuto confirms that this means he has become more open-minded and he straightaway links this to being the opposite of a Japanese. In lines 10 and 12, he again resists his own perception of Japanese identity by saying that he can talk to foreigners and Koreans which Japanese people normally would not do.

Extract 6.55 (interview 1 – Yuto)

1. Y: u::m like I told you know I really changed personally like characters
2. R: oh yea yea that's a good thing
3. Y: yea so I think I can work more outside Japan
4. R: ok
5. Y: that's possible I think and
6. R: do you think you've become more open minded?
7. Y: yea yea really open minded a lot of my Japanese friend told me like you're not
8. Japanese
9. [((laughs))]
10. R: [((laughs))] really you're very international
11. Y: yea I can talk to like foreigners
12. R: ok
13. Y: and Koreans but normally Japanese doesn't do it

6.3.2.2 Local context

In extract 6.56, I have provided Yuto with indexical cues such as 'becoming more 'Korean' and 'feeling like a Korean' (lines 1 and 10) as he was particularly explicit about his passion of living in Korea, making Korean friends and speaking Korean.

Yuto believes that he has some 'Koreanness' inside of him and attempts to prove this by stating that his Korean friends have told him he is "ninety percent Korean" (line 2). While in extract 6.55, Yuto resists the conventional character of a Japanese, in extract 6.56, he justifies his 'ninety percent Koreanness'. He exposes his identity of both accepting (extract 6.56) and resisting (extract 6.55) by bringing up what others have described about him. This time when the interview was conducted, Yuto improved his Korean speaking skills greatly and had made many Korean friends. In lines 6-7, he specifies that as he speaks to his Korean friends in Korean "all the time", they probably would feel as if they were talking to a Korean. When I have asked Yuto when he actually feels like a Korean, he answers about his behavior at restaurants. He says that he puts napkins beneath the cutlery and this is not done in Japan. In many small, shabby Korean eateries, normally the customer takes out the cutlery and napkins out of a small container placed on the table and many tend to put a napkin under the cutlery. Here, Yuto demonstrates an element of his localization in Korea.

Extract 6.56 (interview 2 – Yuto)

1. R: um have you become more Korean in some way
2. Y: Korean but my Korean friends said to me you're ninety percent Korean ((laughs))
3. R: really the way you behave
4. Y: yea ((laughs))
5. R: really ((laughs))
6. Y: or just I talk to them in Korean all the time so they feel like I'm Korean and they talking
7. to Korean
8. R: ok
9. Y: yea
10. R: what kind of like behavior do you think oh I feel really Korean
11. Y: when we went to the restaurant
12. R: ok
13. Y: we just serve chopstick with the paper to put on a
14. R: oh
15. Y: yea
16. R: is that a Korean thing?
17. Y: yea I think it's Korean culture
18. R: they don't do it in Japan?
19. Y: yea we don't do it
20. R: putting a napkin and a
21. Y: yea yea we don't do that

Koreans, especially ones who live in big cities, are used to a stereotypical culture called ‘ppali ppali munhwa’¹⁵ (fast fast culture). This type of uptight culture could be stressful or pressuring for some foreigners who first encounter this in Korea. In extract 6.57, Mei humorously provides examples of how she adapted to this ‘ppali ppali’ culture. She sometimes sees herself wanting to hurry up and do things faster but she does not understand why (lines 1-2). When she is waiting for others, normally she would not rush them but while she is in Korea she has started to tell people to hurry up (line 6). She reveals her adaptive behavior by putting aside her more relaxed personality. She understands that she has changed and become more like the locals in some way.

Extract 6.57 (interview 2 – Mei)

1. M: like normally we would just wait for people but now I'm like <Kr> ppali ppali {hurry
2. hurry} go faster I don't even know why I don't understand myself
3. R: you're in a hurry [you mean?]
4. M: [mhm] yea like everything we're like oh do it quickly like faster faster
5. R: oh ok
6. M: normally I would be like take your time but when we're here I'm like <Kr> ppali ppali
7. and then
8. R: ok I understand ((laughs))

In extract 6.58, Kamile aims to establish a local identity and not take the advantage of being a foreigner in Korea. She unleashes the fact about some foreigners who misbehave in Korea and make the excuse of being a foreigner to avoid harsh condemnation, by which she states ‘taking out the foreigner card’ (line 3). Although Kamile herself is a foreigner in Korea, she shows distance between herself and her perception of foreigners by referring to them as “they”. She connects herself to being more like a Korean, to living like how Koreans live (line 2).

Extract 6.58 (interview 1 – Kamile)

1. R: ok then what do you expect to gain from studying in Korea?
2. K: um be better at Korean and learn more culture and live like Koreans live because I
3. wanna learn I don't like the taking out oh I'm a <Kr> oegukin {foreigner} card because I
4. know a lot of people that do whatever the hell they want but there's a oegukin that why
5. like I don't like to go to Itaewon because it's just they don't care they don't care

¹⁵ For example, menus at restaurants are to be served very quickly, the internet speed needs to be rapid, public transportation is always expected to be on time and moving fast and huge amount of workloads needs to be done quickly.

Daniel who had been in Korea for more than three years at the time of the fieldwork, showed his affection and attachment towards Korea several times during my observations. Likewise, in extract 6.59, he negotiates a strong sense of membership of belonging in Korea. He describes how he felt negative in many aspects when he first arrived in Korea. Yet, overtime, he overcame his obstacles and frustration and he found his way around. His feelings progressed and he calls Korea his “second home”. Daniel, in his interviews, has exhibited his expert membership within the community. He told stories about him sending off many old members and accepting new members in the IntCom during the past three years. He was able to recall different generation of the members and compare in terms of their intimacy and active engagement. For example in extract 6.60, in lines 6, 8, 10, 12 and 14, he explains which years and semesters were “good” and “fun”. He also explains what he means by this in lines 18 and 27. He has experienced the struggles, the conflicts, the fun times and the rewarding moments with various members at different moments. He made many close friends, both international and Korean. I could understand that he felt comfortable in his position in Korea. He said that after graduation (he was in his last year), it was most likely that he would come back for visits.

Extract 6.59 (interview 2 – Daniel)

1. D: so when I got here the first thing I wanted to do is I wanted to get a sim card for my
2. phone
3. R: oh ok
4. D: and no one could help me
5. R: ok
6. D: and after that everything I thought nothing is working out I was pretty negative and
7. things like that
8. R: uhu
9. D: but then eventually I found my way
10. R: uhu
11. D: and just became my second home

Extract 6.60 (interview 2 – Daniel)

1. R: cause you've been here since your first year
2. D: yea yea
3. R: and you've seen the IntCom members come and go by
4. D: yea yea
5. R: compared to other years how is this year or is it like same as=
6. D: = uh no I think this year this semester especially is a lot of fun
7. R: oh really
8. D: last semester too the first my very first semester at the IntCom
9. R: uhu

10. D: was great
11. R: uhu
12. D: the second and third was kind of average
13. R: oh really
14. D: then last year it was good again yea
15. R: so it does really depend on=
16. D: =yea it depends yea
17. R: semester (.) what do you mean by really good?
18. D: like people are always outgoing and positive and things like that
19. R: oh ok
20. D: then (?) no one was motivated
21. R: oh ok
22. D: like I'm the same all the time
23. R: uhu
24. D: but like others they they just don't really they aren't into participating and stuff like
25. that
26. R: oh ok
27. D: but this semester everyone was keen to do everything

However, the participants did not always adhere to localization. At times, they rejected the perceived local identity and took on their existing identities. In extract 6.61, Daniel and Leo distance themselves from a collective identity in the classroom. Daniel mentions the classes he took where the majority were passive Korean students. He expresses his annoyance about the silent classroom environment when the professor asks questions (lines 2-3). Daniel would normally go against the class atmosphere and answer the questions as he feels sorry for the professor (line 10). Leo adds that this is the “studying culture” in Korea (line 12) and students focus on putting information in their head rather than speaking up in class. Leo also empathizes with Daniel and aligns resistance towards the local identity by saying he feels “uncomfortable in the silence” (line 17).

Extract 6.61 (group conversation – Daniel, Researcher, Leo)

1. D: and other than that like I don't know if you noticed but a lot of Korean classes um um
2. don't talk as much in class to the professor the professor will ask something and
3. everyone's quiet
4. R: oh yea yea yea
5. D: I get pretty annoyed with that so I'm the one that's always answering
6. R: oh really
7. D: I get really annoyed yea I feel like for me um imagining being the professor and talking
8. and getting low responses
9. R: mhm
10. D: so I feel sorry for the professor I answer all the time
11. R: yea they really don't answer
12. L: yea it's like the studying culture here it's like getting all the stuff in your head
13. [...]

14. L: someone ask questions but really rarely and when they ask questions nobody wants to
15. answer
16. R: ((laughs))
17. L: like after a while I feel really uncomfortable in the silence

6.3.3 Transcultural identity

The participants manifested liminal, fluid identities moving in and out of different domains or lingering in third space (Baker, 2009; 2011; Canagarajah, 2005; Kramsch 1993; 2009; 2011; Kumaravadivelu, 2008; Rampton, 1995). Furthermore, an international student identity was something the participants shared as transculturals and users of ELF in the community. Apart from their own existing identities they may have developed elsewhere in other contexts, they established a global citizenship identity by seeing themselves “in the same boat” with non-Korean students studying in Korea (Killick, 2012).

6.3.3.1 Third space and liminality

Daniel, from South Africa, presents his cultural identity (see section 6.3.1) and third space positioning at the same time in extract 6.62. He explains that he comes from both an English and Afrikaans origin and thus he could not choose which one he is more of when people asked him. Hence, it can be understood that when others have expected him to appoint himself to either an English or Afrikaans background, he certainly could not adopt one position as he believes that he is “literally in between them”.

Extract 6.62 (interview – Daniel)

1. D: yea because I come from a background that both English and Afrikaans I don't even
2. know which one I am I'm like really literally in between them
3. R: ok
4. D: because people here ask me if I'm English or Afrikaans and I'm like I don't know I'm
5. both I guess
6. R: ok

Mei also constructs a complex and interesting type of identity in extract 6.63. She freely negotiates her identity moving in and out of different boundaries, lingering in third space, accepting and resisting different attributes. I have asked Mei if she ever

feels like she is in between cultures and she responds by demonstrating her identity as 'nexus of multimembership' (Wenger, 1998: 149). She explains her middle position in lines 2-10. She relates to both the international and Korean students in different ways. She understands when the international students chat about how Korean students behave differently and vice versa. This is when she feels like she is in between as she identifies with both sides (line 12). She believes that this is because she is from Malaysia and she shares an Asian identity with the Koreans but also at the same time she detaches herself from the conventional character of East Asians by stating that "we're not like the typical typical Asians" (line 13). She assumes that her cultural identity of being Malaysian stands between East Asian and Western mindsets and behaviorism. She feels attached to both memberships by acknowledging herself of being an Asian but flexible enough to adapt to other contexts.

Extract 6.63 (interview 2 – Mei)

1. R: [[[laughs]]) ok do you ever feel like you're in between cultures sometimes?
2. M: in between (.) here kind of like when I'm mixing with the international student I feel
3. like ah we're all like we're not like we're just more opened and we feel like we talk like
4. stuff we know and all
5. R: mhm
6. M: but when I'm with Korean like ah sometimes I relate to them to and they're like stuff
7. that I relate and not relate like both ways
8. R: mhm
9. M: so they're like all the Koreans are like this and all and then for them they're like
10. international students are like this
11. R: ok
12. M: so it's like I'm in between like because Malaysia is actually like in Asia but we're not
13. like the typical typical Asians
14. R: mhm
15. M: so it's like I'm in the middle I feel that a lot
16. R: ok
17. M: because I hang out with both gangs and I attach with both so=
18. R: = so you know how to behave in each group
19. M: mhm

6.3.3.2 International student identity

The participants often referred to their membership of belonging to the international student community. They felt a lack of integration at the university and drew a line between themselves and the Korean students. This is because at times they believed they did not receive as much benefit as the Korean students at the university. For example, some participants had the impression that they were not welcomed when

they tried to join a club or society. Some others have complained that the circulated university emails were not always in English. Such as these examples, the international students have gone through similar struggles and they felt a sense of solidarity when they were together. In fact, integrating Korean and international students was one of the main aims the IntCom pursued. Yet, it was always a challenging task for the members. In extract 6.64, Kamile explains that it is easier to become closer to international students than Korean students as everyone is “in the same boat”. They share the same feelings such as missing their family, friends and food from their home countries.

Extract 6.64 (interview 1 – Kamile)

1. K: it's really easy to get close to people in a situation like this because everyone seems in
2. the same boat they're missing their friends they're missing their family they're missing
3. their food

In extract 6.65, Daniel gives out the same type of expression as Kamile, “in the same box/boat”. Because of this identity the participants shared, they found it easier to get along with other international students. They could empathize with one another. In lines 7-8, Daniel also states that international students try to make use of the situations they are surrounded by with people “equally as less experience as them”. In extract 6.66, Leo brings up another interesting point about what it is like to be an international student in Korea. There were several instances where communicating with locals was challenging. Hence, Leo recognizes the reality that you tend to depend on the people who can speak the local language. This was an undeniable fact that I have observed throughout the semester. For example, Kamile had one of the Korean IntCom members accompany her to a part-time job interview in case there would be some miscommunication. There was also when Clara wanted to get an ear piercing and I went with her to translate for her.

Extract 6.65 (interview 3 – Daniel)

1. D: um I think probably non-Korean friends
2. R: ok
3. D: because you're kind of in the same situation you're thrown in the same box
4. R: ok
5. D: boat or whatever
6. R: uhu
7. D: and then you have to try to make use of it use with other people with equally as less
8. experience as them

9. R: ok
10. D: to get around

Extract 6.66 (group conversation – Leo, Mei; others present – Researcher, Daniel)

1. L: you're so dependent like from people who speak the language
2. M: mhm

Yet, I have noticed Mei actually getting to a point where she was able to help out in translating and she was the one doing the favors for her international student friends. For example, in extract 6.67, Mei shows how she mediated between three cultures (i.e., Korean, Chinese and Malaysian). She had become one of the “expert members” of the community (Kalocsai, 2014: 98).

Extract 6.67 (interview 2 – Mei)

1. M: I think it's really positive because when I'm here there's a lot of foreigners
2. R: mhm
3. M: the Koreans always go into the room and they're like you're here you
4. speak Chinese right come and help me translate
5. R: mhm
6. M: and like oh there's this Malay girl and nobody can speak that language
7. and they just like grab me
8. R: ok
9. M: and I can help translate and it makes life easier
10. R: ok so it's a really good thing

Although the participants characterized themselves of multifarious and dynamic identifications, they at times based their justifications through stereotypes and generalizations of particular social groups they belonged to. For example, in extract 6.55 (section 6.3.2.1), Yuto withdraws his existing national identity which he describes and he categorizes himself as someone who is social and can talk to foreigners easily. He differences himself with stereotypes of passive Japanese people while he is also a Japanese who does not comply with the stereotype. In extract 6.58 (section 6.3.2.2), Kamile also contradictorily distanced herself with non-Koreans in Korea by referring to them as foreigners who do not care when she generalized that many of them cause trouble in society. However, she actually used the aforementioned expression “in the same boat” when talking about her and other non-Korean students at the university (extract 6.64).

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter closely examined the members' social and linguistic practices to describe the everyday life in the IntCom and to understand how the members freely negotiated various types of identity. The participants built on the community by pursuing the joint enterprise which was to accommodate new incoming international students at the university. The membership of the IntCom was defined by the various shared activities (e.g., creating and managing events, work shifts, Secret Santa, traveling, partying). Although, it seems as if the members had heavy workloads and responsibilities in the IntCom, they were able to achieve this from their trust with one another and from the close friendship they have built within the community. Strong social bonding occurred particularly through gossips and humor. The shared repertoires developed through the accumulation of mutual engagement and the participants learned what was appropriate in the community. The habitual practices were forms of cultural 'doings' and were always negotiated by the participants informing them of what is meaningful in the community. As for the discourse topics, the participants tended to discuss cultures in conversations. For example, they compared their culture with others' or they informed interesting cultures they were aware of. Hence, ELF communication took on various languacultures. This also demonstrated the fluidity of language and cultures in transnational discursive flows.

Lastly, the participants revealed diverse identity negotiations. While some accepted conventionally assumed identities some others have emphasized their resistance towards them. Many of the participants demonstrated adaptation towards the new environment they encountered. The participants had to give up some of their qualities and embrace being more opened, tolerant and social in order to integrate and survive in their global environment. There was also a display of flexibly moving around different boundaries and at times remaining in third space. Lastly, another type of identity the participants shared was global citizenship identity as international students. This was even more apparent in the community as they appreciated each other going through similar struggles and they were explicit about it. The next chapter narrows down the findings of shared linguistic repertoires and provides a more expanded and detailed view of the multilingual aspects of the

community. The particular focus is on the 'languages' and 'linguaging' that were intensely involved in the participants' daily lives.

Chapter 7 Multilingual students' perceptions and practices

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings from the fieldwork as well as addressing research questions 1a and 1c by exploring interviews and naturally occurring group conversations. This chapter begins with the participants' perceptions on mixing languages and the role of ELF and Korean in the community. In the next section, I look at the participants' linguistic practices of when they overtly have conversations about language(s), by which I label as their code-switching practices (see section 3.4). Then, I focus on the participants' translanguaging practices and provide triangulation with my observation fieldnotes and interview data. Although I have specific sections on the role of ELF and Korean, they can also be identified throughout the extracts in this chapter. These are delineated in the last section which includes the summary and conclusion. In this chapter, I ostensibly make distinctions between discrete named languages (e.g., English, Korean, Japanese) solely for the benefit of my analysis. However, it is worthy of noting that my participants do not label such boundaries unless they are overtly discussing language(s)¹⁶.

7.2 Multilingual identity and language perceptions

7.2.1 Mixing language resources

In my interviews, I asked all four of my main participants (Kamile, Daniel, Mei, Yuto) if they tend to mix languages in their daily lives and their views about this. All of them confirmed that mixing languages is an inevitable part of their lives and revealed their multilingual identities providing positive and negative/ complex views. Interestingly, they did not give examples of when they overtly had conversations about language but they described situations where they naturally used their multilingual resources

¹⁶ While the conceptualization of categorizing discrete named languages has been problematic (as explained in chapter 3), it would seem contradictory describing such named languages when analyzing and presenting data. However, as Seargeant and Tagg (2011) point out, the 'post-varieties' approach can provide a better understanding of language use in diverse linguistic contexts.

in conversations (except for one of Yuto's examples in extract 7.3). The participants have discussed 'translanguaging' (see section 3.4) in this sense although I have not explicitly mentioned this term or explained this phenomenon in the interviews. In this section, I also provide examples of when the participants recognize boundaries between languages and when they see their linguistic practices as a whole making the separation difficult between languages.

7.2.1.1 Complex and negative views

In extract 7.1, it can be clearly understood that Kamile is discussing translanguaging and it is arduous for her to separate her language resources. She seems to have a complex mind which she is not positive about. For example, in lines 2-3, Kamile acknowledges that she mixes languages quite often and it is "hard" to avoid this as her "brain doesn't work properly". She discusses as if mixing languages is a deficit for her. In lines 4-5, she says that she uses English words in Lithuanian conversations as she cannot remember certain words. Then in lines 7-8, she gives an example of a Korean word she often uses in English conversations and again says that it is "hard" not to use Korean words. In lines 11-12, Kamile reassures that she is negative about mixing languages and she views it as something messy as her "emotions and thoughts are all over the place". Though, she gives an interesting comment at the end by saying that "you use whatever language you need to" (lines 12-13) in order to keep the conversation going. Thus, she uses her multilingual resources to proceed a natural flow of conversations without interruption (i.e., without having to think too much for certain words). In order to go into depth about why Kamile had negative feelings towards mixing languages I decided to revisit this topic in the second interview.

Extract 7.1 (interview 1 – Kamile)

1. R: oh ok do you tend to mix languages sometimes?
2. K: yes yes a lot my Lithuanian friends and my mom hates me for that because when I'm
3. especially speaking Lithuanian it's really hard for me my brain doesn't work properly and I
4. can't like there's so many words that I can't translate in in Lithuanian and I just I say it in
5. English
6. [...]
7. K: like I put in <Kr> haksengshikdang {student cafeteria} because it's like school cafeteria
8. for students just like it's it's hard
9. [...]
10. R: are you forgetting?
11. K: I don't think so but it is hard when I have something to tell it's it's a little bit tough

12. because my emotions all over the place my thoughts are all over the place it's just like you
13. use whatever language you need to

As seen in extract 7.2, my interpretation of Kamile's thoughts about mixing languages was negative as expected. Kamile gives an interesting reason for this in line 5. She believes mixing languages indicate some kind of struggle in being able to use her mother tongue. When I have asked her why, in line 7 she answers that society influences her to think this certain way. She has linked this to a contested form of language ideology (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001). In line 8, she discusses how there are many Lithuanian words that come from the Russian language (later in the interview I found out that she means loanwords) and it is more socially acceptable to use "true" (see line 12) Lithuanian. This extract reminded me of a similar situation in Korea and thus I could easily relate to Kamile's comments. There are many Japanese loanwords (or borrowings) in the Korean language since the Japanese colonial period (1910 – 1945) and thus, Koreans in society have initiated various movements and campaigns on discarding Japanese loanwords and using 'pure' Korean words (although interestingly they are not sensitive about Korean English¹⁷ words in general). In line 16, Kamile reveals her inevitability of mixing languages despite her negative view. She admits that if she is with a Lithuanian friend who is also able to communicate in Korean and English, it is likely that she would mix all her language resources. Yet, Kamile has not discussed whether she is as negative about mixing languages when her L1 is not involved (e.g., her mixing Korean and English) but it can be assumed from extracts 7.1-7.2 that she is generally not positive about it.

Extract 7.2 (interview 2 – Kamile)

1. K: and I would say I think it's on the negative side
2. R: for you
3. K: yea I think so
4. R: ok
5. K: because it's not ok if I'm struggling to use my mother tongue I don't think it's ok
6. R: ok why is it negative do you think it's u:h
7. K: society makes me think that way I guess ((laughs)) because I have a lot of friends who
8. are really Lithuanian because Russian (.) we have a lot of words that are Russian changed
9. into Lithuanian

¹⁷ With adaptation to Shim's definition (1994), Hadikin (2014: 10) refers Korean English to 1) Koreanization of Japanized English loanwords, 2) nativization of English loanwords, 3) Englishization of Korean lexis, 4) Phonology and 5) Influences of English on Korean discourse.

10. R: oh
11. [...]
12. K: and it's not true Lithuanian so a lot of my friends was like you should stop using like
13. that
14. R: oh ok but what if the Lithuanian friend you meet what if she knows Korean and
15. English?
16. K: I'm probably gonna use Korean and English with her ((laughs))
17. R: yea
18. K: that's [how it was with her] yea yea

When Yuto was asked if he ever mixes languages in his daily life, in extract 7.3, he provides a unique answer relating this to the complexity of using his multilingual resources. He remembers a particular experience he had the previous year during his summer vacation in Busan, a coastal city in the south of Korea. He went with four international student friends but he was the only one who could communicate in Korean. This extract presents how he was internally languaging his multilingual resources. In Busan, Yuto was the language mediator between his friends and the local people. Yuto's friends asked him questions in English so that Yuto could ask the locals in Korean (lines 4-9). In Yuto's mind he had to translate the questions to Japanese and then re-construct them in Korean (line 8). Then when the local people answered in Korean, he had to translate it to Japanese to provide his friends the answer in English (line 10). At that time, for Yuto, the languaging process had to be either English-Japanese-Korean or Korean-Japanese-English. He was a skilled multilingual communicator who exploited his language resources in this situation. He says it was a very difficult but a good experience of practicing all three languages. However, here we can understand from Yuto's answer that he perceives the existence of language boundaries. Although, externally it may seem that Yuto is translanguaging, internally and consciously he draws lines between Korean, Japanese and English. Still, Yuto does admit that it was very difficult to manage separating his language resources.

Extract 7.3 (interview 1 – Yuto)

1. Y: ah yea like last August I went to Busan with four international students from Germany
2. and two Czech and Swedish
3. R: ok
4. Y: and like at the time that was like <Kr> Chuseok {Korean thanksgiving holiday} then the
5. four friends cannot speak Korean at all [and they asked me] all the time Yuto ask it in
6. Korean Yuto ask it Yuto ask it so I talked with them in English
7. R: (((laughs))) mhm
8. Y: and think about it Japanese in my mind ((laughs)) and talk to them in Korean

9. R: in Korean
10. Y: and listen it and [think in Japanese again] and talk to them in English
11. R: [oh so there's a lot going on in your mind] ((laughs)) ok
12. Y: it was really hard ((laughs))
13. R: oh yea ((laughs))
14. Y: it was a really good experience

In the second interview with Yuto in extract 7.4, I brought up one of his comments from the previous interview about him mixing Korean and English sometimes and I have asked him if this is something positive for him. It can be seen from this extract that Yuto is negative about mixing languages when it comes to Korean and English, though I could not get confirmation about his thoughts on mixing his L1 (i.e., Japanese) and other languages. At the time of the fieldwork Yuto studied Korean language at the university and he was an advanced speaker of Korean. He joined the IntCom so that he could improve his Korean with the Korean members and learn from doing administrative work in Korean. In line 6, he states that his “goal is to talk in Korean all the time” by which he means speaking only in Korean during Korean conversations. However, he explains that he would mix languages if he did not know some words in Korean (lines 6-7). He would have to use English to find out the Korean expression. Thus, for Yuto, mixing languages implies a barrier that hinders him from reaching his goal. This could be linked to Kamile’s answer in extract 7.2, where she expresses mixing languages as a ‘struggle’ to speak a certain language. Yuto did not provide an example of his translanguaging practices in the second interview (I believe it did not come to his mind then). He was perhaps the only participant who was quite determined about avoiding mixing languages unless necessary.

Extract 7.4 (interview 2 – Yuto)

1. R: do you think it's a positive thing? you like mixing languages?
2. Y: no ((laughs))
3. R: you don't like it in general
4. Y: yea
5. R: ok why not
6. Y: u:m my goal is to talk in Korean all the time to Koreans but sometimes I don't know
7. some words and they try to explain about the words in English

Furthermore, in extract 7.5, Mei describes a good English speaker as someone who does not mix a lot of “foreign language[s]”. This contradicts her view on

translanguaging and on the relation between multilingual practices and language fluency which is explained in extracts 7.9-7.11. Throughout her interviews she showed strong advocacy towards translanguaging and the use of multilingual resources. However, she appears to perceive two sides of translanguaging. She believes that skillful translanguaging shows language competence whereas translanguaging that occurs due to uncertainty or ignorance indicates language deficiency or the struggle to use the language such as how Kamile said her “brain doesn’t work properly” (extract 7.1).

Extract 7.5 (interview 2 – Mei)

1. M: German people are like how do you say this word
2. ((laughs)) and they speak to me in German and I'm like what (.) if you
3. don't use like much foreign language when you speak English I think
4. that's our definition I guess
5. R: ok
6. M: mhm
7. R: but it doesn't necessarily mean perfect grammar or
8. M: no because even me I don't think I speak perfect grammar in any language
9. R: ok
10. M: even when I text like we just text like blah

7.2.1.2 Positive views

Daniel and Mei particularly provided affirmative comments on translanguaging and made connections with cosmopolitan ideologies (Canagarajah, 2013). Before extract 7.6, Daniel said that he is a native speaker of both English and Afrikaans and I asked if he ever mixes the two languages. He replied that he mixes Afrikaans and English particularly with his grandfather. He explains in line 1 that his grandfather “throws in Afrikaans words” in their English conversations “all the time”. It can be seen that Daniel is positive about this phenomenon as in line 3 he mentions that this is something “quite cool”. In lines 5, 7, and 9, Daniel also talks about a situation when he Skypes his grandfather, his roommate, who is Spanish, cannot understand half of the conversation as there is frequent meaning making and negotiation occurring in Afrikaans and English. This type of translanguaging has been a special way of communicating between Daniel and his grandfather.

Extract 7.6 (interview 1 – Daniel)

1. D: but he throws in Afrikaans words all the time
2. R: oh ok
3. D: so that's quite cool
4. R: oh ok it's really interesting=
5. D: =like when I um when I Skype my grandpa something and my roommate he listens
6. R: uhu
7. D: he says he just picks up random words
8. R: oh ok
9. D: he doesn't know what the others half means

Daniel previously described in the first interview how he naturally mixes Afrikaans and English with his family in South Africa and that he speaks and understands Korean to some extent. I had a follow up question in the second interview in extract 7.7 for this asking him what he thinks of this type of multilingualism in his life and recapped his examples of having 'Afrikaans and English' and 'Korean and English' in same conversations. As seen in the extract, Daniel is positive and opened about multilingualism (i.e., both having the knowledge of different languages and translanguaging in this context). In lines 1-2 he believes that multilingualism "opens doors" to things such as being able to communicate with people you have not thought of before. In lines 12 and 14, he argues that it is much more meaningful when you are able to communicate in "something" (although it is not clear whether he is discussing different languages or translanguaging in this case) that is commonly spoken around you compared to when "you just stick to one little area" (i.e., adhering to using solely one language). Although Daniel is a NSE and English is pervasively spoken at the university, he himself uses Korean resources in English conversations and he links this to social bonding in the next extract.

Extract 7.7 (interview 2 – Daniel)

1. D: I think it's quite important well it opens doors to things like you get to communicate
2. with people you didn't think of before so forth
3. R: ok
4. D: um I don't know for me it's kind of normal to be bilingual at least
5. R: ok
6. D: especially from back home
7. R: ok
8. D: I think if you just speak one not necessarily like well put it this way I think
9. multilingualism is important if you speak a language that's not spoken outside of your
10. own country
11. R: ok
12. D: like if you just stick this one little area it's not gonna mean much

13. R: uhu
14. D: but if you speak something spoken all around or more commonly
15. R: mhm
16. D: it means a lot more

In extract 7.8, Daniel offers an example of when he mixes Korean and English with friends at the university. In line 1, he explains that they mix the two languages for “fun”. In line 8, he believes that he mixes languages with his friends as they are “opened” about it. In this extract, it can be noted that Daniel views his and his friends’ identity as multilinguals and they have fun using their shared linguistic repertoires. This reveals an aspect of how social bonding develops in an international student community through translanguaging.

Extract 7.8 (interview 2 – Daniel)

1. D: and also we do like just to like make fun when my friends are coming like <Kr> ppali
2. {hurry} come now quickly
3. R: oh yea yea
4. D: and things like that
5. R: or saying hi or bye
6. D: yea yea <Kr> annyeong {hi, bye} annyeong
7. R: yea ((laughs))
8. D: yea we tend to mix a lot cause usually like we're more opened about it I think

In extract 7.9, Mei presents how she mixed languages with Elena and her other friends (from France and Germany) when they visited Mei’s hometown in Malaysia during winter vacation. Similar to Daniel in extract 7.8, Mei links translanguaging practices to social bonding. As seen from line 1, Mei describes mixing languages as “a secret language” among friends who understand the same bits of languages. With Elena, the shared linguistic repertoires were English, Korean and Spanish. Mei preferred to mix languages with Elena and her other friends in Malaysia so that others would not be able to understand their conversations. This was a fun social act for them. In lines 11 and 14, she also mentions how mixing languages is an “automatic” and “natural” phenomenon when the speakers are aware of the shared languages. It is something that happens naturally to negotiate meaning. Furthermore, in line 12, Mei explains that her and her friends communicate in “a mixed language” as if it was a type of ‘language’ they had in common which is in fact, a comprehensive bulk of the shared linguistic resources.

Extract 7.9 (interview 1 – Mei)

1. M: and sometimes it's like a secret language like when they came to my country cause if
2. we speak English [everyone would know it] so we just use Korean (.) English (.) Korean (.)
3. English¹⁸
4. R: [a::h] you did that when Elena came to Malaysia?
5. M: yea ((laughs)) like I use a little bit of like Spanish and Korean cause my Spanish is not
6. that good and her Korean is not that good so it's like a mixture
7. R: oh so you guys know some words
8. M: mhm so it's like a mixture of words
9. [...]
10. M: so when you talk it's like if you know someone knows this and this language you
11. automatically mix it [so] when they came to Malaysia it's so automatic because my friends
12. know all those language so I just mix I just talk with them in a mixed language
13. R: [a::h ok] oh ok
14. M: cause it's really natural if you know

In extract 7.10, Mei continues her story in Malaysia when her friends visited her. She illustrates how her friends could not understand her Malaysian friend's English because there was a mix of the local slang and various words that were not English. In line 4, Mei says that this type of English is “normal” in the local context but still local people would adapt their English to foreigners who would not be able to understand them. Again in lines 12 and 14, Mei calls this phenomenon very “normal” in Malaysia and says it displays language fluency when being able to mix different languages such as English, Malay, Cantonese and Mandarin.

Extract 7.10 (interview 1 – Mei)

1. M: like when my friend came she couldn't like my friend she couldn't understand like my
2. friend's English cause there's too much slangs and all the words that's not English
3. [...]
4. M: like my friends cause it's like normal with people if they know you are foreigner so
5. they speak to you in like the English you would know but when I'm with my friends they
6. doesn't understand it
7. R: ah
8. M: because we mix too much stuff in the words.
9. R: is it like Malay English?
10. M: like sometimes I like mix Cantonese and Malay [in it and like everything]
11. R: [really (.) must be very hard then]
12. M: like for us it's really normal (.) it's really fluent (.) but for them it's kinda hard=
13. R: =so you can understand everything in your country
14. M: mhm for me it's normal because like yea I know the languages and all
15. R: that's really interesting

¹⁸ Here Mei means mixing bits of Korean and English resources rather than ‘Korean English’.

A follow up question for Mei was asked in the second interview to draw out a more detailed answer and to better understand translanguaging in her life. I have asked how she feels about her mixing languages and in extract 7.11, she expresses that it is something “easy” and it makes her feel “comfortable” (line 2). Here we can appreciate that mixing languages is part of Mei’s identity and this phenomenon has been an aspect that manifested throughout her life in Malaysia. However, in line 4, Mei reveals that it was difficult when she first arrived in Korea because she was used to mixing all her language resources (i.e., English, Malay, Cantonese and Mandarin) in Malaysia. In order for her interlocutors in Korea to understand her, she says in line 7 that she needs to speak “English English” by which she means using only English without mixing languages. Yet, in lines 9-11, she confesses that she is not even sure whether certain words she uses are English or Malay. This directly links to Makoni and Pennycook’s (2012: 447) argument that “in lingua franca multilingualism languages are so deeply intertwined and fused into each other that the level of fluidity renders it difficult to determine any boundaries that may indicate that there are different languages involved”.

Extract 7.11 (interview 2 – Mei)

1. M: mixing if I'm with like back in Malaysia because I know they know all the languages so
2. it's really easy I feel really comfortable
3. R: mhm
4. M: oh and when I first came here it was kind of hard because I'm really really used to
5. mixing all the languages
6. R: oh ok
7. M: and I have to like I need to speak English English now
8. [...]
9. M: some of the words I'm not even sure if it's English or not like I thought maybe it's a
10. Malay word but I'm not so sure because I just use it every time and many people just ask
11. me like oh what are you talking about like oh and I slowly change

Although Kamile generally had a negative view on mixing languages (extracts 7.1-7.2), she had an interesting overlap with Mei’s comment on the relation between mixing language and comfortableness. In extract 7.12, Kamile believes that she tended to mix languages with her Lithuanian friend as she was “feeling pretty comfortable” with her and thus at that time she said “whatever was on her mind” (line 5). Then again in line 10-11, she remarks that if she could focus enough she can use one language but if she is in “a comfortable environment” she would mix her language resources.

Extract 7.12 (interview 2 – Kamile)

1. K: depends depends who I talk to for example again I went out with the Lithuanian girl
2. and I couldn't say a proper sentence in Lithuanian
3. R: oh ok
4. K: I wouldn't I couldn't even know how to (?) cause I wasn't trying to maybe that's why I
5. was feeling pretty comfortable with her so I was saying whatever was on my mind and I
6. was too lazy to translate and I was just talking half English half Lithuanian
7. R: oh cause you speak three languages now
8. K: yea
9. R: ((laughs))
10. K: so it's hard I think (.) it depends on the situation I think if I would focus enough I can
11. use one language but if I'm in a comfortable environment I use all of them

7.2.2 The role of ELF

During interviews, I have asked the main participants on their perceptions of English and they have naturally linked it to their context at the university. Some main questions asked were about the role of English, how they feel about their own English, what it means to be a good English speaker and how important Korean English is in the local context. The participants generally discussed their use of English in conversations with other international students in social contexts and thus I categorize this as ELF. Moreover, the reason I have included Korean English in this section is because I have noticed the participants identifying Korean English as a type of English rather than as a part of the Korean language.

In the second interview with Mei, I have asked her what the role of English is in her life. In extract 7.13, Mei is very positive about the global spread of English and believes that it is crucial to know English in order to “survive” in the world. She adds on to this saying that the role of English for her is “communicating [with] the world”.

Extract 7.13 (interview 2 – Mei)

1. M: English in my life like I think it's a really globalized language so it's really good you can
2. speak English to EVERYONE
3. R: ok
4. M: so I think knowing English is actually really really good
5. R: uhu
6. M: like and kind of worried like how do the people that don't know English survive else
7. where
8. R: ok
9. M: because even like English is like almost everyone's second language or something
10. R: mhm
11. M: it's really good the role in general I think is like communicating the world

12. R: mhm
13. M: like connecting and everything

During my observations, I have noticed how often the participants evaluated others' English proficiency by stating that someone's English is 'good' or 'bad'. Hence, I thought it would be useful to discover what they meant by this and have the participants reflect on the judgements they made about someone's English. I have asked Daniel what it means to be a good English speaker for him. Daniel was a NSE from South Africa and so I was particularly interested in what his point of view was. He answered that "as long as she or he can get the message through without having to think and stop all the time" the person can be a fluent speaker of English (see appendix I). Then in extract 7.14, he admits that he himself makes grammar mistakes "all the time" (line 1) and this is why he especially does not care about others' mistakes (line 4) as long as he can understand what they are intending to say (line 6).

Extract 7.14 (interview 2 – Daniel)

1. D: but yea like personally I make grammar mistakes myself all the time I don't even
2. notice it
3. R: ok
4. D: that's why when other people talk I don't really care
5. R: uhu
6. D: as long as I understand what they say

When Yuto was asked if he pays attention to certain 'mistakes' when others are speaking English, he answered that he notices them sometimes but it does not bother him much. However, he said that in some cases when he cannot understand someone's pronunciation it could be a problem. In extract 7.15, Yuto perceives a good English speaker as someone who can speak the language "really confidently" (line 3) whereas the opposite would be if the speaker seems "scared" or "confused" (line 11) when using English. In line 19, Yuto explains that this is the reason why he does not care about grammar mistakes him or others make in English conversations.

Extract 7.15 (interview 2 – Yuto)

1. R: ok um and in your case what does it mean to be good in English? if you say oh she's
2. good in English he's good in English what does it mean to you?
3. Y: h:m h:m I think when they talk in English really confidently
4. R: oh ok
5. Y: yea
6. R: yea yea

7. Y: just I can see if the person is scared
8. R: mhm
9. Y: to talk in English
10. R: ok
11. Y: I can h:m I feel like ah she's scared or she's confused to say
12. R: ok
13. Y: but if the person is really confident to talk
14. R: mhm
15. Y: that's really good thing I think
16. R: ok so that's good in English and if you're bad in English you're scared or quiet
17. Y: yea
18. R: or confused
19. Y: yea that's why I don't care about the mistakes

In extract 7.16, Kamile discusses how she is a person who is “scared of people judging” her (line 1). This has influenced her when she first came to Korea. As seen in lines 2-3, Kamile was worried about making mistakes when speaking in English in the beginning. However, she realized that it is very common to “[make] mistakes” (line 4) and seeing people around her that are “not perfect” (lines 4-5) with their English eased her. In lines 8-9, she still mentions that she sometimes feels “intimidated” when speaking to a NSE she is not close to.

Extract 7.16 (interview 2 – Kamile)

1. K: I'm not a perfectionist but I'm scared of people judging
2. me and they'll be like when I ask again they'll think I'm dumb and so like that so before
3. coming to Korea I thought that my English has to be perfect and don't wanna make
4. mistakes but after coming and seeing all the people they also makes mistakes and they're
5. so not perfect I just relax
6. [...]
7. R: so with friends especially it really doesn't matter?
8. K: doesn't bother me u:h recently talking with native speakers sometimes I feel
9. intimidated
10. R: ok
11. K: but not with everyone if I'm not close to a person I don't feel comfortable with him
12. but other than that if a person is a foreigner I'm fine
13. R: ok

In extract 7.17, Kamile unintentionally reconfirms her comments during a naturally occurring group conversation. She explains that when she first came to Korea, she was “so nervous” about her English as she made many “mistakes”. However, now she is more relaxed and she is “just making sounds” that are “kind of correct”. This seems that she is less conscious about her English and her utterances are naturally coming

out of her mouth whether they are ‘mistakes’ or not but she hopes people would be able to understand her.

Extract 7.17 (group conversation – Kamile; others present: Researcher and Daniel)

1. K: no but it's really this is really in the beginning at the first time I went to the exchange
2. program I couldn't I was so nervous about my English all the time making mistakes and
3. now I'm just like seriously making sounds it's kind of correct I hope you understand me

In extract 7.18, Kamile mentions how she sometimes felt intimidated when talking to NSEs. I have asked what language feature she particularly cared about. In line 2, Kamile answers “grammar”, but from line 4, it appears that Kamile is actually discussing her use of vocabulary. In lines 4-5 and 8-9, she believes that her English sounded “awkward” and “unnatural” because of the word choices she made from watching various scientific TV shows that had many professional terms such as ‘House’ (an American medical drama). Here, we can understand that it was not necessarily the non-nativeness of her English Kamile was anxious about but it was the unnaturalness of the words she may have used that made her feel her English was not in the right place.

Extract 7.18 (interview 2 – Kamile)

1. R: what did you pay attention to when you were actually when you were intimidated=
2. K: = I think grammar
3. R: grammar
4. K: mhm I don't know I was probably using all the words that are probably sound awkward
5. because again I watched House I watched all kinds of scientific shows I learned about the
6. meanings
7. R: uhu
8. K: so I think like a lot of my English was unnatural because I was trying to make myself
9. look good like good at speaking English I was using a lot of awkward words I think maybe
10. even now

In extract 7.19, similar to Kamile, Mei also cared much about her English when first arriving in Korea. However, unlike Kamile, Mei's concern was not about making ‘mistakes’ or being ‘unnatural’ but using English resources that would not be commonly used or understood among ELF speakers in Korea. In lines 4-6 she reveals the fact that it was very difficult for her to first understand and speak ‘American English’, which was the common type of English people in Korea were exposed to Mei was Malaysian and thus more familiar with ‘British English’. However, overtime, Mei has decided not to think about this too much and to use the English she is used to; yet

she had to get rid of the local slangs she would mix with in Malaysia. Kamile and Mei's examples present how encountering different types of English and using their 'own English' in a new context outside of their country may be daunting in the beginning, but when it comes to ELF conversations, they realize that this is not an issue.

Extract 7.19 (interview 2 – Mei)

1. M: for now it's like nothing I don't really care but at the beginning I cared about it so
2. much because like
3. R: why
4. M: because they all use American English [here] and I don't really understand them I
5. have to like listen and when I speak at first I tried so hard because they say like can't and
6. all I tried to speak the language they actually understand and then I'm just like I don't
7. give a fuck ((laughs))
8. R: [mhm] now it doesn't matter
9. M: I was like I can't do that
10. R: so you don't care anymore
11. M: I don't care anymore I speak whatever I want and it's also because I'm used to getting
12. rid of all the slangs I used
13. R: mhm
14. M: so it's like I don't really have to care anymore

Prior to extract 7.20, I have asked Daniel if he adapts his English depending on who he talks to. In lines 1-3, he states that his English would be more "simplified" and "slower" if his interlocutor knows very basic English. He would aim at getting the meaning across clearly. Then Daniel provides a similar view with Mei. In line 5, he comments that even with Marc, who is American, he would have to adapt his English and try to use the words Marc would understand better whereas with Mei he would not change the way he speaks as both are familiar with 'British English'. In this case, it can be noted that Daniel feels the necessity to adapt his English not only when he is with a NNSE who has low proficiency in English but also when he is with a NSE who is not familiar with the type of English Daniel normally uses.

Extract 7.20 (interview 2 – Daniel)

1. D: um when I meet people that got a relatively basic understanding of English I would
2. keep it very simplified I mean I would still be myself but just a bit slower and be more
3. obvious to what I mean
4. R: ok
5. D: whereas with other people um like even with Marc I have to use different words
6. because he wouldn't understand it
7. R: oh ok cause he uses American English
8. D: yea yea
9. R: ok
10. D: whereas with Mei I use the exact same English back home

In extract 7.21, Mei discusses how foreign professors at the university may be preferred over Korean professors by international students as she has noticed that some Korean professors tend to use Korean English in class and this can cause confusion for some international students. By Korean English, Mei gives examples in line 6 such as “apateu” and “haendeupon”. However, in line 13, she adds on to this conversation and says that Korean English has become part of her English use. As seen in line 16, she provides a reason for this commenting that it makes her sound more fluent in Korea. Moreover, line 22 reveals that if Mei is with a non-Korean who knows Korean to a certain extent she would “mix everything”. This means that in conversations, she would mix Korean, Korean English and other language resources she shares with her interlocutors.

Extract 7.21 (interview 1 – Mei)

1. M: but for the Korean professor some of them are really good it's just that they speak the
2. Korean English
3. R: you understand Korean English?
4. M: yea because of my friends.
5. R: what do you mean by Korean English? just accent or even like the words?
6. M: like the words it's different like <Kr> apateu {apartment} (.) <Kr> haendeupon
7. {hand phone=mobile phone}
8. [...]
9. M: so I learned a lot of Korean English here
10. R: do you think you speak Korean English sometimes?
11. M: sometimes
12. R: yea?
13. M: like yea I really call <Kr>apateu {apartment} (.) apateu it's like a part of my
14. English
15. [...]
16. M: you just cause it sound more fluently
17. R: uhu
18. M: so I just use their English
19. R: yea
20. M: but if my foreign friends they won't understand so I just speak English
21. R: oh ok (.) so depending on who you're with (.) you can mix it
22. M: depending on yep (.) if those foreigners know Korean then I would mix everything

As seen in extract 7.22, Daniel also finds Korean English to be important when living in Korea. He figures that you need to get used to the way how Koreans pronounce English words or how they would call certain English words in Korean English. Daniel also has noticed that many English words are written in the Korean alphabet “Hangeul” (line 10) in many cases. It took him some time to familiarize himself with

identifying English or Korean English words that were written in 'Hangeul' or pronounced in a different way in Korea.

Extract 7.22 (interview 3 – Daniel)

1. R: how important do you think it is to know Konglish¹⁹ when living in Korea?
2. D: relatively important if like when I first arrived I didn't quite get the words I didn't
3. understand Konglish
4. R: ok so=
5. D: =so you have to get used to it the way they say it
6. R: uhu
7. D: and then cause otherwise it'll just make no sense
8. R: ok so you do need to know Konglish [when you're in Korea] ok
9. D: [yea yea] cause also like they use Konglish for a lot of things even when they write
10. English words in <Kr> Hangeul {Korean alphabet} it's pretty much Konglish
11. R: oh yea yea
12. D: cause it's pronounced differently
13. R: uhu
14. D: but it's the same word
15. R: yea
16. D: I still find some things throws me off I think it's a Korean words and then like reading it
17. like word by word I don't get it for the third time I read oh ok it's that word
18. R: oh ok
19. D: in English yea

In extract 7.23, for Kamile, Korean English is not something particularly important but it is what you “automatically learn” or “learn really easily” in Korea (lines 2-4). In line 11, she gives an example of the word ‘areubaiteu’ to explain a Korean English word that became part of her use of English. Then in the next line, she realizes it is a Japanese word and I respond to her that it is actually German, which comes from the word ‘arbeit’ meaning ‘work’ or ‘job’. However, later I have found out that ‘areubaiteu’ is a loanword from Japanese which has been adapted from the German word ‘arbeit’. Hence, it can be noted that the intricate mix of ‘languages’ go through considerable change and hybridization that it becomes arduous to separate them according to their first language boundaries (Canagarajah, 2009; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012).

Extract 7.23 (interview 3 – Kamile)

1. R: do you think it's important? do you think it's part of English? any opinion
2. K: I think when you come to Korea you automatically learn them maybe coming before it's

¹⁹ Konglish is another word for Korean English according to the participants.

3. not that important but when you come here it's not I don't think it's important but you
4. learn it really easily if you know English it's really easy to for example like apartment <Kr>
5. apateu {apartment} or what I don't know like oh let's say staff like <Kr> seuteb {staff}
6. R: oh ok ok
7. K: hm things like this
8. R: so you just learn it naturally
9. K: yea because it's really easy to memorize like this
10. R: ok and it's part of your English while your in Korea?
11. K: well I'm I think for example I was talking about part-time job I was saying <Kr>
12. areubaiteu {part-time job} wait <Kr> areubaiteu is Japanese
13. R: no <Kr> areubaiteu is German
14. K: really? I thought it was Japanese
15. R: but it's a Korean word as well

7.2.3 The role of Korean

The role of Korean was not part of the coding scheme before the fieldwork, but it became a conspicuous emerging theme the more I uncovered my data and it seemed interesting to compare with the role of ELF. Korean language was something the participants explicitly related their goals and future to and particularly showed interest in, while English was discussed more subtly and taken for granted as a *lingua franca*. Four of the participants (Kamile, Yuto, Lisa, Emilie) were taking intensive Korean classes and Mei was studying Korean on her own during the fieldwork. Accordingly, improving Korean was what the participants strongly desired and they often practiced conversational Korean in their social lives; for example, on Facebook, Instagram, with each other or with the Korean IntCom members.

7.2.3.1 Goals

When I have asked what the main participants' goals were while studying in Korea, all of them except Daniel have commented that they would like to improve their Korean skills. In extract 7.24, Kamile comments that she wants to be better in Korean to live like the locals and not use the 'foreigner card' (lines 2-3). In extract 7.25, the first thing that comes to Mei's mind when asking what she would like to have achieved by the time when she has finished her study, she replies her "Korean ability". In extract 7.26, Yuto explains that he chose to be part of the buddy scheme team so that he can improve his Korean. The buddy scheme team was the only team in the IntCom where they had only Korean members due to various administrative and paper work that

had to be processed in Korean. Yuto challenged himself by joining this team so that he could be able to freely discuss his opinions and get work done in Korean.

Extract 7.24 (interview 1 – Kamile)

1. R: ok then what do you expect to gain from studying in Korea?
2. K: um be better at Korean and learn more culture and live like Koreans live because I
3. wanna learn I don't like the taking out oh I'm a <Kr> oegukin {foreigner} card because I
4. know a lot of people that do whatever the hell they want but there's a oegukin that why
5. like I don't like to go to Itaewon because it's just they don't care they don't care

Extract 7.25 (interview 1 – Mei)

1. R: uh what do you expect to gain from studying in Korea?
2. M: like I think it's like
3. R: after these four years yea
4. M: after these four years my Korean ability? ((laughs)) my Korean language ability?

Extract 7.26 (interview 1 – Yuto)

1. R: ok are you the only foreign member foreigner student like
2. Y: in buddy team
3. R: in buddy team oh ok so they use a lot of Korean
4. Y: yea but that's why I chosen buddy team cause I can understand Korean
5. R: oh really
6. [...]
7. R: (((laughs))) yea ok and what do you expect to gain from being part of the IntCom?
8. Y: u::m of course it's really hard to do the job by using Korean it's still difficult to um tell
9. them about my opinion fluently
10. R: uhu
11. Y: so I wish my talking skills is gonna be better

7.2.3.2 Future

Some of the main participants discussed their future in relation to their Korean skills. In extract 7.27, Kamile is aware that she needs to be “really fluent” in Korean to later obtain a master’s degree related to her undergraduate major which is East Asian languages and cultures. In extract 7.28, Yuto on the other hand displays language expert identity and wishes to find a job later where he can use his multilingual skills, that is, English and Korean (lines 5-6).

Extract 7.27 (interview 1 – Kamile)

1. K: I wanna do my master's in Korea but I'm really scared about the competition and the
2. grading system and I don't even know what I could study here because there's not a lot of
3. I think I have to come back with really fluent Korean if I wanna study something Korean

4. related cause I would wanna do something I don't wanna do international studies I was
5. never good at this like culture wise I would like to study some kind of also East Asian
6. cultures or East Asian relations

Extract 7.28 (interview 1 – Yuto)

1. R: oh ok that's good then um other than socializing study wise what do you expect from
2. your Korean classes ((laughs))
3. Y: that's so difficult
4. R: or yea
5. Y: um: I'm still not sure about my future but I wanna get a job by using English and
6. Korean

7.2.3.3 Documentation

Another reason some of the participants aimed to improve their Korean was that they wanted to obtain certain qualification to be able to prove their skills. Within the international community at the university, it was very typical to ask each other's or others' Korean language level on certifications while their English was judged by how 'confidently' or 'naturally' they got their message across. The students' level of Korean was consensually agreed by their official TOPIK (Test of Proficiency in Korean) level (1-6). In extract 7.29, Mei explains that many people have asked her TOPIK level and she shows her frustration as she never had an objective answer or evidence for this. In extract 7.30, Kamile reveals another aspect stating that she would have "less problems" (line 2) and it would make her "life easier" (lines 5-6) if she had some sort of certificate proving her Korean level. This was especially important for Kamile as she had to submit her results in paper form to her university back in Lithuania to confirm that she had been keeping up with her Korean classes and studies as an exchange student in Korea (lines 1-3).

Extract 7.29 (interview 1 – Mei)

1. R: and what's your like every year what's your like um immediate goals?
2. M: immediate goal for like that year? like
3. R: like for this year
4. M: this year (.) I wanna get like I want to have a proper Korean lesson and get like TOPIK
5. four for this immediate goal ((laughs))
6. [...]
7. M: and like have a level cause every time they ask me what level and I'm like [ha no::]
8. R: [ah they keep asking talking about that right]
9. M: yea and I don't know and I don't have a level cause I just learn like everywhere

Extract 7.30 (interview 1 – Kamile)

1. K: because I basically like my university kinda wants me to have a paper it's not that I'm in
2. trouble that I have to if I don't have one it's gonna help it's gonna be less problems for me
3. when I have like a paper that say that I have like passed
4. [...]
5. K: I wanted to try it out because again it not necessarily but it would be would be my life
6. easier because I would just give the paper like see I passed that well I don't need to
7. study Korean anymore

7.3 Multilingual practices**7.3.1 Code-switching**

As the IntCom members were from various linguistic backgrounds, language was a topic that frequently emerged in natural occurring conversations. The participants greeted each other in at least four languages (Korean, English, German, Spanish etc.), learned or taught each other certain words or phrases, joked about them, and sometimes even had more serious discussions about them. The next four extracts (7.31-7.34) demonstrate the participants' use of multilingual resources within their overt conversations about language(s). Although, I view language as a social construct, I have used the term 'code-switching' in this section particularly because of extracts 7.32-7.34, where the participants explicitly code-switched in conversations. Hence, I use the term 'code-switching' to explain the situation as it is.

In extract 7.31, Kamile and Anna naturally mix their language resources in conversation. They are discussing the difficulty of understanding informal Korean language. 'Banmal' is a low form of Korean language (opposite of honorifics). For example, it is used especially when talking to someone younger or close people such as family members and friends. Before this extract, Kamile was explaining how it is difficult to understand authentic Korean conversations such as when she sees the Korean IntCom members chat to each other. In line 1, Anna refers to such type of language as 'banmal' and asserts that it is actually easier to understand than the formal language. In lines 2, 4, and 6, Kamile does not entirely agree and responds that the type of language she is talking about is a different level of colloquial discourse spoken in very informal situations that goes beyond the scope of 'banmal' language learned in textbooks. Another thing to note in this extract is that in line 6, Kamile uses

the word “chaek” with the word “book” very naturally even though it is repetitive. At the time of the fieldwork, Kamile was taking intensive Korean classes everyday during the week and thus, her use of Korean resources was easily noticed in conversations.

Extract 7.31 (group conversation – Anna, Kamile, Researcher)

1. A: but I think <Kr> banmal {low form of language} is easier than official
2. K: true but it's like banmal banmal like the completely everyday speaking Korean which is
3. A: yea
4. K: for me it's still not as the same as banmal *found in textbooks*
5. A: mhm there's another degree to it
6. K: yea like the <Kr> chaek {book} book <Kr> banmal {low form of language} and the way
7. they like speak with like close friends
8. R: yea
9. K: that kind of thing
10. R: mhm informal banmal ((laughs))

Extract 7.32 shows Daniel's explanation on how he thinks Dutch language is funny. This is part of a natural group conversation I had with Daniel and Leo at a café. Daniel says “in Dutch” and “in Afrikaans” when providing the meaning of words (lines 2, 4, 10). In this extract, Daniel explicitly code-switches in three different languages: English, Afrikaans and Dutch. This also represents his language and cultural identity. In lines 4 and 10, he attempts to teach two Dutch words to prove how it has a funny logic. He compares these in both English and Afrikaans which naturally displays his multilingual resources. He makes sense of all three languages in one conversation and both Leo and myself understands his linguistic practices. This is an example of how the participants influenced each other's language resources. By having more conversations such as extract 7.32, the participants developed shared linguistic repertoires.

Extract 7.32 (group conversation – Daniel, Researcher, Leo)

1. D: because for a lot of words I think it's ridiculously funny for example um um the most
2. ridiculous one in Afrikaans an ambulance is <Af> ambulans
3. R: oh
4. D: in Dutch it's <Du> ziekenwagen {ambulance} it literally means sick car
5. R: o::h
6. L: sick car ((laughs))
7. D: you get it yea
8. L: yea it's funny
9. D: yea so for me it's just ridiculously funny same with hospital like in Afrikaans it's
10. <Af> hospitaal {hospital} hospital in Dutch it's <Du> ziekenhuis {hospital} which mean sick
11. house

12. L: oh really
13. D: yea
14. L: sick house
15. R: o::h that's so funny

Prior to the conversation in extract 7.33, Elena was listing different Chinese expressions she learned from Mei. In lines 1 and 8, Mei explains two Mandarin Chinese expressions she taught Elena and Anna. Interestingly, as shown in lines 3 and 12, she naturally translates them to Korean rather than English although the conversation is mainly in English. Then in lines 17 and 23, Anna continues the conversation commenting that she knows the words 'Germany' and 'ugly' in Chinese. In this extract, it can be easily understood that a Korean, Malaysian, Ecuadorian and German are playing with Chinese resources in an ELF conversation. They make sense of them with their Korean and English resources. Although, Anna, Elena and I do not speak Chinese fluently, we are able to negotiate meaning with Mei. This also created a humorous atmosphere and it is clear from the extract that the participants are having fun.

Extract 7.33 (group conversation – Mei, Researcher, Anna, Elena)

1. M: <Man> huàirén {bad person}
2. R: huh?
3. M: huàirén <Kr> nabbeun saram {bad person}
4. R: huàirén?
5. M: huàirén
6. A: huàirén
7. E: no it was another way you
8. M: <Man> pìgū rén {butt person} – *a made up expression by Mei*
9. E: pìgū rén
10. M: like ass people ((laughs)) it doesn't make sense it's like
11. R: pìgū rén?
12. M: <Man> pìgū {butt} is like <Kr> eongdeongi {butt} ((laughs)) and then <Man> rén
13. {person} is like <Kr> saram {person}
14. R: oh really?
15. M: it's like I don't know I don't even knew I always say those stuff until she suddenly said
16. like perfect Chinese I'm like what did I say ((laughs))
17. A: I know <Man> déguó {Germany}
18. M: deg what?
19. A: déguó
20. M: what does it
21. A: Germany
22. M: Germany? oh déguó ((laughs)) it's similar ((laughs))
23. A: and I know <Man> nánkàn {ugly} (laughs)
24. M: nánkàn like so ugly ((laughs)) why did you learn that?
25. A: when I went to China
26. M: ah ((laughs)) why

27. A: my mom taught me ((laughs))

Extract 7.34 shows an example of how mixing languages occurred with Daniel's family back in South Africa. Daniel's mother used to work in Japan for some years and thus she sometimes added Japanese expressions in English conversations with Daniel's family. Daniel provides the meaning of 'massugu', "to go straight", as soon as he says it in line 3. He is aware that someone may not understand the Japanese expression. In this extract, both Yuto and I knew the expression from before. In line 7, it can be noted that Mei missed Daniel's translation in line 3 and asks for the meaning of 'massugu'. Daniel clarifies this once more and thus the conversation is made sense for everyone involved. Furthermore, this demonstrates how language actually transcends geographical boundaries. Daniel's mother first acquired the expression 'massugu' in Japan, and this was used in Daniel's family home in South Africa. Daniel brings this expression to Korea by sharing his memory with his friends and this expression has been localized with other language resources in different contexts.

Extract 7.34 (group conversation – Daniel, Researcher, Yuto, Mei)

1. D: and like when like when we were younger and my mom would like if we were in front
2. of the TV for too long she would tell us like she would point us to our rooms and say like
3. <Jp> massugu {go straight} to go straight
4. R: ah <Jp> massugu
5. D: yea <Jp> massugu
6. Y: mhm yea
7. M: <Jp> massugu? like
8. D: go straight yea go straight to your room
9. M: a:h
10. D: do your homework
11. R: ((laughs))

7.3.2 Translanguaging practices

There were two salient types of translanguaging within the participants' linguistic practices: linguistic and functional. However, the majority of translanguaging data I collected reflects linguistic types and they are single nouns rather than longer stretches of utterances due to the diversity of the participants' language background (i.e, none of them were from the local context). The shared linguistic repertoires among all of the participants were 'English' and 'Korean' and thus, translanguaging occurred mostly when the participants threw in Korean language resources in ELF

conversations. While English was the main source of communication, the participants' level of Korean varied (see section 5.4.2). There appeared longer stretches of translanguaging in fewer instances when participants re-enacted situations that happened in Korean (extract 7.44) or when speakers of the same L1 were involved in group conversations (extract 7.45).

7.3.2.1 Linguistic types of translanguaging

I was able to find an example of when Mei naturally used Korean English in one of the group conversations we had. Extract 7.35 is part of a group conversation the participants and I had at an Italian restaurant. Mei chose a menu that included either a soft drink or coffee. She found this out only when the waiter came to take orders so she could not decide straight away. In line 5, Mei humorously uses a Korean English word “seobiseu” which is something quite common in Korean restaurants (i.e., free side dishes, free drinks, free refills etc.). It is a funny expression to use at an Italian restaurant but it fits perfectly with the situation Mei encounters.

Extract 7.35 (group conversation – Researcher, Mei, Yuto, Daniel)

1. R: you can't decide
2. M: I'm like U:H ((laughs))
3. Y: ((laughs))
4. D: it's too overwhelming for her
5. M: yea it's like oh I have <Kr> seobiseu {free service} ((laughs))
6. Y: ((laughs))

In the second interview, I have asked Daniel if he mixes Korean and English in his daily life and he mentioned when he and his friends communicate in English, they especially use Korean numbers to talk about money and price (see appendix I). This type of phenomenon is common among ELF speakers in Korea as the Korean unit of money is very large compared to Western units of money in general (1,000 Korean won is roughly similar to \$1 USD). It is simpler to use Korean words when addressing big numbers. For example, one thousand won can be replaced by ‘cheon won’ and ten thousand won can be replaced by ‘man won’ (around \$10 USD).

Extracts 7.36 and 7.37 are real life examples of how Kamile and Mei use their Korean resources when it comes to talking about price. In extract 7.36, Kamile is complaining

how “black bread” (rye bread) in Korea is very expensive compared to Lithuania. She believes that she will never have the kind of money to buy a few slices of bread for around 10,000 Korean won as it is not worth the price. In Extract 7.37, Mei, Daniel and I are discussing a part-time job Kamile was interested in, which is to greet Russian clients at the airport and Mei says she would have liked to do the job if the clients were Chinese speakers. We all believe that it seems like a convenient and easy task to do and Mei adds on to this implying that 10,000 Korean won an hour is a good pay. The two extracts disclose how the participants are not conscious about using Korean resources in conversation; the resources are naturally arrayed in practice. This was something I frequently observed with the IntCom members. The international students at the university easily and quickly familiarized themselves with using Korean numbers especially in terms of addressing price.

Extract 7.36 (group conversation – Kamile, Researcher; others present – Anna, Elena)

1. K: yea and this black bread oh my god there are a few places that do have black bread but
2. again <Kr> man-won {10,000 Korean won} [probably like for a few piece]
3. R: [ah yea that's expensive]
4. K: but I don't have like that kind of money never had never will

Extract 7.37 (group conversation – Mei, Researcher, Daniel)

1. M: is there like for Chinese foreigners or something I can do it like Hong Kong foreigners
2. R: there's like a driver a driver picks her up and then goes
3. M: [that's perfect]
4. D: [so convenient]
5. M: and it's <Kr> man-won {10,000 Korean won}

The participants flexibly used their Korean resources with words specifically related to their student life. Although there were obviously English words they could have used and they were aware of them, in natural flowing conversations their Korean resources were what came to mind first. In extract 7.38, I have asked Mei the location of a photo she was tagged in on Facebook. Mei replies that it was at a university. In line 4, instead of using the word ‘university’ she says “daehakgyo” which has the same meaning in Korean. This word can be shortened to ‘dae’ and it is very common to say it this way in Korea. During my observations of ELF conversations throughout the semester, I have rarely noticed the participants using the word ‘university’ as in most cases they added the word ‘daehakgyo’ or ‘dae’ after the name of a university. This applied the same for the participants who had been in Korea for only one or two

months at the time of the fieldwork. There are popular university areas in Seoul where many young adults enjoy socializing. These areas, as well as many others, have shortened names of the university; for example, Hongik University is called ‘Hongdae’ and Ewha Womans University is called ‘Edae’. The participants always addressed these areas in Korean.

Extract 7.38 (group conversation – Researcher, Mei, Daniel; others present – Yuto)

1. R: you went there you were tagged in this photo there was like uh it's like a pond a lake
2. M: with like all the lanterns?
3. R: it was just like a pond there was like green stuff like a garden
4. M: ah it's like uh uh oh what is this Donguk <Kr> daehakgyo {university}
5. R: oh really
6. M: beside there there's a really nice pond there
7. D: oh really?
8. R: a::h

During my fieldwork observations, the participants always described the committee room as “the bang” such as the example seen extract 7.39 (line 1). Instead of calling it the ‘committee room’ there was a mutual understanding within the IntCom to address the room as “the bang”. Moreover, line 7 shows an example of not only how the participants used specific Korean words in their ELF conversations but also that they were familiar with shortening them as well. ‘Student cafeteria’ in Korean is ‘haksengshikdang’. This word is shortened to ‘hakshik’ by many university students. Kamile was also one of the students who used ‘hakshik’ instead of ‘student cafeteria’ or ‘haksengshikdang’.

Extract 7.39 (group conversation – Mei, Kamile; others present – Researcher, Daniel)

1. M: no I'll go to the <Kr> bang {room; *in this context she means the committee room*} first
2. cause Lisa is working on our project and I want to do it beside her so I can ask her
3. K: she left
4. M: oh she left?
5. K: I think so
6. [...]
7. K: well she went to the <Kr> hakshik {shortened word for student cafeteria} now
8. M: [ah]

Specific Korean terms where it may be awkward to replace with English words or for the exact meaning to get across, the participants mostly used Korean resources. Prior to the conversation in extract 7.40, Daniel was explaining that Fred’s (IntCom member) sister came to visit him from Germany and that they stayed in Seoul for a

few days before traveling around Korea. When I asked Daniel where Fred and his sister stayed in Seoul, in line 2, Daniel uses the word “goshiwon” instead of a studio or apartment. This is because ‘goshiwon’ is a typical room where people who prepare for government exams or want to save money live in compact cities like Seoul. There is much more to ‘goshiwon’ than just explaining that it is a small one-room studio. It is easier for people who live in Korea to use the word ‘goshiwon’ without any additional description needed. Some people define it as living in a tiny box. There were many students at the university living in ‘goshiwons’ very close to campus and Mei was one of them. In cases like this extract, the participants naturally used Korean words in their ELF conversations to preserve the exact meaning without distortion.

Extract 7.40 (group conversation – Researcher, Daniel, Kamile)

1. R: but where did Fred’s sister stay then?
2. D: <Kr> goshiwon {very small one-room studio} or something
3. R: [where?]
4. K: [goshiwon?]
5. R: goshi what?
6. D: goshiwon
7. R: oh goshiwon ((laughs))
8. D: sorry I had food in my mouth
9. K: I didn't know you could rent it like that
10. D: no he somehow managed to have the place for like a week
11. K: oh ok

In extract 7.41, I have asked the participants where they are planning to visit for their buddy scheme gathering and in line 3, Yuto naturally answers “minsokchon”. In line 4, Daniel specifies which ‘minsokchon’ they are going to. Then in line 5, Mei gives out the full name in English. During my observations, many of the Korean attractions were mentioned as it was with the participants. For example, Han River was called *Hangang*. Kyeongbok Palace was called *Kyeongbokgoong*.

Extract 7.41 (group conversation – Researcher, Mei, Yuto, Daniel)

1. R: where are you guys going for the buddy=
2. M: =hm? for like
3. Y: <Kr> minsokchon {folk village}
4. D: Yongin²⁰
5. M: Yongin folk village there

²⁰ A city located below Seoul

In Korea, there is a stereotype and certain connotations such as rude, persistent and loud with the two Korean words ‘ajeossi’ and ‘ajumma’ (typically indicates a middle aged man and woman respectively) and the participants seemed well aware of the use. The words can also be used in neutral or positive ways. For example, if you received some help in public from a stranger who was a middle aged man you would still describe him as an ‘ajeossi’ with no special connotation added. However, the participants used the words usually with negative connotations. Kamile previously mentioned Korean ‘ajummas’ on how some are very persistent in getting a seat in the metro especially on the metro line where the university was located. The participants claimed that particularly in the area where their university was located, they sometimes encountered rude Korean ‘ajeossis’ or ‘ajummas’. It was interesting to notice how the participants would use ‘ajeossi’ or ‘ajumma’ instead of saying that they were middle aged Korean men or women.

In extract 7.42, Yuto talks about an ‘ajeossi’ who comes to campus often and tries to have conversations with international students. As seen in lines 3 and 5, Yuto describes this man as someone who “never stops talking” and “never lets them go” which do not have positive connotations. Furthermore, in extract 7.43, Kamile also describes ‘ajummas’ as very “rude” people.

Extract 7.42 (interview 3 – Yuto)

1. Y: we have some <Kr> ajeossi {middle aged men} in this university
2. R: yea ok
3. Y: and one guy always talk to like foreigners and he never stop talking
4. R: ok
5. Y: like he never let them go ((laughs))

Extract 7.43 (interview 3 – Kamile)

1. K: I learned a lot about the people how they are how loud they are
2. R: uhu ((laughs))
3. K: and how the <Kr> ajummas {middle aged women} are really really
4. rude and how people are gonna push you around
5. R: uhu
6. K: and I did not know that before

7.3.2.2 Functional types of translanguaging

The participants who had at least a level of high-intermediate in Korean proficiency such as Mei or Yuto were able to re-enact conversations they had in Korean. However, they would only do this when they were aware that the rest of the speakers understood Korean to a certain extent. Instead of translating the Korean conversations to English, they attempted to explain situations more lively.

In extract 7.44, Mei shares her part-time job interview experience which was processed in Korean with a Korean bar owner. Here Mei, re-enacts the situation of her interview verbally with a few sentences in Korean. This type of context is unique and finely describes the context of ELF communication in a non-Anglophone setting. All three of us are from different linguistic backgrounds and we are not solely using English resources to communicate but also understanding each other through Korean without much translation. The conversation seems natural and nobody is confused by the frequent blending of Korean and English. Mei calls this an “automatic” phenomenon (extract 7.9).

Extract 7.44 (group conversation – Mei, Reseachar, Daniel; others present – Yuto)

1. M: but then starting next month I'll work on Wednesday too but just with his mom I
2. talked with his mom his mom is like those typical like oh <Kr> anyeonghaseyo {formal
3. hello} ((in a very polite manner))
4. R: ((laughs))
5. M: <Kr> myeonjeobeul watneundaeyo {I came for an interview}
6. R: ((laughs))
7. D: ((laughs))
8. M: it's like <Kr> hangugeo jom jal haeyo? {Do you speak Korean well?} [yea it's like] no it's
9. like because I was standing down there (?)
10. D: [like so polite]
11. R: ah she was looking down?
12. M: and she was looking at me like that it's like oh <Kr> neh {formal yes}
13. R: ((laughs))
14. M: it's like oh my son called you to come and she looked at the picture she's like oh like
15. you look different from the picture <Kr> sajin hago dalrayo {you look different from the
16. photo}
17. R: ((laughs))
18. D: wow

As both Leo and Clara's L1 is German, extract 7.45 shows a type of translanguaging that prominently occurred in the IntCom among members who had the same L1 (i.e., German and Spanish speakers). They usually greeted each other in their L1 and

continued their conversations in English when speakers of different L1s were involved. They would also speak in their L1 in between conversations for clarification and then they would mostly translate what they have discussed in English so that no one is left out. Clara was a native speaker of German and could freely communicate in French and English. She was studying for her degree in Switzerland and came to Korea as an exchange student. As seen in line 2, she responded to Leo's German greeting in French. During the fieldwork, I have noticed Clara's natural translanguaging with her English, German and French resources. Sometimes, I could see her bits of resources tangled up. For instance, French phrases popped out when talking to her German friends and she had to repeat her utterances in German. Daniel and I were part of the conversation in extract 7.45 and thus it can be noted that Leo and Clara continued their conversation in English (in lines 3-8) so that both of us can understand them.

Extract 7.45 (group conversation – Leo, Clara; others present – Daniel, Researcher)

1. L: <Gr> na alles klärchen bei dir? {so everything's alright with you?}
2. C: <Fr> oui oui {yes yes} yea finished just my course
3. L: do you wanna join us
4. C: I have to go to the alien registration
5. L: to the
6. C: alien registration
7. L: to take your finger prints [ah]
8. C: [yea]

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter first looked at how the participants perceived themselves mixing languages in their lives back home and in Korea. Both Kamile and Yuto were negative about this phenomenon and had complex views. For them mixing languages represent their struggle or hindrance in being able to use a language. Kamile believes that social factors (i.e., family, friends, and the society) influence her to incline this certain way. Yuto has stated that when he is speaking in Korean, his goal is to only use Korean and thus mixing languages would not help in achieving his goal.

Daniel and Mei on the other hand were very opened and positive about mixing languages. Unlike Yuto and Kamile, they were very comfortable with and used to mixing languages. It was something that happened naturally to them throughout their

lives back home and in Korea. Mei explained that being able to flexibly mix languages displays language proficiency. Moreover, both Mei and Daniel related this phenomenon to social bonding. Daniel claimed that it is something him and his friends do for fun. Mei viewed mixing languages as a 'secret language' between her and her friends as only they could fully understand the conversation in public areas. Furthermore, while Yuto recognized the distinction between named languages during his languaging process, Mei mentioned how in some cases she was not able to separate her language resources when she tried to adapt her English in Korea as she was not sure which words originated from English or Malay.

Secondly, in my research context, it is clear that the debate of whether the spread of English relates to linguistic imperialism has become obsolete. All of the main participants viewed English mainly as a communication tool among speakers of different linguistic backgrounds. It was also understood that the unnaturalness of one's English was not linked to features of non-nativeness and even a NSE participant, Daniel (South African) expressed how he had to adapt his English when communicating with Marc who was an NSE from the US. Thereby, being a good English speaker was more about being confident, natural and getting meaning across which overlaps with features of ELF communication in many ways. Moreover, the participants associated the role of ELF to social aspects whereas they related the role of Korean to more academic, professional issues. For example, the international students' English were judged by their use of English in casual conversations while their Korean was determined by their level obtained through an official Korean exam (TOPIK). The participants also expressed the importance of knowing Korean English. Mei claimed that being able to use Korean English indicates English language fluency in the Korean context. She acknowledged that her Korean English became part of her English repertoire and that she would use Korean English in English conversations when she is with people who are aware of it.

Furthermore, I examined two types of multilingual practices which derived mainly from naturally occurring group conversations (2 were from interviews; see extracts 7.42-7.43). I have classified them as code-switching and translanguaging practices. As for code-switching, the participants used their multilingual resources to clarify meaning in most cases and there were more numbers of languages involved than in

the participants' translanguaging practices. The extracts revealed how the participants developed their shared linguistic repertoires and social relationship through mixing languages.

In the case of translanguaging, the mix of Korean and English took up the majority of the group conversation data. I discovered patterns within this type of translanguaging: linguistic and functional. Korean English and Korean terms that were associated with money, student life, and Korean culture and attractions were in many cases used in English conversations without any changes or translations. This is because the participants were inevitably exposed to the type of words in their everyday lives in Korea and thus, Korean and Korean English words were what naturally sprang to mind before any other type of language resources. Moreover, data revealed how participants who had at least a high-intermediate level of Korean such as Mei could easily re-enact Korean conversations they had. To create a more realistic and entertaining scene they attempted to imitate how they or their interlocutors spoke. Lastly, there were also instances of when speakers of the same L1 often mixed their L1 and English during group conversations. Overall, this chapter has revealed some of the real life multilingual ELF practices in a Korean HE context. Whether the participants were positive or negative about the phenomenon, the extracts have demonstrated that it cannot be avoided and most importantly that the local language and culture is strongly involved.

Chapter 8 Discussion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter explores each research question by revisiting previous literature (i.e., the theories on language, multilingualism, culture and identity) in chapters 3 and 4 and providing crucial links with the findings in chapters 6 and 7. The chapter is divided into three themes: 1) the co-construction and maintenance of the community, 2) change and development of identities and 3) perceptions of translanguaging, ELF and Korean. Extracts from chapter 6 and 7 are selectively presented in this chapter to clarify my argument and for a more in-depth discussion.

8.2 The co-construction and maintenance of the community

This section reviews how the IntCom was maintained and how the participants developed membership by bringing both social²¹ and linguistic practices together. It also provides the answer to research question 1a: What role do shared social and linguistic practices play in the co-construction of the multilingual student community of practice?

In line with Kalocsai's (2014) study, the findings suggest that both the social and linguistic practices are reciprocal and equally important contributions to the consolidation of a community of practice (Wenger, 1998). The participants had a shared goal within the IntCom which was to accommodate new incoming international students so that they can easily make the transition to Korean society. This joint enterprise had been realized in the process of achieving it through agreements as well as by reconciling disagreements (ibid.). It enabled the participants to stay together and do what they needed to do. The triangulation of interviews, group conversations, observation fieldnotes and documents revealed the participants' mutual engagement of shared activities in and outside of the IntCom.

²¹ Although social practices can include linguistic practices, in this thesis I use the term to differentiate with such aspects referring to any type of activities or non-linguistic behaviors/actions.

The things they did together were what accounted for a significant part of their social lives at the university (e.g., creating and managing events, work shifts, Secret Santa, drinking, partying, traveling etc.). The accumulation of such practices over time resulted in the development of shared repertoires (ibid.). The participants acknowledged that these types of establishment were possible as they built trust and close friendship in the community. Although the type of friendship groups observed in Kalocsai's (2014) study was highly fluid, the participants in this study were part of an actual community of practice (i.e., a student committee) making the boundary more fixed and solid, yet, still flexible to some extent compared to the classroom community investigated by Smit (2009; 2010). This was because the participants' perceptions of language(s) (section 7.2) and identity constructions (section 6.3) in many cases came from examples of when they interacted with non-committee members and the participants were also observed when they were positioned in the wider sense of the international student community (*constellations* of ELF practices) at the university (Ehrenreich, 2009; Wenger, 1998).

The participants started their journey in the IntCom as “lifelong learners” and played a pivotal role in building shared repertoires as proficient ELF users (Ehrenreich, 2009: 146). They showed skilfulness and became expert members when they had a deep understanding of what were appropriate behaviors through various membership participation (Wenger, 1998). As evidenced in extract 8.1, Daniel, who was one of the most experienced members in the committee, displays expert membership. He is able to compare different generations of the IntCom as he invested himself “in different moments of the history of a practice” (ibid.: 157). In lines 6, 8, 10, 12 and 14, he explains which years or semesters were “good” and “fun”. He also explains what he means by this in lines 18 and 27. As Wenger argues, “these old-timers deliver the past and offer the future, in the forms of narratives and participation both” (ibid.: 156) and “[d]epending on how a community negotiates individuality, the generational encounter can have different effects” (ibid.: 157).

Extract 8.1 (interview 2 – Daniel)

1. R: cause you've been here since your first year
2. D: yea yea
3. R: and you've seen the IntCom members come and go by
4. D: yea yea
5. R: compared to other years how is this year or is it like same as=

6. D: **=uh no I think this year this semester especially is a lot of fun**
7. R: oh really
8. D: **last semester too the first my very first semester in the IntCom**
9. R: uhu
10. D: **was great**
11. R: uhu
12. D: **the second and third was kind of average**
13. R: oh really
14. D: **then last year it was good again yea**
15. R: so it does really depend on=
16. D: =yea it depends yea
17. R: semester (.) what do you mean by really good
18. D: **like people are always outgoing and positive and things like that**
19. R: oh ok
20. D: then (?) no one was motivated
21. R: oh ok
22. D: like I'm the same all the time
23. R: uhu
24. D: but like others they they just don't really they aren't into participating
25. and stuff like that
26. R: oh ok
27. D: **but this semester everyone was keen to do everything**

The participants co-created habitual practices such as ways of greeting and parting, socializing in the committee room and rewarding themselves with having meals and drinks together. The habitual practices were what indicated the community's unique culture; they were forms of cultural 'doings' (Holliday, 2010; Street, 1993). These forms of practice resonates with the idea that culture is fluid in nature and always goes through an interactive process that is negotiated by the members of the community and is not something ascribed to conventional boundaries. Thus, it is a developing phenomenon which informs the members of what is meaningful in the community (Baker, 2009; 2011; Holliday, 2010; Risager, 2006; Scollon et al., 2012)

In the case of the participants' shared linguistic repertoires and compatible with Kalocsai's (2014) findings, English and the local language were the two prominent language resources the participants freely picked out from; yet, undoubtedly English was the main source of communication with bits of Korean resources blended into conversations. ELF conversations were rich in contextualization and the participants developed shared discourse practices and topics over time. The participants built social bonding and solidarity through gossiping and collaborative humor (Coates, 2007; Holmes, 2006; Kalocsai, 2014; Matsumoto, 2014; Pullin, 2009). Especially in terms of the latter, the participants were aware of when and how to naturally join

conversations to facilitate a fun atmosphere. Aligning with Matsumoto's (2014) and Pullin's (2009) studies, the types of humor found in this study were context-based rather than coming from specific cultural knowledge. The participants' own interactive ways of adding humor revealed membership in the community (Holliday 2013; Kramsch 1998, 2009).

Matsumoto (2014) raises the issue of power and inequality regarding the co-construction of humor among NNEs and NNSEs (Bell, 2006; Davies, 2003) and has only examined NNSEs. However, this study has overcome such biased stance and demonstrated how both NSEs and NNSEs in the same conversation can equally contribute to collaborative humor as they are all competent users of ELF. As seen in in extract 8.2, Daniel is a NSE from South Africa and Kamile and Mei are NNSEs respectively from Lithuania and Malaysia, but there are no power relations to be seen. In fact, Kamile is the one initiating humor and in line 2, Mei is the next one to collaborate on this. Daniel simply responds to the sarcastic joke by laughing in line 3. Then when Daniel constructs another type of humor in lines 6 and 8, Kamile without being intimidated in any way adds on to Daniel's humor in lines 11 and 13.

Extract 8.2 (group conversation – Kamile, Mei, Daniel, Researcher)

1. K: thank you a fork and knife? how do I use this? ((laughs))
2. M: ((laughs)) this is Korea we don't use knives in cafeteria (((laughs)))
3. D: (((laughs)))
4. [...]
5. *Daniel drops his cutlery*
6. D: I can't take myself anywhere
7. R: o:h
8. D: I'm like a little kid (((laughs)))
9. R: (((laughs)))
10. M: (((laughs)))
11. K: I'm not used to this anymore
12. D: yea
13. K: I don't own a fork or a knife

The types of discourse that were apparent in ELF conversations have also built up on Risager's (2006) transnational perspective on the relationship of language and culture (i.e., languaculture). The participants often had intriguing discussions about cultural differences in their naturally occurring group conversations. They compared Korean stereotypes they had experienced (e.g., drinking culture, nightlife, passiveness, conservativeness etc.) to their home cultures or sometimes introduced

other types of cultures they were aware of. Hence, the various discourse on culture was another component that kept the community active (Wenger, 1998). ELF discourse in the majority of cases complied with “divergent situations” which further inclines to the understanding of disassociating dominant ideologies of first language cultures in globalized contexts (Risager, 2006: 187). The findings also further support Baker's (2009; 2011; 2015) argument that culture is never neutral and especially in ELF communication, different languacultures can be embraced contingent upon the various backgrounds of the speakers. As shown in extract 8.3 and similar to Baker's (2009) findings, it is notable that the participants do not draw on cultural knowledge based on their C1 (German, South African), C2 (English) or even C3 (Korean). At the same time, “global cultural references” are made (Baker, 2011: 40). Leo (L1: German, Italian) enthusiastically explains to Daniel (L1: English, Afrikaans) and myself (L1: Korean) why he would only get a tattoo in New Zealand. ELF communication in this extract transcends rigid cultural boundaries and establishes a new association of language and culture. It does not overlap with any dominant L1 culture ideologies but it is certainly not culturally detached.

Extract 8.3 (group conversation – Leo, Daniel, Researcher)

1. L: I don't know I'm not the biggest fan of tattoos but I told myself if I'm going
2. to New Zealand one day I want to get one of the traditional Māori tattoos
3. D: oh [that's really hard core]
4. L: [because I heard] yea they use like the traditional standard of doing tattoo
5. so they got the hammer and a little sickle
6. R: ((gasps)) wow
7. L: and they just really just uh what's it called um they just put it into your
8. skin
9. D: yes penetrate
10. R: woah
11. L: yea it's supposed to work a little bit more than the usual tattoo
12. D: for sure it does ((laughs))
13. L: yea but the interesting fact is that um you cannot choose the design for
14. your tattoo because the tattooist makes a conversation with you and he's
15. trying to figure out your character and while he's talking to you he's like
16. making your own personal tattoo every sign and every line has something to
17. do with about yourself
18. R: where is this?
19. D: in New Zealand like Māori culture
20. L: the the yea what's it called
21. D: yea Māori
22. R: o::h
23. L: the indigenous people there
24. R: yea yea
25. L: that's maybe one thing I would consider to do

The participants also displayed shared multilingual practices, that is, code-switching²² and translanguaging (García, 2009; García & Li, 2013; Li, 2011; 2016; 2017; Otheguy et al., 2015). The former involved various L1s (e.g., Afrikaans, Spanish, Mandarin, Japanese, German) as it often happened when the participants wanted to introduce expressions in their L1. The latter aspect has particularly justified the concept of viewing language as a social (or local) practice (Pennycook, 2010). The 'language' the participants communicated in was certainly not some *a priori* they chose from but was always in a co-constructional process (Canagarajah, 2007b). The participants developed their communicative resources over time through socialization (Kalocsai, 2014). In agreement with Cogo's (2012) and Hülmbauer's (2011) perspective, ELF communication in this study was clearly the hub of language diversity which led to the construction of contextualized multilingual repertoires (Blommaert, 2010). The participants confirmed how ELF and multilingualism functions in a collaborative manner (Jenkins, 2015) and their use of ELF was influenced by the resources coming from their linguacultural backgrounds and surrounding localities (Cogo, 2012; Canagarajah, 2007b; Hülmbauer, 2009; 2011).

The participants freely put in Korean (or at times other language) resources as part of ELF communication for convenience, naturalness and fun and they indicated that it was inevitable to blend different 'languages' whether they liked it or not. Unlike how the participants in Cogo's (2012) study presented long stretches of translanguaging, my participants only displayed this when the conversation involved speakers who could freely communicate in Korean or when there were speakers of the same L1 (see extracts 7.44-7.45). The length of translanguaging units in this study in most cases were single utterances, such as the examples found in Kalocsai's (2014) study, as Korean proficiency varied among the participants.

Such as extract 8.4, several examples in this study demonstrated Hülmbauer's (2011: 334) "situationality factor". For example, the participants had a habit of using Korean resources when using numbers for money and price. The type of creativeness found

²² In this thesis, code-switching is differed from translanguaging in the way that the former has been used when the participants overtly talked about language(s) and made separations between them for the sake of translation whereas the latter occurred naturally in normal day to day conversations without being explicitly conscious about it (see section 3.4).

in this extract might not be applied outside of their local context. The resources were used this way because the participants understood their in-groupness. They developed their own unique linguistic practices in the community and these naturally became common sense, developed as part of a repertoire through mutual engagement (Ehrenreich, 2009; Kalocsai, 2014; Smit, 2010; Wenger, 1998). The participants understood that their own ways of translanguaging was meaningful particularly in the local context and they acknowledged that they would not be able to communicate in the same way in other contexts (Cogo, 2012; Hülmbauer, 2011; 2013; Pölzl & Seidlhofer, 2006).

Extract 8.4 (group conversation – Kamile, Researcher; others present – Anna, Elena)

1. K: yea and this black bread oh my god there are a few places that do have
2. black bread but again <Kr> man-won {10,000 Korean won} probably like
3. for a few piece
4. R: [ah yea that's expensive]
5. K: but I don't have like that kind of money never had never will

To further support this position, Mei explains in extract 8.5, that translanguaging is like a “secret language” for her and her friends. In lines 2,3,5 and 6, Mei illustrates how her and her friend Elena influenced each other’s linguistic repertoires. Thus, translanguaging enabled the participants to create their own situational space and when digging deeper into the phenomenon, constructs of multilingual identities (see section 8.3, 8.4), language ideologies (see section 8.4), stories and relationships have emerged (Li, 2011; 2016).

Extract 8.5 (interview 1 – Mei)

1. M: and sometimes it's like a secret language like when they came to my
2. country cause if we speak English [everyone would know it] so we just use
3. Korean (.) English (.) Korean (.) English²³
4. R: [a::h] you did that when Elena came to Malaysia?
5. M: yea ((laughs)) like I use a little bit of like Spanish and Korean cause
6. my Spanish is not that good and her Korean is not that good so it's like a
7. mixture

Despite the steadily growing multilingualism studies of ELF (Cogo, 2009; 2012; Hülmbauer, 2009; 2011; Kalocsai, 2014; Klimpfinger, 2009; Pölzl & Seidlhofer, 2006)

²³ Here Mei means mixing bits of Korean and English resources rather than ‘Korean English’.

and as Jenkins (2015) has also recognized, the focus of most studies has been limited to interactions involving people's different L1s and English (L2) in European contexts. Although, Kalocsai (2014) has looked at a shared L3 (the local language) in Hungary, she has not explored this profoundly as a translanguaging phenomenon in terms of analyzing various types real-life examples and perceptions of it. This study went beyond the blending of L1s and L2 and importantly involved an L3 to understand the collaborative mechanisms of all available multilingual resources. It is important to note that the participants (although not all) legitimized multilingual use of ELF and that it is viewed as competence rather than deficit language use. They have shown how they themselves operate using this type of language practice without any hindrance during ELF conversations (see section 8.4).

8.3 Change and development of identities

This study proposes that identity constructions of students in the context of international mobility are highly complex, dynamic, fluid, and flexible rather than given or static. Through the use of ELF, the participants freely negotiated their identities in the research context. Accordingly, this section looks at change and development in the participants' identities as well as covering research question 1b: Which shared identities are constructed and perceived by the community? Interviews were the main source of data for answering the research question with a few examples from group conversations. The participants demonstrated how they take on multiple identities and how particular identities go through change and variation in different contexts (Joseph, 2004).

Firstly, the acceptance of cultural identity was a conspicuous yet a predictable type of self-orientation found in my data. The participants presented their national and ethnic identities by talking about their lived experiences and thoughts with reference to *audible*, *visible* and *readable* cues (Zhu, 2014: 205). In extract 8.6, Leo, from Düsseldorf, Germany, differentiates himself with German speakers from Austria and Switzerland by labeling their accents as "funny". His *audible* cues are what confirm his cultural and national identity as a German. In lines 7-9, he makes hand gestures to show the different levels of German language from his perspective. He explains that even Bavarian German, which is known for having a strong southeast accent in

Germany, is still closer to 'standard German' compared to Austrian or Swiss German. For him, Austrian German is on a lower level, and even below is Swiss German.

Extract 8.6 (group conversation – Leo, Daniel, Researcher)

1. L: like they don't speak really German in Austria **because the accent is really**
2. **funny**
3. R: oh for you guys really
4. D: the same as Swiss German I guess
5. L: yea
6. D: completely different
7. L: German is like here <Gr> ja {yes}? like German this is Bavarian German
8. this is Austrian German and somewhere down there is [Swiss German]
9. ((showing different levels with hand gestures)) ((laughs))
10. R: [Swiss German] really [((laughs))]
11. D: [((laughs))]
12. L: because **it's so funny**
13. D: yea
14. L: in German **I always laugh my ass off** ((laughs))

In extract 8.7, Yuto interestingly relates his East Asian ethnicity to his anxiousness and low confidence in speaking Korean when he first came to Korea. Due to the identity assigned by *visible* cues used by the locals (i.e., looking like a Korean), he was expected to speak like a Korean. He constructed self-identification through the influence of what others have assumed of him.

Extract 8.7 (interview 2 – Yuto)

1. R: ok and so when you talk in Korean you're more nervous than when you
2. talk in English?
3. Y: now it's not but=
4. R: =now it's not but when you first arrived?
5. Y: yea I really felt nervous
6. R: why was that?
7. Y: because I didn't have confident to talk in Korean and I look like
8. Korean
9. R: ok ((laughs))
10. Y: I don't know it's Asian face so they talk to me in Korean fluently of
11. course
12. R: oh ok so you feel like you would need to
13. Y: yea

Mei likewise reveals cultural identity but demonstrates how she can go beyond this position in extract 8.8. In accordance with Baker's (2011) findings, she adopts a hybrid identity. Although she does not necessarily make direct association with English, ELF was an obvious mode of communication for the majority of her

interactions at the university. While Mei accepts her national identity in line 4 (i.e., knowing how to behave like the Malays), she also illustrates that she has learned how to cope with diversity especially in terms of relationships with different people.

Extract 8.8 (interview 3 – Mei)

1. M: and then yea because you don't have your family here you have to rely on
2. your friends but then you have like friendship problems too and there's also
3. relationship problem that is weird because it's different cause you know like
4. when I'm in Malaysia I know how the Malaysians behave
5. R: mhm
6. M: how the Malaysian guys (?) but here it's like all foreigners and
7. different people come from different culture that's really different yea I
8. learned about different countries too
9. R: mhm
10. M: how you cope with them
11. R: mhm
12. M: at first it was really interesting and then problems starts to get by and
13. then yea
14. R: ok
15. M: I learned life and yea mostly like the relationship with different
16. people
17. R: ok
18. M: I guess because this campus is really really diverse I think
19. R: mhm

Along the same lines, other participants such as Daniel and Kamile also displayed change in and adaptation of their identities in the global context. In extract 8.9, Daniel explains that he has found it easier to “work with people of different cultures” after he became “more adaptive” and have sub-consciously learned things (Byram, 2008). In the following extract 8.10, Kamile also believes that she has become less stubborn and more open-minded and learned to easily talk to people. Both Daniel and Kamile imply that in their home countries they would do things differently and would not make the same effort to accustom themselves. They have developed an identity that enabled them to adapt to and negotiate in an intercultural environment (Byram, 2008; Jackson, 2010; 2011; Killick, 2012; Lam, 2006).

Extract 8.9 (interview 3 – Daniel)

1. D: and I've kind of learned to work with people of different cultures often
2. with a language barrier and things like that
3. R: ok
4. D: I've managed to get sort of over that I mean I'm more adaptive to that
5. and
6. R: mhm

7. D: it's a lot easier for me now than it was a few years ago
8. R: ok yea yea
9. D: I don't know what I've learned automatically I think like
10. R: ok
11. D: well sub-consciously I pick things up and
12. R: yea yea
13. D: do things differently

Extract 8.10 (interview 3 – Kamile)

1. K: h:m I learned it's not about Korea maybe **I learned how to talk with**
2. **people better** I guess not to feel that awkward and
3. R: ok
4. K: and **be more opened**
5. R: what do you mean by talk with people better?
6. K: well I'm I'm back home I'm not the most easy going people person people
7. person which one
8. R: person
9. K: person ((laughs)) so maybe here I learned how to be more opened and talk
10. easily **don't feel stubborn** than I would with the people I know already
11. R: so it's like you learned how to socialize with people
12. K: yea I think so

Furthermore, the participants manifested liminal, fluid identities moving in and out of different domains or lingering in third space (Baker, 2009; 2011; Canagarajah, 2005; Kramsch, 1993; 2009; 2011; Kumaravadivelu, 2008; Rampton, 1995). Daniel, from South Africa, revealed his cultural identity and third space positioning at the same time in an interview (extract 6.62). He explained that he comes from both an English and Afrikaans origin and thus he could not choose which one he is more of when people asked him. Hence, it can be understood that when others have expected him to appoint himself to either an English or Afrikaans background, he certainly could not adopt one position as he believed that he was “literally in between them” (line 2).

Likewise, in extract 8.11, Mei, from Malaysia, expresses how she feels culturally in between Koreans and internationals as an Asian international student. In lines 12-13, she describes Malaysians as Asians but still not like “typical Asians” by which she means East Asians such as Koreans, Japanese and Chinese. Unlike many international students at the university, Mei had close friendships with both Korean and international students. In lines 9-10, Mei describes how the Korean students talk about the internationals and vice versa and she could relate or not relate to the subjects being discussed. Although Mei acknowledges that she is in between cultures,

her illustration seems that rather than being positioned in third space, she can demonstrate liminality by wisely jumping in and out of each culture (Baker, 2009; 2011; Canagarajah, 2005; Kumaravadivelu, 2008). Thus, as Baker (2015) and Kramsch (2009; 2011) suggest, we need to be more critical about using the term 'third space (or culture)'. As seen from extract 8.11, Mei is able to adopt a hybrid position (of different languages and cultures) and can also dynamically and flexibly move between identifying with particular groups where she does not have to be hybrid (Baker, 2015).

Extract 8.11 (interview 2 – Mei)

1. R: [[[laughs]])] ok do you ever feel like you're in between cultures sometimes?
2. M: in between (.) here kind of like when I'm mixing with the international
3. student I feel like ah we're all like we're not like we're just more opened and
4. we feel like we talk like stuff we know and all
5. R: mhm
6. M: but when I'm with Korean like ah sometimes I relate to them to and
7. they're like stuff that **I relate and not relate like both ways**
8. R: mhm
9. M: **so they're like all the Koreans are like this and all and then for them**
10. **they're like international students are like this**
11. R: ok
12. M: **so it's like I'm in between like because Malaysia is actually like in Asia**
13. **but we're not like the typical typical Asians**
14. R: mhm
15. M: **so it's like I'm in the middle I feel that a lot**
16. R: ok
17. M: **because I hang out with both gangs and I attach with both so=**
18. R: = so you know how to behave in each group
19. M: mhm

In the same vein, transcultural (or transnational) identity was something the participants shared as international students and users of ELF in the community (see extracts 8.12, 8.13). Apart from their own existing identities they may have developed elsewhere in other contexts, they established a global citizenship identity by seeing themselves "in the same boat" with non-Korean students studying in Korea (Killick, 2012). The participants found it easier to connect with other internationals rather than local students and they co-constructed a form of identification of themselves as transnationals through various shared linguistic and social practices at the university (Canagarajah, 2013; Kalocsai, 2014; Pennycook, 2007; 2010).

Extract 8.12 (interview 1 – Kamile)

1. K: it's really easy to get close to people in a situation like this because
2. everyone seems **in the same boat** they're missing their friends they're
3. missing their family they're missing their food

Extract 8.13 (interview 3 – Daniel)

1. D: um I think probably non-Korean friends
2. R: ok
3. D: because you're kind of **in the same situation** you're thrown **in the same**
4. **box**
5. R: ok
6. D: **boat or whatever**
7. R: uhu
8. D: and then you have to try to make use of it use with other people with
9. equally as less experience as them
10. R: ok
11. D: to get around

Another type of identity construction the participants ascribed to was localization (i.e., being 'more Korean'). For example in extract 8.14, Yuto describes his 'Koreanness' with reference to what others have *said* about him such as "you're ninety percent Korean" (Riley, 2007). In extract 8.15, it can be seen that Mei's use of discourse on "ppali ppali" (fast fast) allowed her to establish a local identity linked to a stereotypical Korean culture although she claims that she used to be a more relaxed person.

Extract 8.14 (interview 2 – Yuto)

1. R: um have you become more Korean in some way
2. Y: Korean but **my Korean friends said to me you're ninety percent Korean**
3. ((laughs))
4. R: really the way you behave
5. Y: yea ((laughs))
6. R: really ((laughs))
7. Y: or just I talk to them in Korean all the time so they feel like I'm Korean and
8. they talking to Korean

Extract 8.15 (interview 2 – Mei)

1. M: like normally we would just wait for people but now I'm like <Kr> **ppali**
2. **ppali {hurry hurry} go faster** I don't even know why I don't understand myself
3. R: you're in a hurry [you mean?]
4. M: [mhm] yea like everything we're like oh do it quickly like faster faster
5. R: oh ok
6. M: **normally I would be like take your time but when we're here I'm like**

7. <Kr> ppali ppali and then
8. R: ok I understand ((laughs))

Similar to Li's (2011) findings, in extract 8.16, Daniel also exhibits his multilingual identity by demonstrating how he uses Korean resources in ELF conversations for fun. He believes that he and his friends are opened about mixing resources. In line with Cogo's (2010) and Klimpfinger's (2009) studies, both Mei and Daniel present how they creatively exploit multilingual ELF to signal their identity and membership. The linguistic practices were what indicated multilingual identities in the local context. As mentioned in section 8.2, the participants tended to mix Korean or other language resources in ELF conversations for various reasons such as for entertainment, word substitution, to teach new expressions or to talk to others with the same L1 but also because it was just a natural, inevitable phenomenon (see section 8.4).

Extract 8.16 (interview 2 – Daniel)

1. D: and also we do like just to like make fun when my friends are coming like
2. <Kr> ppali {hurry} come now quickly
3. R: oh yea yea
4. D: and things like that
5. R: or saying hi or bye
6. D: yea yea <Kr> annyeong {hi, bye} annyeong
7. R: yea ((laughs))
8. D: yea we tend to mix a lot cause usually like we're more opened about it
9. I think

Furthermore, some of the participants shared their experiences of how they mediated between cultures as multilinguals (Baker, 2011; Byram, 2008). For example, in extract 8.17, I have asked Mei (Ls: Malay, English, Cantonese, Mandarin and two local dialects) how she feels about multilingualism in her life and she positively relates this to how she is an intercultural mediator between three cultures (i.e., Korean, Chinese and Malay)²⁴. She appears to be the person who helps translate for Chinese and Malay speakers struggling at the university. I have particularly been fascinated by Mei's multilingual life and the mechanism of her linguistic practices, and thus in extract 8.18, I have asked Mei using which 'language' she thinks she feels herself the most.

²⁴ Also see extract 7.3 (section 7.2.1.1) for Yuto's mediator role.

Her response, aligning with Cogo (2009; 2010), Kalocsai (2014) and Klimpfinger (2009), offers an insight to what having a multilingual identity entails.

Extract 8.17 (interview 2 – Mei)

1. M: I think it's really positive because when I'm here there's a lot of foreigners
2. R: mhm
3. M: the Koreans always go into the room and they're like you're here you
4. speak Chinese right come and help me translate
5. R: mhm
6. M: and like oh there's this Malay girl and nobody can speak that language
7. and they just like grab me
8. R: ok
9. M: and I can help translate and it makes life easier
10. R: ok so it's a really good thing

Extract 8.18 (interview 2 – Mei)

1. R: so using which language do you think you are most you yourself?
2. M: mixing everything
3. R: ok
4. M: yea that's like more of myself

There were also instances where the participants rejected the perceived local identity. Daniel and Leo at the time of the fieldwork were taking some EMI classes where the majority were Korean students. They discussed during a group conversation about how in those classes the students usually stayed silent when the professor asked a question. Both Daniel and Leo avoided the group identity by expressing that they felt “annoyed” and “uncomfortable”. Daniel also showed an example of how he directly deviates from this type of group identity by stating that he “answer[s] all the time” (extract 6.61).

Whether it was a particular discourse or it was through conversations, ‘language’ was a crucial source that enabled the participants to preserve, develop or avoid certain identities. Hence, it can be noted that one’s identity is constructed through both social and linguistic encounters with members of different groups across different spaces and times (Joseph, 2004; Kramsch, 2009; Weedon, 1997). As pointed out earlier in section 3.6, Joseph (2004) argues that identity and language are deeply attached to each other. However, as my findings suggest, the idea of identity constructions ought to go beyond this level. Indeed with ‘language’ the participants were able to build on their identity constructs. Yet the emphasis should also be on that they were able to

demonstrate change and development of such constructs through liminal cultures and transnational space by sensibly orienting or disorienting themselves to particular local, national and global communities (Baker, 2016).

In spite of the multifarious and dynamic identifications the participants characterized themselves of, one thing to bear in mind is that at times, they based their justifications through stereotypes and generalizations of particular social groups they belonged to. For example, in extract 8.19, Yuto withdraws his existing national identity which he describes and he categorizes himself as someone who is social and can talk to foreigners easily. He differences himself from stereotypes of passive Japanese people while he is also a Japanese who does not comply with the stereotype. Kamile also distanced herself with non-Koreans in Korea by explaining that she does not desire to behave like the foreigners who cause trouble in society. However, she actually used the aforementioned expression “in the same boat” when talking about her and other non-Korean students at the university (see extract 6.58).

Extract 8.19 (interview 1 – Yuto)

1. Y: u::m like I told you know I really changed personally like characters
2. R: oh yea yea that's a good thing
3. Y: yea so I think I can work more outside Japan
4. R: ok
5. Y: that's possible I think and
6. R: do you think you've become more open minded?
7. Y: **yea yea really open minded a lot of my Japanese friend told me like**
8. **you're not Japanese** [[[laughs]]]
9. R: [[[laughs]]] really you're very international
10. Y: **yea I can talk to like foreigners**
11. R: ok
12. Y: **and Koreans but normally Japanese doesn't do it**

8.4 The perceptions of translanguaging, ELF and Korean

This section summarizes the participants' views on the ‘languages’ and ‘linguaging’ that were a crucial part of their communicative practices while living in Korea. It outlines what the participants think about translanguaging (García, 2009; García & Li, 2013; Li, 2011; 2016; 2017; Otheguy et al., 2015) as well as the role of ELF and Korean in their daily lives. Hence, this section explores research question 1c: What

are the community's perceptions of their language practices, including ELF? Interview data with the supplement of fieldnotes have been especially useful for a detailed explanation.

To start off, the participants presented a mix of positive, complex and negative views towards their interwoven language resources in conversations. Conflicting perceptions and different underlying language ideologies were noticed among the participants. Kamile and Yuto particularly provided negative implications on the translanguaging²⁵ phenomenon. As seen in extract 8.20, Kamile seems to link translanguaging to a deficiency towards producing a language. Interestingly in lines 9-10, she explains that her emotions and thoughts are “all over the place” and she uses whatever language she can at each moment. Although she describes translanguaging in a negative fashion, she appears to conform to the idea that she has one linguistic repertoire and she needs to pick out whatever resource she can to get her ideas together (García, 2011). As Hülmbauer (2013: 69) argues, “[s]uccessful ELF users take stock of what is available at a particular moment” and “creatively find ways to reach their goals with the material at hand”.

Extract 8.20 (interview 1 – Kamile)

1. R: oh ok do you tend to mix languages sometimes?
2. K: yes yes **a lot my Lithuanian friends and my mom hates me for that**
3. because when I'm especially speaking Lithuanian it's really hard for me **my**
4. **brain doesn't work properly** and I can't like there's so many words that I
5. can't translate in in Lithuanian and I just I say it in English
6. [...]
7. R: are you forgetting?
8. K: I don't think so but it is hard when I have something to tell it's it's a little
9. bit tough because **my emotions all over the place my thoughts are all over**
10. **the place it's just like you use whatever language you need to**

In extract 8.21, Kamile confirms her negative view on translanguaging (lines 5-6). The reason for having this view, as Kamile states in lines 8-10, is that the society plays a role in forming her beliefs about her use of language. Kamile seems to display a

²⁵ The term translanguaging was a bit technical to use during my interviews with the participants, so instead I have used ‘mixing languages’ for an easier understanding. Luckily, the participants related their answers in accordance to their actual translanguaging practices rather than their code-switching or translation experiences.

contested language ideology (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001; 2004). It can be assumed that in some cases, Lithuanians of Lithuanian origin in their own ethnic community are encouraged to avoid the use of Russian loanwords and thus from Kamile's perspective, translanguaging would indicate the struggle to use 'pure' Lithuanian.

Extract 8.21 (interview 2 – Kamile)

1. K: and I would say I think it's on the negative side
2. R: for you
3. K: yea I think so
4. R: ok
5. K: because it's not ok if I'm struggling to use my mother tongue I don't
6. **think it's ok**
7. R: ok why is it negative do you think it's u:h
8. K: **society makes me think that way I guess ((laughs)) because I have a**
9. **lot of friends who are really Lithuanian because Russian (.) we have a lot**
10. **of words that are Russian changed into Lithuanian**
11. R: oh
12. [...]
13. K: **and it's not true Lithuanian so a lot of my friends was like you should**
14. **stop using like that**
15. R: oh ok but what if the Lithuanian friend you meet what if she knows Korean
16. and English?
17. K: I'm probably gonna use Korean and English with her ((laughs))
18. R: yea
19. K: that's [how it was with her] yea yea

In extract 8.22, Yuto offers a somewhat different reason why translanguaging is not a positive phenomenon for him. He feels that this type of practice inhibits himself from achieving his Korean language improvement goals. This is because he believes that he tends to 'mix languages' when he does not know some Korean expressions during his conversations in Korean. In this situation, the languaging switches to English so that his interlocutors can help out. Still, Yuto's idea of translanguaging relates to that of Kamile's given that both consider the phenomenon as a hindrance from being able to speak a language 'properly'.

Extract 8.22 (interview 2 – Yuto)

1. R: do you think it's a positive thing? you like mixing languages?
2. Y: no ((laughs))
3. R: you don't like it in general
4. Y: yea
5. R: ok why not
6. Y: u:m my goal is to talk in Korean all the time to Koreans but sometimes I
7. don't know some words and they try to explain about the words in English

Furthermore, an interesting contradiction worthy of noting comes from one of Mei's interview. In extract 8.23, she describes a good English speaker as someone who does not mix a lot of "foreign language[s]". This contradicts her view on translanguaging and the relation between multilingual practices and language fluency which is explained in extracts 8.25-8.27. Throughout her interviews she showed strong advocacy towards translanguaging and the use of multilingual resources. However, she appears to perceive two sides of translanguaging. She believes that skillful translanguaging shows language competence whereas translanguaging that occurs due to uncertainty or ignorance indicates language deficiency or the struggle to use the language such as how Kamile said her "brain doesn't work properly" (extract 8.20). This tells us that the perception of translanguaging may be contingent upon whether it is about natural and smooth translanguaging or translanguaging that disrupts the flow of the conversation such as Mei's example seen in extract 8.23 below (lines 1-3). When asking the participants about the experiences and thoughts on the phenomenon of 'mixing languages', Daniel and Mei considered the former aspect of translanguaging and provided interesting comments.

Extract 8.23 (interview 2 – Mei)

1. M: **German people are like how do you say this word**
2. **((laughs)) and they speak to me in German and I'm like what (.) if you**
3. **don't use like much foreign language when you speak English I think**
4. that's our definition I guess
5. R: ok
6. M: mhm
7. R: but it doesn't necessarily mean perfect grammar or
8. M: no because even me I don't think I speak perfect grammar in any language
9. R: ok
10. M: even when I text like we just text like blah

According to Daniel and Mei, translanguaging represented cosmopolitan ideologies (Canagarajah, 2013). Translanguaging enabled the participants to construct new relationships, practices, cultures and identities in diversifying global contexts. In extract 8.24, Daniel provides an example of how he and his grandfather have conversations with a mix of English and Afrikaans. His roommate who overheard his Skype conversation with his grandfather did not understand half of what they were talking about. Hence, Daniel's example complements Mei's view of translanguaging as a "secret language" (see extract 8.5). This also validates the idea that language is

shaped through multilingual practices in the local context and it is highly subject to change and renegotiation from context to context (Pennycook, 2010).

Extract 8.24 (interview 1 – Daniel)

1. D: but he throws in Afrikaans words all the time
2. R: oh ok
3. D: so that's **quite cool**
4. R: oh ok it's really interesting=
5. D: =like **when I um when I Skype my grandpa something and my**
6. **roommate he listens**
7. R: uhu
8. D: he says he just picks up random words
9. R: oh ok
10. D: **he doesn't know what the others half means**

In extracts 8.25 and 8.26, Mei relates her translanguaging to a natural, automatic and comfortable phenomenon in situations where she is with people who have overlapping linguistic repertoires. In extract 8.27, she also mentions that translanguaging entails language fluency in the local context (line 14) as opposed to Kamile and Yuto's perception on deeming it as a flaw. This example brings us back to the literature on language variation and diversification discussed in chapter 2; that multilingual use of ELF represents innovativeness and flexibility of how competent ELF users fruitfully interact with one another (Cogo, 2009; 2010; 2012; Hülmbauer, 2009; 2011; 2013; Kalocsai, 2014; Klimpfinger, 2009).

Extract 8.25 (interview 1 – Mei)

1. M: mhm so it's like a mixture of words
2. [...]
3. M: so when you talk it's like if you know someone knows this and this
4. language you automatically mix it [so] when they came to Malaysia **it's so**
5. **automatic** because my friends know all those language so I just mix I just
6. talk with them in a mixed language
7. R: [a::h ok] oh ok
8. M: cause **it's really natural** if you know

Extract 8.26 (interview 2 – Mei)

1. M: mixing if I'm with like back in Malaysia because I know they know all the
2. languages so it's really easy **I feel really comfortable**

Extract 8.27 (interview 1 – Mei)

1. M: like when my friend came she couldn't like my friend she couldn't
2. understand like my friend's English cause there's too much slangs and all the
3. words that's not English
4. [...]
5. M: like my friends cause it's like normal with people if they know you are
6. foreigner so they speak to you in like the English you would know but when
7. I'm with my friends they doesn't understand it
8. R: ah
9. M: **because we mix too much stuff in the words**
10. R: is it like Malay English?
11. M: **like sometimes I like mix Cantonese and Malay [in it and like**
12. **everything]**
13. R: [really (.) must be very hard then]
14. M: like for us **it's really normal** (.) **it's really fluent** (.) but for them it's kinda
15. hard=
16. R: =so you can understand everything in your country
17. M: mhm for me **it's normal** because like yea I know the languages and all
18. R: that's really interesting

In extract 8.28, Mei provides an interesting comment that her use of English is intensely multilingual and thus she is not certain where some of the words she uses come from (lines 6-8). Another similar example can be seen in extract 8.29. When I have asked Kamile if Korean English became part of her use of English, she gives an example of the word 'areubaiteu' which means 'part-time job' in Korean. In line 3, she realizes it is a Japanese word and I respond to her that it is actually German, which comes from the word 'arbeit' meaning 'work' or 'job'. However, later I have found out that 'areubaiteu' is a Japanese loanword which has been adapted from the German word 'arbeit'. This complies with the existing argument that in lingua franca communication, the intricate mix of 'languages' go through considerable change and hybridization that it becomes arduous to separate them according to their first language boundaries (Canagarajah, 2009; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012). Hence, it has become even more insurmountable to envisage what actually is 'pure' English as English is constantly and inevitably in contact with various other language resources in globalized settings (Baker, 2015; Canagarajah, 2009; Hülmbauer, 2013; Jenkins, 2015; Kalocsai, 2014; Mauranen, 2012). However, there were still participants such as Yuto, who made precise demarcations between different 'languages' and were conscious of this throughout their spoken interactions (see extract 7.3). Such as extracts 8.30-8.31, other participants also considered Korean English as an element of their English repertoire and found this beneficial to the extent of integrating to Korean society.

Extract 8.28 (interview 2 – Mei)

1. M: oh and when I first came here it was kind of hard because I'm really
2. really used to mixing all the languages
3. R: oh ok
4. M: and I have to like I need to speak English English now
5. [...]
6. M: **some of the words I'm not even sure if it's English or not like I**
7. **thought maybe it's a Malay word but I'm not so sure because I just**
8. **use it every time** and many people just ask me like oh what are you
9. talking about like oh and I slowly change

Extract 8.29 (interview 3 – Kamile)

1. R: ok and it's part of your English while your in Korea?
2. K: well I'm I think for example **I was talking about part-time job I was**
3. **saying <Kr> areubaiteu {part-time job} wait <Kr> areubaiteu is Japanese**
4. R: **no <Kr> areubaiteu is German**
5. K: really? I thought it was Japanese
6. R: but it's a Korean word as well

In extract 8.30, Mei also gives an example of a Korean English word she uses in her ELF conversations. In line 8, she again states that being able to use Korean English makes it seem like she is a fluent speaker. In extract 8.31, Daniel emphasizes that “you have to get used to” Korean English or else it would be difficult to make sense of the English used in the local context. Here, he also includes the way English borrowings are pronounced. For example, the word ‘staff’ is pronounced ‘seuteb’ and ‘event’ is pronounced ‘ebenteu’ in Korean English. Accordingly, this study calls for an appreciation of the transnational influence of language variation in order to effectively communicate in the local context (Canagarajah, 2007b; Cogo, 2009; 2010; 2012; Hülmbauer, 2009; 2011; Hülmbauer & Seidlhofer, 2013; Klimpfinger, 2009).

Extract 8.30 (interview 1 – Mei)

1. M: **so I learned a lot of Korean English here**
2. R: do you think you speak Korean English sometimes?
3. M: sometimes
4. R: yea?
5. M: **like yea I really call <Kr> apateu {apartment} (.) apateu it's like a**
6. **part of my English**
7. [...]
8. M: **you just cause it sound more fluently**
9. R: uhu
10. M: **so I just use their English**
11. R: yea
12. M: but if my foreign friends they won't understand so I just speak English
13. R: oh ok (.) so depending on who you're with (.) you can mix it

14. M: depending on yep (.) **if those foreigners know Korean then I would mix**
15. **everything**

Extract 8.31 (interview 3 – Daniel)

1. R: how important do you think it is to know Konglish²⁶ when living in Korea?
2. D: **relatively important if like when I first arrived I didn't quite get the**
3. **words I didn't understand Konglish**
4. R: ok so=
5. D: **=so you have to get used to it the way they say it**
6. R: uhu
7. D: **and then cause otherwise it'll just make no sense**
8. R: ok so you do need to know Konglish [when you're in Korea] ok
9. D: [yea yea] cause also like they use Konglish for a lot of things even when
10. they write English words in <Kr> Hangeul {Korean alphabet} it's pretty much
11. Konglish

Furthermore, the participants offered various insights and experiences with regard to ELF in the Korean context and some new findings have emerged. When the participants were asked about theirs and others' use of English, they consistently linked them to their social life, reflecting on the communication they or others had with people with different L1s, rather than to their academic experiences although they predominately used it for both sectors. The participants evaluated theirs and others' English by referring to how they orally communicate whereas, they judged each other's Korean with the level of certificate (i.e., TOPIK²⁷ exam; which in fact does not assess Speaking) they obtained. They were more serious, concerned and professional when it came to topical conversations on Korean language. They linked Korean to their current goals, future and proof of document while English was primarily considered an essential communication tool which enabled them to socialize with people from around the world (see section 7.2.3).

In extract 8.32, Mei explains that her goal is to obtain a TOPIK level (lines 4-5). This is because whenever someone asked her level of Korean, she could not give an exact answer as she has never taken a Korean proficiency exam and she picked up the language naturally while living in Korea. This extract also provides evidence to what I have observed throughout the fieldwork. It was a common practice in the IntCom to

²⁶ 'Konglish' is another word for 'Korean English'.

²⁷ Test of Proficiency in Korean

ask each other's or other's level of Korean. The participants were particularly interested in how others' Korean was rather than their English.

Extract 8.32 (interview 1 – Mei)

1. R: and what's your like every year what's your like um immediate goals?
2. M: immediate goal for like that year? like
3. R: like for this year
4. M: this year (.) **I wanna get like I want to have a proper Korean lesson and**
5. **get like TOPIK four for this immediate goal ((laughs))**
6. [...]
7. M: **and like have a level cause every time they ask me what level and I'm**
8. **like [ha no::]**
9. R: [ah they keep asking talking about that right]
10. M: **yea and I don't know and I don't have a level cause I just learn like**
11. **everywhere**

Other cases to take into account are extracts 8.33 and 8.34. In extract 8.33, Yuto addresses that he would like to have a job in the future that involves English and Korean. Yet, he has been only concerned about his Korean skills. This is shown in extract 8.34 below. In line 4, Yuto appears to have chosen to work in the buddy scheme team in the IntCom (see section 5.4.2.1) as the job significantly involved communicating and administrating in Korean. He wanted to challenge himself to improve his Korean skills. On the other hand, there was no evidence of Yuto willing to improve his English. He generally seemed satisfied and confident with his use of English. For example, in extract 8.19 mentioned above, he illustrates that he is open-minded and that he could easily talk to foreigners unlike many Japanese.

Extract 8.33 (interview 1 – Yuto)

1. Y: um: I'm still not sure about my future but I wanna get a job by using
2. English and Korean

Extract 8.34 (interview 1 – Yuto)

1. R: ok are you the only foreign member foreigner student like
2. Y: in buddy team
3. R: in buddy team oh ok so they use a lot of Korean
4. Y: **yea but that's why I chosen buddy team cause I can understand**
5. **Korean**
6. R: oh really
7. [...]
8. R: [[[laughs]]] yea ok and what do you expect to gain from being part of the IntCom?
9. Y: u::m of course it's really hard to do the job by using Korean it's still
10. difficult to um tell them about my opinion fluently

11. R: uhu

12. Y: **so I wish my talking skills is gonna be better**

In fact, what is also notable is that none of the participants have remarked the eagerness to improve their English as their goal even though it was what comprised a significant aspect of their everyday lives in Korea. This showed a different result from that of Kalocsai's (2014) findings in the way that her participants oriented themselves as NNSEs and took on the role as "language learners" (p.197). Along with Cogo's (2010) findings, having good English proficiency from the participants' point of view was not about sounding like a native speaker but it was about confidence, naturalness and intelligibility. At the same time, Daniel (South African) mentioned the fact that he himself as a NSE makes "mistakes" quite often during conversations and he prioritized getting the message through over other factors to clarify what it means to be good in English (extract 7.14). Daniel also referred to situations where he even had to adapt his English for Marc (American), another NSE, for effective communication (extract 7.20).

Furthermore, Kamile and Mei revealed their processing of change in their thoughts on their own use of English. Both of them were anxious to use English in their own ways when they first arrived in Korea because of dominant language ideologies; however, later they realized that English is actually a profoundly diversifying phenomenon and anyone can make 'mistakes' and sound strange or different to another (see extracts 7.16, 7.17, 7.19), although Kamile still admitted that as a NNSE she sometimes feels intimidated when speaking in English to NSEs she is not close to. Nevertheless, the participants have learned to confidently make use of their innovative English resources and this did not prevent them from socializing in the community.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the concept of language, culture, and identity should no longer be conceived within conventional boundaries of dominant ideologies. The participants proved how the co-construction of language and culture takes into account various localizations and global references. They also ascribed themselves in transcultural and liminal spaces. They flexibly adapted to the local and global context

and deviated from stereotypical assumptions. Moreover, the findings suggest that English used in the global context has become an obvious means of intercultural communication that sounding like a NSE is no longer what global communicators primarily aim for or desire. In fact, being a competent ELF user entails the knowledge and skills of being able to fruitfully operate their multilingual resources in the local context.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This final chapter sets out to outline a summary of the thesis. Firstly, I illustrate the summary of the researching findings. In this section, I revisit the aim of this study and the research questions. Each research question is delineated with a more succinct summary of the themes dealt in the previous chapter. In the next section, I reflect on the limitations of this study and also provide suggestions for future research. This is followed by contributions and implications of this study.

9.2 Research findings

This thesis sought to explore the social lives of international students at a Korean university using ethnographic methods to understand the community in-depth. I have particularly examined the perceptions and social and linguistic practices of the members of an active student committee. The participants' creative use of multilingual resources, their views on 'languages' and 'linguaging' and the perceptions of their transcultural positions revealed culture constructions, identity development and importantly the role of ELF in the community. Here, I bring back the research questions before illustrating the summary of my research findings.

1. What role does ELF play in a multilingual student community in Korean higher education?
 - a) What role do shared social and linguistic practices play in the co-construction of the multilingual student community of practice?
 - b) Which shared identities are constructed and perceived by the community?
 - c) What are the community's perceptions of their language practices, including ELF?

From research question 1a, I had the intention to find out how the participants co-construct the community's culture through their shared ELF practices, including discourse practices and topics, code-switching and translanguaging. The findings

showed that the practices the participants built on together as proficient ELF users resulted in close friendship and trust and eventually the development of shared repertoires (Wenger, 1998). The participants started their journey as learners of the community (peripheral member) and they achieved a better understanding of how things work after taking part in plentiful shared activities (core member). Daniel was able to prove his expertise as an experienced member by being able to compare different generations of the IntCom (extracts 6.60, 8.1). The habitual practices that have been co-created were forms of cultural ‘doings’ and demonstrated the idea that culture is fluid in nature and cannot be defined by conventional boundaries (Baker, 2009; 2011; Holliday, 2010b; Risager, 2006; Scollon et al., 2012). Particularly through collaborative humor, the participants displayed solidarity and strong social bonding (Coates, 2007; Holmes, 2006; Kalocsai, 2014; Matsumoto, 2014; Pullin, 2009) and no such types of power relations were detected among NSEs and NNSEs. Collaborative humor was an important aspect of how the participants proved core membership (extracts 6.42-6.44, 8.2). Furthermore, the types of discourse examined in the community transcended national and cultural boundaries of dominant first language ideologies (extract 6.37, 6.38, 8.3). They have established new forms of languacultures (Baker, 2015; Risager, 2006). In terms of the shared multilingual practices, English and Korean were the two prominent types of language resources and the participants built on their own ‘languaging’ in the local context (see section 7.3). The participants’ in-group ways of translanguaging enabled them to develop their own meaningful space in the community (Cogo, 2012; Hülmbauer, 2011; 2013; Li, 2011; Pölzl & Seidlhofer, 2006).

Research question 1b was formed to understand the negotiation of different identity constructs in the community and see what types of change the participants display. As evidenced in the findings, the participants’ identity constructions were highly complex, dynamic, fluid and flexible demonstrating adaptability, development, localization and transculturality. The participants’ examples went beyond the relationship between language and identity and proved how identity can be constructed through liminal cultures and transnational space by sensibly orienting or disorienting themselves to particular local, national and global communities (Baker, 2016). While some of the participants such as Leo and Yuto (extracts 6.47-6.49, 8.8-8.9), revealed their cultural identities, some others such as Mei, Daniel and Kamile

(extracts 6.50-6.53, 8.10-8.12), showed how they developed an identity enabling them to adapt and get along better with people in diverse intercultural environments (Byram, 2008; Jackson, 2010; 2011; Killick, 2012; Lam, 2006). Yet, Yuto has also illustrated how he localized himself of becoming 'more Korean' in the community while discarding his national identity (extracts 6.56, 8.16). On the other hand, participants such as Daniel and Leo avoided the local identity in classroom settings. They were particularly uncomfortable with silent groups and tended to answer themselves when the professor asked questions to the class (extract 6.61).

Mei especially described the complexity of her hybrid identity while she also explained her different positioning across communities depending on the situations she encountered (extracts 6.63, 8.13) (Baker, 2009; 2011; Canagarajah, 2005; Kramsch, 1993; 2009; 2011; Kumaravadivelu, 2008; Rampton, 1995). She also seemed to positively present her multilingual identity which helped facilitate her role as an intercultural mediator (extracts 6.67, 8.19) (Baker, 2011; Byram, 2008). The participants also established a global citizenship identity by categorizing themselves as transnationals in the same situation (Killick, 2012). They felt that they were able to connect with other international students more easily than local students as they were all thrown "in the same boat" and had equally less experience than the locals (extracts 6.64-6.66, 8.14-8.15).

Lastly, research question 1c attempted to uncover the perceptions of not only ELF but the crucial aspects of it in the local context such as multilingual practices (i.e., translanguaging) and Korean. The participants expressed a mix of positive, complex and negative views towards translanguaging including conflicting perceptions and different underlying language ideologies. Kamile and Yuto were particularly negative about the translanguaging phenomenon (extracts 7.1, 7.2, 7.4, 8.22-8.24). They seemed to believe that translanguaging indicates language deficiency as it interfered with them using the language 'properly'. One of Yuto's goals during the fieldwork was to improve his Korean language skills so that he could only use Korean during conversations with Korean speakers. However, he had to switch the 'languaging' to English when he was not sure of some expressions and he believed that this hindered him from achieving his goal (extracts 7.4, 8.24). Kamile related translanguaging to a contested language ideology in the Lithuanian society stating that it is not good to mix

Russian words when speaking Lithuanian (extracts 7.2, 8.23) (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001; 2004). However, she conformed to the idea that she has one linguistic repertoire and that she chooses her language resources according to what is available for her at a particular moment (extracts 7.1, 8.22) (García, 2011; Hülmbauer, 2013).

On the other hand, Mei implicitly presented two aspects of translanguaging and had two different views towards them. She believed that natural and skillful translanguaging showed language competence (extracts 7.10, 8.29) whereas, translanguaging that occurred due to uncertainty or ignorance, such as Yuto's example above, related to the struggle to use the language (extracts 7.5, 8.25). She was a strong advocate of translanguaging when it came to the former phenomenon. For both Mei and Daniel, translanguaging enabled the participants to construct new relationships, practices, cultures and identities in diversifying global contexts (Canagarajah, 2013). They believed translanguaging was a special way of communicating in the local context which was contextualized depending on the people they were with. Mei also linked her translanguaging to a natural, automatic and comfortable phenomenon (extracts 7.9, 7.11, 8.27, 8.28). Her view justified the idea that multilingual use of ELF represents the innovativeness and flexibility of ELF users (Cogo, 2009; 2010; 2012; Hülmbauer, 2009; 2011; 2013; Kalocsai, 2014; Klimpfinger, 2009).

At other times, Kamile and Mei demonstrated how the intricate mix of languages in global flows makes it difficult to separate 'languages' (extracts 7.11, 7.23, 8.30, 8.31). Especially in terms of English, as it is constantly evolving and changing in contact with other language resources, it would be meaningless to try to pick out what is 'pure' English (Baker, 2015; Canagarajah, 2009; Hülmbauer, 2013; Jenkins, 2015; Kalocsai, 2014; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012; Mauranten, 2012). Accordingly, the participants considered Korean English to be a crucial element of ELF use in the local environment (extracts 7.21-7.23, 8.32, 8.33). They addressed that it had become part of their English and found this beneficial to the extent of integrating to the Korean society. Lastly, the participants marked a significant difference between the role of ELF and Korean (see sections 7.22-7.23, 8.4). While the participants were more serious, concerned and professional when it came to the Korean language, they linked their and other's use of English to their social life, reflecting on the communication

they had with people of different L1s. None of them expressed the eagerness to improve their English proficiency whereas most of the participants were willing to learn and practice Korean for their future goals. Moreover, Mei and Kamile also realized that English is actually a profoundly diversified phenomenon and that anyone's English can sound strange or different to another (extracts 7.16, 7.17, 7.19). They were confident with their way of using English and thus, their uniqueness of ELF practices did not prevent them from socializing in the community.

9.3 Limitations and further research

Firstly, as mentioned in section 5.10, generalizations are difficult to be made from this study as I have gathered qualitative data from a small number of participants. Nine participants were regularly observed and among them four were the main focus who have been interviewed in-depth. Yet, implementing an ethnographic approach into the fieldwork allowed me to obtain a rich amount of useful and insightful data from my participants and to have a greater understanding of the IntCom as I had the opportunity to interact and become closer to the members as an insider (more about the insider role is mentioned below).

It should also be noted that the participants of this study were part of an active student committee and thus they were all very positive about their experiences in Korean HE. This surely cannot represent the whole international student community in Korean HE as I have not been able to look at non-active students or the ones who predominantly had negative views towards their life at a Korean university. Moreover, the research setting was at one particular university in Korea and thus similar results cannot be guaranteed in another Korean HE setting. This suggests that a steady accumulation of research exploring international student communities in non-Anglophone HE can build on to theorizing and making possible generalizations of the communities in global contexts.

Another limitation to point out is that although the context of this study was at a Korean university, the role of ELF has not been investigated in an academic setting. I have been only able to observe and collect recordings of natural conversations during social occasions at the university (e.g., at cafés, restaurants, student cafeteria, IntCom

events etc.). Even the participants' illustrations regarding the role of ELF during interviews were generally linked to their social lives as international students. Hence, more studies of international students' use of ELF (practices and perceptions) in both social and academic settings can provide a better balance between the roles of ELF in non-Anglophone HE contexts.

Lastly, the researcher's role should be considered a limitation due to the possibility of biased judgement. This is particularly important to mention because as part of the ethnographic approach, I took on a position as an insider in the community. I have developed close friendships with my participants and thus, there could have been times where my reasoning during the data analysis procedure was biased.

Furthermore, I have also attended a university in Seoul and have been an international student in the UK for over four years, hence although I could easily relate to the participants, this could have created misjudgements coming from my own point of view. This is why it was crucial to have retrospective interviews with the participants to confirm my interpretation of the data.

9.4 Contributions and implications

This study can offer a number of insightful contributions and implications in relation to the field of sociolinguistics particularly in multilingualism and ELF research. This study adopted an ethnographic approach to understand not only the perceptions of multilingual practices but also to examine how the participants socialize and communicate in real life situations. Previous research on ELF communication has heavily looked at English in interaction rather than the collaborative mechanisms of English and other languages, and as pointed out in section 8.2, studies of multilingualism and ELF have tended to put focus on different L1s and English (Jenkins, 2015). However, the findings suggest that the nature of ELF communication has become increasingly multilingual and diverse in global contexts that there is more than just L1s and English in the 'linguaging' of ELF users and an L3 is significantly involved in ELF interactions specifically in non-Anglophone settings. The participants' meaningful ways of communicating through their multilingual resources can be found in examples presented in section 7.3. They tended to code-switch when their L1s were involved and translanguaging occurred especially with the shared L3 (Korean).

Through exploring the blending of all available multilingual resources in this study, it has also been discovered that there were split views with regards to translanguaging. Translanguaging has become an emerging research subject in multilingualism studies and is also steadily being recognized in the field of ELF (e.g., Cogo, 2012; Kalocsai, 2014) but not much has looked at the practices and perceptions of it together in relation to ELF. The participants had conflicting views towards translanguaging pertaining to their underlying ideologies, that is, whether they considered it as a struggle to use a language (section 7.2.1.1) or as something natural, fun and cosmopolitan (section 7.2.1.2). However, it has been confirmed from this study that whether the participants were positive or negative about ‘mixing languages’, it inevitably happened in their daily lives which tells us that the multilingual phenomenon in the field of ELF is worth continue researching.

Furthermore, the results of this study imply that ‘language’ is indeed a social construct, as opposed to an invented system, and that it is contextualized with reference to the local environment and different linguacultural backgrounds of the speakers (Pennycook, 2010). The participants demonstrated how they co-built their linguistic repertoires in the community (Wenger, 1998). This is why the legitimacy of ELF use varies from context to context. Importantly, the participants in my research context viewed ELF as a profoundly diversifying phenomenon and approved the ways of how English is adapted to the local context or how it is used differently by speakers of various backgrounds (Canagarajah, 2007b; Cogo, 2012; Hülmbauer, 2009; 2011). For example, Daniel, Mei and Kamile admitted the use of Korean English to be beneficial to integrating to the local society (extracts 7.21-7.23, 8.32, 8.33). Mei and Kamile portrayed change in their views about their and others’ use of English and accepted the flexibility of ELF (extracts 7.16, 7.19).

The distinction between the role of English and the local language among the participants is a crucial point to outline as well (sections 7.2.2-7.23). The participants as ELF users in a non-Anglophone, East Asian setting, confirmed that English is only a means of communication and they showed no interest in improving the language or speaking like a NSE, while the proficiency of the local language was more of a concern to them. It appears that the participants were not aware of the flexible use of ELF before arriving in Korea. They had only realized what ELF is after communicating and

socializing with ELF speakers of different backgrounds at the university (although they do not use the term 'ELF' they describe its features). Hence, the participants evidently took on identities as ELF speakers while also positioning themselves as learners of Korean who also needed to pick up Korean English. This highlights how ELF operates within a multilingual context and brings us to the argument that English certainly cannot fit into the framework of dominant first language ideologies (Baker, 2015; Risager, 2006). Empirical evidence (extracts 6.37, 6.38, 8.3) showed how ELF communication takes on multiple languacultures and develops its dynamic, vibrant, diverse, and flexible qualities through various contextualization of the speakers (Baker, 2015). Thus, traditional ELT (English Language Teaching) and EAP (English for Academic Purposes) approaches to English in international education have become obsolete and it would be difficult to apply these approaches to the multilingual situation my participants find themselves in.

The results of this study can also inform us of the development of internationalization in East Asian HE. There has not been much research which investigated the socialization of international students' in an East Asian context in terms understanding communities, culture formation and identity construction through ELF. Furthermore, the majority of studies which looked at international students in HE has been set in Anglophone countries such as the UK, the US, Canada and Australia. However, as mentioned in section 2.4, there has been an increase of incoming student mobility into non-Anglophone destinations such as South Korea and the Russian federation (OECD, 2014) which certainly cannot be ignored. This study has facilitated a deeper understanding of complex change and development in international students' identities in Korean HE. The participants adopted various types of identities as transcultural and transnational students. Hence, this study can promote the role of global citizenship in international universities (Killick, 2012). The participants surely did not persist on the identity they have developed in their home countries but demonstrated adaptability and localization. For example, Daniel and Kamile developed an additional identity that enabled them to adapt to diversity at the university (extracts 6.51-6.53, 8.11, 8.12); and both Yuto and Mei described how they became 'more Korean' (extracts 6.56, 6.57, 8.16, 8.17). Moreover, as found in extract 6.63 (and 8.13) , Mei displayed a hybrid identity and explained how she could wisely

move in and out of different communities at the university (Baker, 2009; 2011; Canagarajah, 2005; Kumaravadivelu, 2008).

It has also been evidenced in this study that the local and the global²⁸ were reciprocal and have co-existed, facilitating the development of each other through the various layers of membership participation (Wenger, 1998). Here, I explain how the participants' locality of practices contributes to defining the broader configuration of multilingual ELF users. Within the localized 'multilingual community of ELF users', the participants considered themselves as global citizens (section 6.3.3.2). The things they *said* and *did* together as transnational and transcultural students indicated the wider sense of multilingual ELF users. For example, while they adapted themselves and their use of ELF in localized ways, they accepted the flexibility of ELF in the global context. In other words, their multilingual use of ELF (e.g., translanguaging, use of Korean English) represented local cultures, yet they have also made affiliations with global references by acknowledging ELF as a diversifying phenomenon (section 7.2.2) and as a means for "communicating [with] the world" (extract 7.13). Furthermore, while the participants were actively engaged in shared activities in the local context (sections 6.2.2.1-6.2.2.2), they also learned to accommodate themselves to diverse and intercultural settings as competence ELF users (section 6.3.2.1). These mid-level category²⁹ of practices manifested how the role of ELF can dynamically travel between the local and global dimensions of communities of ELF users.

Lastly, the CoP framework was useful for understanding cultural dimensions in a community of ELF users in a global context. This framework has helped to prove the dynamic and fluid nature of culture; that culture is subject to change and negotiation with the members of the community. The employment of the three elements – mutual engagement, shared repertoire, joint enterprise – of the CoP framework supported a systematic way of understanding how the community was co-maintained in forms of

²⁸ Within concept of the CoP, Wenger (1998: 131) explains how the different levels of participation in local communities of practice can inform us of the broader configurations of global societies. He states that although we do not directly engage in the global, we discover ways to participate in it by shifting our interactions between local and global domains.

²⁹ Wenger (1998:124) argues that the CoP framework is employed as an analytical tool of a "mid-level category" which is "neither a specific, narrowly defined activity or interaction nor a broadly defined aggregate that is abstractly historical and social".

cultural 'doings' (Holliday, 2010; Street, 1993). Empirical evidence has shown that it was through mutual engagement that the participants were able to establish shared repertoires (section 6.2). The participants revealed their membership through collaboratively aligning their shared repertoires (section 6.2.3). Hence, this signalled the various negotiation of the community's culture across spaces and times.

The above discussion indicates that there is no focus on native-speakerism when it comes to ELF communication in Korean HE. However, within both public and private English education sectors (schools, universities, private institutions etc.) in Korea, pedagogies have been based on EFL and many still tend to persist on hiring NSE teachers. This thesis questions traditional forms of university practices and policies particularly in "international" Korean universities where language is still understood as something fixed and standardized. My research shows a great deal of language practices in 'real' situations and how the language users perceive this. Such types of multilingual students' interactions should be incorporated into intercultural training development for staff (both academic and non-academic) and language policymaking processes. Accordingly, relevant authorities and policy makers in Korean HE need to understand the role of ELF particularly in non-Anglophone settings and make efforts to accept a more localized and flexible form of English use. Thus, more studies on multilingual ELF practices in East Asian contexts ought to be researched to demonstrate what is actually happening in ELF communication and to have both students and staff prepare for engaging in 'real-world' interactions.

It is also important that researchers in the field of sociolinguistics and ELF understand that 'language' is something that arises in practice and the borders between 'languages' are fuzzy when looking at linguistic practices in multilingual global contexts. This is why it is crucial not only to look at English itself but how other language resources collaborate with it in interactions. Furthermore, it is important to take a holistic approach when exploring international student communities. A close look into the negotiation of global identity constructs and culture can provide a better understanding of how these groups are maintained and how students adapt to their transcultural lives in HE settings. The accumulation of such research can provide fruitful suggestions for internationalization policy-making processes in global HE institutions.

9.5 Conclusion

In this study, I have investigated how members of an international student community at a Korean university socialize and make use of English as a multilingual franca (Jenkins, 2015) shifting between the local and the global. The implementation of qualitative ethnographic methods and the communities of practice framework (Wenger, 1998) allowed a closer examination into how language, cultures, identities and communities are constructed in real-life situations and how the participants draw on their experiences and perceptions in relation to such constructs. Empirical evidence provided a profound understanding of the fluid, hybrid and intricate nature of 'linguaging' and culture formation in the community. The participants portrayed their creative and innovative use of multilingual resources in ELF communication. In this study, ELF was never culturally detached and evidently took on various languacultures in interaction (Baker, 2015; Risager, 2006). The use of ELF became meaningful through the negotiation of the participants in localized ways. The participants also revealed adaptability and localization of their identities through liminal and transcultural spaces.

Overall, this thesis can come to an end by addressing the role of ELF in the local community and the global society. The results of this study underscore the various types of legitimacy of ELF use across different constellations of ELF users. ELF has empirically proven to be highly contextualized by the localities and languacultural backgrounds of the users but the participants have also demonstrated its suitability in the broader configuration as a diversifying and flexible phenomenon. Furthermore, findings presented how the participants' shared linguistic repertoires (e.g, discourse topics, gossiping, collaborative humor, translanguaging, code-switching) entailed the consolidation of the community; that is, building trust, friendship, commitment, meaning, appropriate behaviors and ways of participation. From this investigation, it is hoped to have provided some insightful knowledge into the development of internationalization of HE particularly in East Asian contexts by raising awareness of the real role of English used as a lingua franca in international student communities and the positive change and development of international students' identities and spaces in global contexts.

Appendix A Participant information sheet

Study Title: A study of a multilingual student community at a Korean international university

Researcher: Jaewon 'Jane' Ra

Ethics number: 17511

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

Hello my name is Jane and I am currently conducting research for my PhD degree at the University of Southampton. I am interested in finding out the role of English at a university in South Korea by investigating international students' interactions. The collected data will only be used for my own research.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because you are currently an international student taking EMI courses (English as a Medium of Instruction) at a university in Seoul. You will be observed mainly outside the classroom.

What will happen to me if I take part?

Before I start my fieldwork, you will have the chance to ask any questions regarding the project. In the next stage, I will observe your interactions with other participants. I will also be audio recording the conversations you are engaged in until the end of the semester. I will invite you for interviews about three times. The interviews will be informal and the questions will mainly be about your experience as an international student and about your use of English so they will be fairly easy to answer. The interviews will take about an hour or less.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

Your participation will be very helpful in understanding the role of English in universities especially in East Asia. This in turn may help in developing English education programs in East Asia.

Are there any risks involved?

There is no potential psychological or physical risk involved; however, you have the right to withdraw from this research project at any point if you wish to do so.

Will my participation be confidential?

Your anonymity will be respected at all times, but I may need to reference your nationality, linguistic background, gender and age. I will not mention the dates of when data was collected. All collected data will be in a secure area where only the researcher and those involved in this research project can access.

What happens if I change my mind?

At any point of the fieldwork, you are allowed to stop participating in the project if you decide to do so. All of your information will be removed and this will not affect you in any way.

What happens if something goes wrong?

If there is any concern or if something goes wrong please contact the Chair of the Faculty Ethics Committee, Professor Chris Janaway (+44(0)2380593424 or c.janaway@soton.ac.uk)

Where can I get more information?

If you have any questions or comments regarding the research project, please feel free to contact me via email (jr3g14@soton.ac.uk or janera421@gmail.com) or my supervisor Dr. Will Baker (w.baker@soton.ac.uk).

Appendix B Participant consent form

Study title: A study of a multilingual student community at a Korean international university

Researcher name: Jaewon 'Jane' Ra

Staff/Student number: 26878828

ERGO reference number: 17511

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet (insert date /version no. of participant information sheet) and have had the

☐

I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data

☐

I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at

☐

Data Protection

I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study. All files containing any personal data will be made anonymous.

Name of participant (print name).....

Signature of participant.....

Date.....

Appendix C Interview questions

1st set interview questions:

Participant profile/background

1. Could you tell me about yourself?
2. How many languages do you speak?
3. Do you tend to mix languages?
4. When did you first come to Korea?
5. Why did you come to Korea to study?
6. Could you tell me about your student life in Korea?
7. Could you tell me about the international committee? What is the purpose of this committee? Why did you join?
8. What do you expect to gain from studying in Korea?
9. What do you expect to gain from being part of the international committee?

2nd set interview questions example

Retrospective questions for Kamile

1. How was it when you first came to Korea? What do you remember? What was surprising?
2. How long did it take to feel comfortable in Korea?
3. Is mixing languages a negative thing for you? In one of the conversations we had, you mentioned that it's a "big mess" when you can't remember Lithuanian and then you use English words.
4. You said you used to be worried about your English before but then you said you don't care anymore about making mistakes. Is this true? Did this change over time?
5. Could you tell me about how you felt about your English before and how you feel now?
6. If you do care about your English what is it that you pay attention to?
7. I've noticed when you guys talk about other people you tend to say "she/he good in English or bad in English"; what does it mean to be good in English for you?
8. Do you feel like you're a different person when speaking in different languages? Does your personality change? How are you different from when you speak English and Lithuanian?
9. Do you ever feel like you are in between cultures sometimes or do you have your own identity/personality/character that doesn't change no matter what language you speak or where you are?
10. What is English to you in Korea? What do you do with English?
11. What does it mean to be a global/international university for you? Could you tell me the positive things that the university does for international students and the negative things as well?
12. How many groups would you say you are part of at the university? What makes you a member? What are the things the members/friends do that is natural and shows you guys are close as a group?

3rd set of interview questions

Retrospective questions for everyone and final comments

1. How important do you think it is to know Korean English (Konglish) when living in Korea?
2. What have you learned while living in Korea?
3. For regular students: Have you participated in the international committee events when you first came? Did you go to the orientation and were you informed of the activities in the beginning?
4. You arrived in a country full of native Koreans. Was it easier for you to make non-Koreans friends first? Why do you think it was easier to make friends who are non-Korean?
5. Based on what you have mentioned earlier, why do you think Koreans/Asians are scared to speak English?
6. Final comments on their life in Korea (feelings towards them leaving or sending off friends after one or two semesters)
 - Feelings at each stage of living in Korea
 - About farewell parties/last get togethers
 - What have you learned while living in Korea?
 - What was the most memorable moment?
 - Have you changed? What are your goals now?

Appendix D Fieldnote extract

**Pseudonyms of the participants and the committee have been used; and all other names of people, specific places, and very personal information or stories about the participants are replaced by "[]". Exact dates have also been omitted.*

Early March

4pm-6pm

Met with Mei (L1: Malaysian, Cantonese, Mandarin), Marc (L1:English), Daniel (L1:English, Afrikaans) and Kamile (L1: Lithuanian). All of them are committee members of the IntCom and have agreed to be part of my research. All were very social and friendly. I had the opportunity to get to know them better. They were positive about my research and agreed to invite me for each IntCom social event. I also had my first interview with Mei. She was very engaging and gave many useful responses.

I have noticed when the participants talk about another student, they tend to ask their Korean level. Level 3 is intermediate level. It seemed like they can't get along with students who are not "good" at English. This means that they cannot communicate with them properly.

Early March

I had my first interview with Elena. [...] She seemed shy at first but later on, she got used to talking to me and tried to answer as much as she could. For Elena, Korean culture is too different compared to Ecuadorian culture but she is trying to accept the gap. After the interview, we met with Kamile and Anna (Elena introduced her to me). [...] I recorded our conversation during lunch. After lunch, Elena had to leave and Kamile, Anna and I went to Coffee Bean to have a longer conversation and do the first interview. Both were very helpful and talked a lot.

Mid March

I had lunch with Emilie and Daniel. Emilie is not my main participant but is part of the IntCom so I wanted consent from her to record conversations she will be joining later on. After lunch, I had an interview with Daniel in the [name 1] building. He had very interesting stories of his life in Korea and back in South Africa. This is when I started to think about doing case studies with my participants because so far all of them had very interesting and different stories of their life in Korea and why they came here. He is part of different communities at the university. He is very social and active. When the weather is warmer, he likes visiting places and taking photos for his Instagram and future website.

Mid March

3:00pm-3:15pm

I had my first meeting with Yuto. He is an exchange student from Japan majoring in Korean language. It is his second semester at [uni 1]. His Korean level is 5 which is very high standard. I was told that he is very social with international students. He seemed friendly, mature and very polite as well. I explained my research and he agreed to be my main participant. Originally, we arranged to have his first interview today but he was not in a good condition because of his foot injury from football. Therefore, we moved his first interview to next week. [...]. He just became a committee member of the IntCom so I am looking forward to having a newcomer's perspective.

Appendix D

5pm-9pm

I met with Kamile to help her set up the movie night event. She brought me to the society room for the first time. I got to meet the Korean committee members as well. They were all very friendly and were fine with me joining today's event and the rest as well. I especially got to talk to two other Korean members [name 1] and [name 2]. Both of them were very friendly. I helped the members bring pizza to the event room.

The IntCom committee members [...] have weekly meetings to get the society going and to create social events. This society is financially supported by the university's international office so that the members can create various events for international students. Many of the events are especially targeted for exchange students as every semester they start off with the same routine: picking students up from the airport, helping them getting around (bank account, sim card, health check), going to similar touristy places (Gyeongbok palace, market, Han River, theme parks) so more exchange students tend to join these events.

I have noticed that the committee members gather in the society room 1-2 hours before the event to set up things. Also, the members have just chosen 9 new international committee members this week from Mexico, Ukraine, Germany and Canada. There was still a bit of an awkward vibe between the old and new committee members. The old committee members were much more talkative. I was told that the next day the members have planned to go on a MT trip nearby so that the members can get to know each other better (probably with some drinks and games). Another thing is that all the IntCom committee members wear baseball jackets that have the university and the society's name. It seems like they have pride of being part of the IntCom.

At the movie night event, there came 50 international students. Before the movie was on there was some mingling time for around 20 minutes. There was free pizza for the people who came. The committee members usually talked to each other (both Korean and international) as they seemed the closest to each other. But members like Daniel had friends here and there. He moved around different groups before the event started.

After the movie, there was photo time with students that came. The society members insisted that I should be in the group photo as well so I was in it too. Afterwards the members had to do some cleaning up.

After wrapping up the movie night event, some of the members and I went to the committee room to drop off some things. In the room, I found a box full of little gifts with each member's name written on it. This was the Secret Santa box. Koreans call this 'Manito' which has the same concept as Secret Santa. Each member is a Secret Santa to another and they occasionally put in something small (e.g. souvenirs, sweets, key chains, stationary, etc.) for their assigned friend with his or her name on it. The members do not find out about who their Secret Santa is until the end of the semester.

Greeting and parting messages were in both Korean and English: 안녕하세요 anyeong, see you later. Some simple Korean words were used a lot among the members: 뭐해 mwohae? 뭐야 mwoya?

Also, all the university dorms are within 5 mins from the university and most of the international students live there or live in private accommodations nearby.

Mid March

The university's football tournament observation 1pm-2pm

I met with Mei to cheer for the IntCom football team. This team is formed of the IntCom society members (international students). Among the committee members, Yuto and [name 1] were part

of the team. Mei, Leo and Lisa were the only committee members who were able to attend the match as it overlapped with many of the other members' classes.

The crowd who was cheering for the IntCom team were all international students around 30-40 of them. Mainly students who didn't have class at that time came to cheer. I could see there were many different groups of friends in the international student community. They were cheering in 4 different languages: English, German, French and Spanish. From this event as well I could see that the committee members stayed close together as a group and that they got much closer to each other after the MT last weekend. Mei was trying to understand what the German members were saying sometimes and the expressions such as "was ist falsch mit dir" {what's wrong with you}, "que pasa?" {what's up?} were used to joke around.

[...]

I got to talk to Leo (Italian German) this day. He is a new committee member. His parents are Italian but he was born and raised in Dusseldorf, Germany. He told me that when he cheers for sports teams during international competitions he cheers for Italian teams. Mei and Leo and I went to 김밥천국 to get some Kimbab before the match and we were talking loudly while waiting for our take out order. We were told off by two Korean middle-aged men. They yelled, "don't bother". We got very quiet suddenly. This is when I remembered Elena's story of her and her Latin friends on the metro.

Mid March

Shift observation 12:30pm-3pm with Daniel, Emilie, Kamile, Clara and later Yuto

[name 1] said, "vamos!" to Mei before going to eat lunch.

I could see Clara bowing naturally to the new Korean committee members when they came into the room. I could also see that Korean members especially mixed English and Korean frequently and tried to use easy Korean with some of the international members, as they are keen on learning Korean.

The IntCom room is the place to mingle and bond. Even if it's not the member's shift any member comes by and hangs out. For example, Daniel meant to go to the doctor today but it was lunchtime at the clinic so he stayed around until 1pm. Mei didn't have any shift either but just hung around until 3pm. Some members ordered food delivery in the IntCom room for lunch.

Mei and Clara (dance team) were also discussing where to order their team outfits. Later, a German student came to the room for help with his alien registration card.

I have noticed a habit of Kamile's again. She kept saying she had a byeong {disease} and took a few seconds to think of the English word disease. She didn't mention this during the interview she is not conscious about this when I ask her in person.

End of March

4pm-5:30pm

Met with Anna, Elena and Mei. We went to a café to have some Korean Bingsoo.

Elena is part of Taekwondo society and she goes everyday during the week for practice. She talked about how tiring it is but she really enjoys it too. There are more Korean members but also a few international students as well.

Anna is not part of any society. The girls have discussed how the university should support more international students in terms of quality (e.g. emails and announcements are in Korea usually and sometimes they don't get any information; societies not being welcoming to international students). In Korea, they actually use the term 'foreign students', '외국인' (a bit more negative) more than international students.

Appendix D

Later after 5pm, Anna and Mei had to leave so it was just Elena and me. She told me how she tries to respect Korean culture and didn't show much PDA when she was with her boyfriend in public. She discussed her frustration on stereotypes of Latin Americans among Koreans because of how they are exposed in media (Hollywood movies, American TV shows, news). She went to an electronics shop with her Ecuadorian friend and the cashier was being friendly and said that he likes Ecuador and Latin America but also said people like drugs there and imitated smoking weed. She strongly relates herself to Latin/Hispanic identities. She sees herself similar to other Mexicans, Peruvians etc. when talking about culture.

Buddy scheme orientation 6pm-8pm

This scheme aims to connect local and international students.

There are 10 groups and each group has 10 Koreans and 10 internationals

The committee members are in each group. As usual, the majority arrived an hour and a half earlier to set up the event. Each member had different roles (helper, supervisor, group leader, photographer, ticketing). Some of the non-participant members seemed to have gotten used to me participating and came up to talk to me about their stories.

Yuto was partly in charge of this event and he was very enthusiastic and social.

The helpers greeted in two languages. For example, Hello! 안녕하세요! What group are you in? 몇조이세요? Come this way. 이쪽으로 오세요.

The event ran in two languages Korean and English (introduction, game instructions).

Event order

Introduction

Ice breaking games

Drinking afterwards

End of March

Dance practice and Edae with Clara 12:30-2pm

I went to watch the dance team do their first practice around noon. There was Mei, Clara, [name 1], Leo, [name 2] and Lisa practicing. Kamile and I were watching them. They were very enthusiastic and trying out different stunts. Their first performance is in less than two weeks so they need to practice every day before that. In this team, my role is to help them order their uniforms and manage the team.

Many of the conversations were mixed in English and German because three of the members were from Germany. They were talking about how it is funny that Germans are always on time everywhere you go. Yesterday at Everland, only the Germans were waiting 10 minute before the departure time and they laughed aloud about it.

[...]

Afterwards, Clara went to shower and met me to go to Edae to get her ear pierced. She loved it and then we went to a café for tea. She told me about her stories in Germany, France and Switzerland. She studies something related to organizational behavior in social sciences and wants to do a master's and PhD in the UK. She told me that she came to Korea because she told her agency she wanted to go somewhere very different from Europe and the agency told her that she could go to Korea. She is happy about her decision and is having a great time in Seoul. She said that she naturally got close to a group of German friends as well. Other than the IntCom committee team, she is part of a social group of German friends and the dance team.

End of March

The IntCom room 12pm-1pm

There were a few Korean members and [name 1], [name 2] and I went to the room to discuss the uniform with Leo.

Conversation observation

[name 3] was talking about how he saw a documentary about Korean history. Then the conversation continued on to the Japanese colonization period and why Korea separated. The vice president explained this to the international members in more detail.

Leo said that he speaks in Italian with his dad and German with his mom. He says his dad's German is not good enough and a bit silly. Later at 1pm, the next shift members came and Leo and I left the IntCom room.

End of March

I met with Mei to help her order the dance team outfits at the international office.

We had lunch first. We talked about what happened yesterday. She told me not to worry as things are better now and that she spoke with the president.

During lunch, she was talking about how she cried last term before going back home because she met many good friends so she understands why regular international students tend not to come to the society's social events as more exchange students come and they leave after one or two semesters. My participants have mentioned this to me a couple times. It seems like this is what regular students or students who stay for more than one semester feels.

End of March

Meeting with the president of the society

I met with the society's president for coffee. He is Korean and as many Korean members were not fully aware of who I was I have introduced my research [...]. He understood and allowed me to keep doing my research. From now on, I will still need to let the president know when I will be attending the social events.

I met with Mei afterwards to discuss things about the uniform order. It went well with the international office and the dance team will receive the uniforms right on time. Later, Mei told me that she has been arguing with one of the executive board members about the budget. This member did not want Mei to order the dance team uniforms without getting approval from the committee's executive board but Mei was frustrated as she already got approval from the international office who gives financial support to the IntCom. We also met Marc on the way and tagged along with him buying some fresh juice near campus. We were talking about what happened with me Mei and the executive members and about how the meeting went with the president. Later the topic moved onto clubs and societies at the university and Marc was telling me how he wanted to be part of the rowing society [...].

Early April

1pm-4pm

I had lunch with Daniel and Kamile today at an Indian restaurant near the university. Three of us are comfortable talking to each other so we had many things to talk about. First, I told them that I met the president of the society and that things are ok with me and the Korean members. Later we had our usual small talks about life back at home, our morning routine and that the grass is greener on the other side.

Appendix D

After lunch, Daniel and I met with Leo for coffee. The weather was very nice so we stayed out on the terrace. Both Daniel and Leo were interested in visiting where I live [...]. They would like to come later in May. Leo had many stories to talk about how it's different in Korea compared to Germany and Daniel agreed. There were also talks about future plans and classes. Clara was also passing by and stayed for a bit and then Mei joined us as well. It seems that the dorms and private accommodations are very close to the university and so friends can casually run by each other and join for coffee.

Early April

Quiz night and dance performance 6pm-9pm

I went to attend the quiz night event today at [place 1]. I arrived around 4:30pm to see the dance team rehearse but they didn't have the opportunity to properly rehearse on stage. I talked a lot with Lisa and [name 1] before the event and the members vented about how annoying [name 2] has been. [name 2] has been skipping many practices saying that she's good enough not to practice. But then the girls said that it's about teamwork and not about who is good or not. They expressed their frustration to me and I tried to sympathize. Later the outfits came and the girls loved it. They all thanked me for helping them order. I felt good about it.

The committee members who were in charge of today's program came early as usual to set up the event. Clara, Leo and [name 3] were the host of the event today. Other committee members came in later almost at 6pm to help. Daniel came around that time as well to start taking photos. The event was a bit disorganized but it still seemed fun.

Early April

I met with Kamile in Edae to help her get a piercing. It seemed like she wanted to bring a friend so that she won't travel alone and that she could go shopping together afterwards. When I met her in front of the station, she seemed a bit nervous about getting a new piercing saying that this is “큰일”. I could notice her mixing Korean and English this day as well. We went to the piercing shop picked out a piercing for her. I did some translating for her. Afterwards we also met with [name 1].

Mid April

Second interview with Kamile

I met with Kamile around 1pm on campus and went for lunch. I conducted the second interview with Kamile during lunch. Today Kamile seemed a bit frustrated with the Korean members, as they haven't been very cooperative these days because of the exam period. She is annoyed that she needs to handle the baseball jackets (that have been recently delivered) on her own with a few international members. She had to go to the IntCom room after the interview to sort out the issue with the jackets. Her mom is coming from Lithuania to visit Kamile on Monday. I will see her again beginning of May probably.

After I arrived home, Mei sent me a Kakao message asking if I could help translating for her and Lisa's assignment. They need to interview a social enterprise for their assignment and they want me to come follow them when they conduct the interview.

End of April

Second interview with Daniel, Mei, and lunch with the two

The second interview with both Daniel and Mei went very well. Both gave very interesting, useful and detailed answers.

I feel much closer to my participants, especially Mei and Kamile. This day Mei told me everything about what was going on campus during exams. She was telling me how it was disappointing with some members saying that they are double faced.

[...]

There was another incident with [name 1] and Mei. Mei told me she cried a lot because [name 1] suddenly just told her off saying that she is not doing things right and is not a good leader of the dance team. It seems like Mei was very upset and had Leo, Lisa and Clara there to cheer her up.

Daniel told me that his exams went well except for one, which was Human resources management. He also said that he was going to a rooftop party in Itaewon that evening with his other group of friends outside of the IntCom. Then the next day he would have to participate in the next activity in Gwangjang Market because the members have to take turns participating in each event.

Lunch with Mei and Daniel was nice. Mei told her plans for summer. She said that she wants to stay in Busan for a month but then she might get an internship during summer so she's not sure. She was also telling me that Kamile is trying to stay longer and not leave in May but at end of this summer. She will need to find a job to stay longer because she needs money. I decided to help Kamile find jobs. She appreciated it very much.

Early May

Second interview with Anna, Elena and Yuto

Anna seemed very friendly and same as usual. We talked a lot without any awkwardness. She told me how she wants to go to Jeju before going back home this summer so she tried to change her flight date. She had an issue with a Russian airline because the employee changed her flight to a different date so she had to call again and pay commission fee twice and now she wants her money back. She told me that she gets nervous when she calls someone over the phone.

[...]

Elena freely talks about the issues she has at the university. This time she honestly told me what has been going on with her and [name 1]. I was surprised to know that they haven't spoken to each other much these days. It seems that she has been hurt and that she tried to apologize several times [...]. Elena also told me about how the fundraising for Ecuador went.

It was my second time meeting Yuto one on one and he seemed much more comfortable with me. He was smiling and laughing a lot. [...] I was glad that he seemed to have opened up. He even hugged me when parting. He also mentioned how the IntCom members volunteered to take part in a fundraising event for earthquake victims in Ecuador. The members set up a booth near the hub and took turns staffing the booth. They talked to students passing by to explain the situation and ask for some donation.

It was very useful to have second interviews with my participants. The retrospective questions improved my understanding of them much better. I keep coming up with more questions and so the third set of interviews will be necessary as well.

Early May

Shift observation: Daniel, Lisa, Kamile, Clara, Marc 12:30pm-3pm

I arrived a bit early for our lunch meeting and so Mei told me to go to the IntCom room and wait for her. There I met Daniel and Lisa with some Korean members on their shift.

There was also a non-member who was Daniel's friend. He saw me and naturally said, "안녕하세요" and bowed a bit.

Appendix D

I gave out doughnuts for the members on shift today and they all appreciated it very much. I was happy about it too. Shift work was same as usual. Not too much work to do and more hanging out. However, this time I especially noticed how the members were split into two groups: international students and Korean students. It seemed like the Korean students talked loudly in Korean mostly and Lisa and Daniel were on their own on the other side of the room. Nevertheless, this seemed natural. Mei later came to the room after class to see me and then Mei, Daniel and I left the room to see Yuto.

Lunch with Yuto, Mei and Daniel

Yuto usually seem quiet during group conversations. He reacted more rather than chatting. He talked much more fluently and fast in Korean when we met a Korean member after lunch. Mei was mentioning how Yuto's Korean is so good and natural. The members never miss this topic. Mei was the most talkative and there were many topics that were dealt during lunch.

After lunch Mei, Daniel and I went back to the IntCom room. Daniel went back to the room to edit a video for the IntCom. Clara and Leo were on their shift. I got Clara's signature on the consent form. Kamile and I talked about the jobs she has been looking for. Clara asked how my research was going. Later Marc came into the room as well. I had a nice chat with everyone today. Marc said bye to me in Korean, "안녕 잘가".

Mid May

8pm-9:30pm

Dance practice

I bumped into Clara at the subway station right before the meeting. She was in a hurry and had to go to the Swiss embassy very soon. She said she would come back within an hour but eventually she didn't show up for practice.

Mei, Leo, [name 1], Lisa came to the meeting today. [...] They discussed what to do for the next 2-3 weeks before the performance, which will be during the buddy scheme closing ceremony. Even though just Mei and I were non-Germans, this time the Germans in the meeting ONLY talked in English and I didn't hear a single German word so I was actually impressed. Even when Mei and I weren't paying attention to what others were saying, communication was mainly in English.

We shared ideas about which songs to include in the choreography. We came up with four K-pop songs that were very famous in Korea. We also discussed which part to crop out. Daniel would do the editing for us again. Each of us used our phone to play the cropped out part and then I recorded a rough draft of the combined music with my phone. For the next meeting [...], each team member will need to come up with a choreography for about 30-40 seconds (for each song).

During the meeting, there was gossiping about other international students on how they are annoyed with [name 2] and that they had an issue with a girl called [name 3] but this seems resolved now. Leo and Lisa talked about [name 3]. They also talked about how they could easily see some international students flirting at parties. The members made Mei blush as she has a new boyfriend. Mei later told me about everything when I was on the way back to the station.

End of May

World fashion show 4:30pm-6:30pm

I met with Mei, her boyfriend [name 1] and [name 2] before the event. The university festival just started this day so we were able to go around different booths. We played games and won prizes. There were Mei and [name 2]'s classmates walking around and promoting their party event. They were trying to sell tickets. They were Korean Americans and Korean Togolese.

Before the fashion show, I got to meet most of the members behind stage. The members, the performers and some of their international friends were all hanging out chatting and taking pictures beside the stage. At this time, I met Marc, Daniel, Yuto, Clara, [name 3] etc. Kamile, Leo and [name 4] were in Jeju so they couldn't come. There were also several different social groups frequently changing. Most students seemed to know each other. There were Korean members preparing for the performance as well. Yuto, [name 5] and Clara were one of the performers. Elena came with her Latin friends to cheer for their friend from Peru. Most of the audience were international students. The performers were from Korea, China, Japan, Bahrain, Malaysia, Ukraine, Peru, Mexico, Uzbekistan, Germany, Bulgaria etc.

After the show, the committee gathered with the performers on stage and took pictures. After this, the students were again divided naturally into different groups (whoever they were close to) and headed off their ways. Mei, [name 1] and [name 2] went to the Mexican group.

End of May

Dance practice 8:00pm-10:00pm

I met with Mei in front of [name 1] building and ran into Marc just before practice. Marc followed us to the practice and I talked to him the whole practice time. Clara came a bit later and talked to us about professors and classes. She was really stressed about her coursework. She even announced that she won't be part of the dance team for the last performance of this semester. Marc sympathized with Clara as he has been through the same. Marc is planning to transfer to a university in Dubai. Mei seemed sad about that. After dance practice we all split and Marc, Mei, [name 2] and I started chatting outside by the university hub. Mei updated Marc and me about her relationship on how it isn't going well.

Mei and [name 2] soon had to go home to get ready to go clubbing in Gangnam. Later I walked with Mei and she told me about her situation with [name 3] now as well. She started crying telling me that she doesn't know why things are happening this way and that she's really upset. I eventually went up to her room together while she got ready to go out so that I could wait until she got calm.

After Mei got ready she met with [name 2] again at the hub with other international friends. They were waiting for others to go clubbing together.

Early June

Interview and lunch with Kamile, Daniel and Mei 1pm-2pm

Daniel said that he doesn't party much anymore and that he would rather explore the city as much as he can before going back to South Africa. He has one semester left so he wants to enjoy the fullest. He is planning on working in New Zealand during summer vacation and he believes that it would be good for his resume.

Kamile is excited that she found an English teaching job and the hourly pay is 20,000 won. She will work throughout summer. She might have three jobs so she will have enough for her living cost and rent. She really doesn't want to go back to Lithuania because she loves her life in Korea now.

The four of us went for lunch. Mei kept talking about how the exchange students are leaving in 18 days and that she is so scared about it. Daniel told her that she needs to get used to it. They were talking about a few annoying people and gossiping about some of their friends' relationships.

After lunch, I had an interview with Mei as well. She told me about how she still feels about [name 1] but then some of her friends told her to let it go and that later on it would become just a funny memory. Mei said that she has matured a lot while living in Korea and even her friends back in

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Malaysia mention this as well. It seems like she has made many friends from Latin America, especially from Mexico, and she really wants go there as an exchange student.

Mid June

1pm-2pm

Kamile and Mei wanted to meet me today, as it was my last day at [uni 1]. I went to the student cafeteria with them while they had their lunch. They had several other students (about 4 more around them) eating with them. They talked about trips in Korea. Lisa asked me to help her and Leo find accommodation this weekend on the internet for their hiking trip to Seoraksan. I kindly agreed. Kamile told me that she was very sad that I was leaving. She called me a "mature" friend who was there for them and helped them out in many ways. I was pleased to find out they considered me as one of the members of the community and that I was also one of them leaving.

After lunch, we went to Clara's dormitory to check out some stuff she was giving away as she is leaving soon as well. On the way to Clara's place, Lisa was talking about how she had a British accent because she spent a few years in York when she was a child but after living in Korea it has changed a bit more to American. Mei said her accent changed as well. At Clara's place, the girls were taking stuff they needed such as bowls, plates, food etc. They thanked in different languages such as "muchas gracias" and "danke schon". Afterwards, I hugged Clara and Lisa goodbye. They were very sweet.

Then at the station, I hugged Mei goodbye as she walked me there. She almost started crying. She said it's always hard to see people leave. Kamile and I took the subway together as she had to go to work. When I had to get off to transfer we hugged each other goodbye and she kept saying how sad she was and she got very emotional too. I thought I would be ok but leaving the two made me very emotional as well.

Appendix E Reflective research diary extract

**Pseudonyms of the participants and the committee have been used; and all other names of people, specific places, and very personal information or stories about the participants are replaced by "[]". Exact dates have also been omitted.*

End of March

So far it's been less than a month and I am blessed! [...] My fieldwork is going just as planned with the slightest modification. All of my main participants (especially Mei, Kamile and Daniel) have been very cooperative and helpful. They were all very friendly and chatty from the beginning so it was easy to conduct the first set of interviews right after my first meeting with them. They all try to answer much more than they need to and I really appreciate that. I believe Mei is very used to me now as she hugs me whenever she greets me. I think it's really sweet of her.

I had a different impression of Yuto in the beginning. When we were together one on one he seemed very quiet. When the IntCom team lost the football match and was eliminated from the tournament, Mei and I went to cheer him up but he wouldn't even look at us (as he was slightly crying). I was worried he might cancel his first interview the next day. However, to my surprise, he seemed totally fine the next day and he was very cooperative during the interview. Although he doesn't talk as much as the other main participants, he still tries and responds as much as he can. But during the buddy scheme orientation I saw a different side of him (the side he was actually mentioning during the interview; that he became a different person, a social person). He was very energetic and engaged during the event (e.g. dancing on stage, shouting "are you ready?!" to a crowd of around 200 people).

Sometimes, I feel awkward being with the Korean members. I haven't introduced myself to everyone one on one so there are some awkward greetings and some of the Korean members look confused when I'm in the IntCom room or with the main participants setting up the events. But yesterday I was really happy that a Korean member named [name 1] came up to me, introduced herself and asked who I am with a nice smile. She said my research is really interesting and [...]. I thought about her again today because she was so sweet! I know two other guys [name 2] and [name 3] who I can have casual conversations with.

Even though my participants are social and lovely, as I am not the priority in their student life so, it may be easy to cancel an interview or a meet up easily. It happened twice already in the first month. Yuto had to cancel his the last minute (because of his physical condition and that he was overwhelmed with IntCom related work) when I was already on my way to the university so we just met for 15 minutes and agreed to meet the next week (which eventually went well). Anna, Elena and Mei were not replying to my message for two full days and then had to cancel our meet up the night before so I was worried and tried to meet them on a different day (which this went well too eventually). I realized the participants reply much slower (or don't reply) when it's a group chat. It's better to talk to them individually.

I was actually quite stressed in the beginning of my fieldwork because I thought I wouldn't be able to get much audio-recordings of group conversations and I even thought of changing my research to case studies. But I realized having recordings of around 4 group conversations is already enough (although I will try to have more) and participant observations have been useful to understand the community. I feel like I already know how the society operates and how the members bond. Sometimes, when I'm transcribing I feel like I don't have much data to use. But I'm sure later when I have full transcripts, there eventually will be many important things that I

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can pick out. I think I already have a lot of useful data and I am working on coding and picking out emerging themes. Most of all, I'm glad Will is happy with my report! He said I'm doing an excellent job and that I should stick to my first plan which really made my day!

Early April

I had lunch with Kamile and Daniel and then went to grab coffee at a café with Daniel and Leo. Later Clara came and stayed for a bit and then Mei joined. I had two hours and a half worth of audio recording but when I was listening to them again on my way home I feel like I talked too much! I'm getting closer to my participants so I'm getting really chatty as well.

Early April

My fieldwork has been a bit quieter than before these days. I have been to a quiz night event on [...] to observe and to cheer for the dance team. They were so cute! They did a great job. They are all so nice to me, I feel thankful. It was a bit awkward with the Korean members. Most of them smiled and said hi to me but still there was this awkwardness between us. I didn't stay until the end. I left after I saw the dance team perform during break time. Since then I've been concentrating more on transcribing. It is tedious labor work! Today I met Kamile for a short time to help her get her piercing done. I will conduct my second interview with her this Thursday. Everything seems to be going well and I am now pretty much aware of the community and how it works. [...] The members go out for drinks a few times a week and they go to the park almost every weekend. They spend a lot of their free time together and [...].

Early May

I have finished my second set of interviews. All went well and I got lots of useful answers that I haven't thought of before. I am lucky to have such wonderful participants. [...]. I was a bit worried about him as he didn't look totally comfortable with me but after this he smiles and laughs a lot and even gave me a hug when parting! It was easy to make a lunch appointment with him. I'm excited that everything is going super well and that my transcribing skills are improving. I got already over 250 pages of transcribing done and will have about 250-300 more pages, I'm assuming. There's so much interesting data I could use. I have started coding and I'm pretty satisfied about it. I will send a report to Will later this month to see if he approves.

Mid May

I am more than half done with my fieldwork I would say. I have about 3 more big events (with many other small ones) to observe and the last set of interviews with six main participants. It has been a pleasure to get to know the community better at [uni 1]. I can see that the participants are happy to see me (or bump into me) and it's very natural for me to be there with them. I am treated just as the same as others and I get updated on all the news and gossips that's been going on.

The pre-coding process also went very well. I have nice sets of coding saved on Word document to show Will. I will come up with proper themes according to my pre-coding. Expanding my methodology chapter took quite some time but I managed to do so. I will send this to Will shortly and hopefully he'll have positive feedback on this.

Early June

I am almost done with fieldwork! I am relieved but at the same time, I am also sad. I didn't know that I would be so attached to my participants. I got emotional when Mei and Kamile had teary eyes when saying bye to me. Not just them but I also gave my last big hugs to Daniel, Anna, Elena, and Yuto. I can definitely feel that I genuinely cared about them throughout the semester. It was also such a pleasure that I became part of the international community and that they acknowledged me as a "mature" and reliable friend. I felt sorry to have become such good friends with them as they keep sending off many of their close friends end of each semester and I've become one of them. We promised to keep in touch and meet up when we can. I will miss them. I am so grateful to have met them at [uni 1]. They were absolutely wonderful from the beginning.

Appendix F Transcript sample 1 (group conversation)

M: Mei

R: Researcher

D: Daniel

K: Kamile

During lunch

M: well we can order

R: yea I'm sure she'd want this one

M: yea

R: she likes Korean sauce

M: Korean sauce

D: ((laughs))

M: I told her and she didn't refuse so

D: so it's four <Kr> yangnyeom {sauce}
orders food

R: so laid back you just yell from here

D: bad ass

R: she's just like ok

M: I think she's (?) she's like ok oh well she's eating <Kr> yangnyoem {sauce} I don't care

R: it's fine

M: we ordered them

D: where's she?

M: I don't know no idea

R: I think she's going to the <Kr> bang {room} for a bit to tell them she's not gonna work I mean she's not gonna do her shift today

D: oh ok

M: h:m? why? for this?

R: you know she found no not for this or tomorrow I don't know she (?) you know she found a teaching job?

D: [yea she told me]

M: [yea it's like] two twenty thousand

R: uhu

M: an hour I'm like that's A LOT

D: that's a lot yea

M: and the person is hiring her because she's like

R: [uni1]

M: from [uni1] and all

R: and the job is really it's like chill because it's kids and she's just like uh the owner not the owner the manager or something just don't be pressured do as you want

M: that's really good

D: there's Kamile

M: ah she's here

R: hey

M: Kamile

K: you waited one minute to text me one minute Jane sends me a text and you waited I checked like yea where are you ((laughs))

D: ((laughs))

R: sorry we thought it would be busy but it wasn't

D: I don't have your new Kakao

R: mine just appeared on the

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M: yea mine too just appeared
D: ok I'm gonna check later
M: ok
D: you're here now
K: wow so excited
M: ((laughs))
R: she never tried
M: you never tried?
K: I talked to Jane before coming here
M: no:: how can you?
K: because every time it was so full
M: really? I've never been here when it's full
K: ((laughs)) oh
R: no I've been I've tried to come with Elena and Anna and it was really full before
M: h:m
K: what do you mind if [name 1] comes later
M: what I saw [name 1] why?
K: won't be long ((laughs))
M: why why?
K: well they're dating
D: yea
K: and they they
R: who and who?
K: u:h like do you know [name 1]?
R: yea she's
M: yea (?) and the Spanish [name 2]
D: yea my roommate my roommate
R: really?
K: yea and they're dating
R: aren't they leaving soon?
K: yea
R: ah but they are both gonna be in Europe
D: yea yea
K: true yea
D: I like get these messages from time to time just telling me
K: [and we're just]
R: [o::h]
M: a:h so he wants to come to your ok
D: it's almost like I won't disturb
M: ((laughs))
K: it won't take long
R: but if he's dating why is he asking you
M: because he have to go to his room ((laughs))
K: because they live in the same room
R: o::h
K: like for her to come over
R: oh ((laughs))
M: that's so ((laughs))
K: hilarious
R: dorm life
D: yea
M: dorm life that's always (?)
R: so you have to stay outside?
D: sorry? oh I've got my laptop and stuff here anyway

R: oh
 D: because I assumed something like that might happen
 K: ((laughs))
 D: so I'll just go work in the library
 R: too much information in Korea you know
 K: [yes] you have to let your roommates know too
 D: [yea]
 R: ((laughs))
 K: and everything is so connected like I know Daniel I know [name 2] and [name 1] is probably one of the closest friends here so
 D: yea
 K: like everything's connected
 D: it all comes together
 K: yea
 D: it all comes together
Mei brings drinks
 R: thank you
 D: thank you
 K: don't get me a Pepsi ok?
 M: no?
 K: no I don't like Pepsi
 M: ok
 K: I prefer water
 D: he just replied
 R: is [name 3] the blond German?
 D: yea
 R: the one I met in the IntCom room once?
 D: I suppose yea
 R: ah it's him ok
 M: he's always there
 R: is he the one who was wearing the German outfit during the fashion show?
 D: [yea] it's him
 K: [yea]
 M: a:h not German it's just like ((laughs))
 R: yea soccer
 D: soccer team yea
 M: yea
 D: soccer Jersey
 M: mhm I'm hungry oh it's here
 K: it got expensive why you all ordered the same thing?
 D: [yea]
 M: [yes] ((laughs)) we are just really excited for you
 K: sure
 M: that's your rice
 K: yea I'm like where's my rice ((laughs))
 M: me too
 K: well it happens in Korea
 R: here Kamile
 K: thank you a fork and knife? how do I use this? ((laughs))
 M: ((laughs)) this is Korea we don't use knives in cafeteria they do yay you're like excited
 [((laughs))]
 D: [((laughs))]
 K: [it's good I love chicken]
 M: [you know you can actually] ask them to refill the rice too

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R: really?

M: mhm

K: do you really need that much food?

R: ((laughs))

M: no I'm just like you you can

D: not Yuto not Yuto

K: yea not Yuto oh my god Yuto is crazy

D: he eats so much rice

K: every time we go somewhere he takes like I'm not even joking he takes three <Kr> gong-ki bab {bowl of rice}

M: [yea]

D: [yea]

R: ((gasps)) really?

M: that's a LOT of rice

D: the other day yea we took a photo of him and like at a barbeque place I think there was four bowls

R: mhm ((gasps))

D: and before that I was joking like Yuto's gonna get five now and he's like I don't eat that much he ate four he might've ordered five

R: wow

K: when we had secret Santa he got the like tickets

M: yea tickets [for the <Kr> gong-ki bab {bowl of rice}] ((laughs))

K: [for the rice]

D: that's smart

M: it's a good it's a good present for him but why does he eat so much rice?

R: ((laughs))

K: yea how is he not fat?

M: oh yea

K: but he's getting bigger I mean bigger as in like

M: like his muscle mhm

K: ((laughs)) as his muscle

R: I think because he works out

M: h:m yea

K: a lot

D: it's a lot of carb so

K: mhm true (?) he looks different when he work out

M: a:w I got the sauce on me

K: piggy piggy

M: <Kr> aishi {shit} now it's on my leggings oh fine how you haven't tried

K: I did it's good

M: how is it yea

K: awesome

M: awesome yes

K: everything that has chicken

R: ((laughs))

M: yea like you're down for it

K: I love chicken

M: h:m have you tried the boneless chicken there? like near to the Cheese Bibimbab it's goo:d

K: I know

M: it is good too let's go there

K: there's the place we went to the second floor I think it was the first time [I had the] the big dinner with Jane you came in later I think?

M: [hm?] did I?

K: like the place they also had Chicken Cheese

M: a:h I didn't went by no the second floor that place I know that place it's really nice
 K: mhm
 R: you went with me?
 K: mhm
 R: when?
 K: I think it was the first time we had the bigger dinner u:h Elena was there?
 R: a:h
 K: h:m
 R: it wasn't dinner it was lunch
 K: oh lunch yea
 M: ((laughs)) I wasn't there
 R: it was like Ssambab
 K: oh yea yea
 M: Ssambab I wasn't there so I don't know I came ah I came later when you guys were at the café
 R: ah yea
 K: right [yea yea]
 M: [yea yea]
 D: Ssambab that's good I haven't had that in a while
 R: h:m
 M: it's like really traditional it looks so I know that place you have a lot of side dishes and it's not that expensive I like that place it's just nice too
 R: did [name 1] stay here for a year as well?
 M: since last semester
 R: oh
 M: and now everyone's leaving
 R: uhu
 M: in eighteen days it's so scary
 K: stop it
 R: ((laughs))
 K: we still have so many things to do like I even forgot the Buddy closing ceremony is tomorrow
 M: h:m I know because of
 D: oh yea shit
 K: yea because you have to perform
 M: yea I didn't knew it was tomorrow I was like oh it's Thursday and my friend was like next Thursday I'm like no this Thursday tomorrow I'm like oh really?
 K: ((laughs))
 M: it's not really polished yet our performance but we have everything
 D: as long as it matches the music it's fine
 M: yea nobody would know because we are doing stupid stuff ((laughs)) we purposely made it that way so we don't have to practice that much
 R: [mhm]
 K: [mhm] I just met Lisa she told me all about it
 M: mhm but still we have some time
Daniel drops his cutlery
 D: I can't take myself anywhere
 R: o:h
 D: I'm like a little kid (((laughs)))
 R: (((laughs)))
 M: (((laughs)))
 K: I'm not used to this anymore
 D: yea
 K: I don't own a fork or a knife
 M: I don't have it back home too like here home but my house here not the home home like my house ((laughs))

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D: ((laughs)) I'm sure you have it there

M: but then we have the choreography too (?)

D: yea

M: for that one we have to practice others are like whatever but I don't really mind if we mess up

D: ((laughs))

M: nobody will know ((laughs))

K: exactly you guys will have fun

M: yea I'm inviting so many people that are not in the buddy program ((laughs))

D: oh really

M: yea cause they're asking me just come so I hope I don't mess up that much

R: did you tell [name 4]?

M: hm? no they're just gonna be behind look at it and

R: a:h

M: go but because they're like exchange student too I don't think he can be mad at them

R: a:h

M: and since the semester is ending I don't care if he get mad

R: yea

M: cause I actually got into a fight with him to I'm like I don't care

R: recently?

M: mhm

R: what happened?

M: he's a baby

R: is he?

M: I told Kamile yea YEA

R: he's acting like a baby?

M: yea because like suddenly when I was like I wanted to go to the [place 1] and they have to do like the screening for the paper Korean stuff and also the meeting so I was like maybe they can do the paper first so I can go to the [place 1] and I'll come back for the meeting and he suddenly look at me (?) and ask me like will you be like this too during [summer program name]? are you gonna shout like you want to go [place 1] and you want to do meeting? if you are like this I won't recommend you to [name 5] you won't be able to do [summer program name] like in a really serious way

D: wow

M: he was looking at me really angrily no and he didn't even speak in English it was all in Korean

R: really?

M: so I was like whatever I'm like I'm like wait I'm still here right if you want me to leave I can leave and all and he's like trying say and stuff and I'm like just start the meeting I want to leave early and he like tries to explain and I'm like just start and then he continued a whole meeting in Korean until forty minutes after Marc came so it's like wha:t? he's being such a baby

R: yea

M: I thought he was like the mature one in the IntCom but then no

R: uhu

M: and everyone was like calm down don't care to [name 4] ok

K: he changed a lot after being the president

M: yea he changed a lot

D: yea

M: after he became the president too last year he was such a sweetheart

K: mhm

M: oh fine since the semester is ending I'm not caring anymore whatever

D: ((laughs))

M: whatever he's leaving too yea so

D: yea

K: I think he's going for the summer session

M: really?

K: mhm so maybe he might stay
 M: a:h
 R: who?
 K: [name 4]
 M: [name 4]
 D: (?) next semester
 M: he's leaving next semester ah
 D: he's going to England I think
 R: he's going to the pre-session summer course? oh he's not
 K: like summer session for the IntCom stuff
 D: yea
 R: oh
 D: international one
 K: yea
 M: I'm applying for that too so I'll see
 D: I did it last year
 M: h:m how was it? cool?
 R: you get paid?
 M: no no no we just get like six credits right for
 D: six yea
 M: attending the classes and stuff
 R: oh so it's like a class
 M: mhm
 D: yea five weeks
 M: but then it's free
 R: mhm
 D: and six credits (?)
 M: mhm extra credits and you like do you exchange here I can just like nah I don't care because I have the credits from here I hope do they really do like interview interview or like just go get cause [name 5] said they want to make like a small interview for (?)
 D: really?
 M: to see if you can get in so I'm like ok
 D: I applied like way back
 M: mhm
 D: I just applied online and I didn't know actually (?)
 M: hm?
 D: I did not know I was accepted till the day I started
 K: ok
 M: what?
 R: ((laughs))
 D: because it was [name 6] and [name 7] I don't think he would
 M: hm?
 D: I don't think he would and [name 7]
 M: [name 7]? mhm
 D: um she's in Germany right now
 M: mhm
 D: Korean girl
 M: mhm
 D: she kept messaging me this one day and beginning [summer program name] and there's a bunch of these students and we need your help (?) everything I was like sure I'll come down and then after I was looking at the list of all the people there was someone from South Africa oh who's that Daniel
 M: (((laughs))) you're like oh
 K: (((laughs)))

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R: (((laughs)))

D: apparently

M: then you just come to do [summer program name]

D: yea

M: oh cause she told we have to do interview I don't know

D: yea I didn't get any confirmation

M: oh

D: anything like that yea

M: hm weird

D: but I'm assuming like (?)

M: yea cause they accept (?)

D: exactly yea

M: ((laughs))

D: I was rather pissed but I was also really happy

R: ((laughs))

M: you're like ok but then if you're not in the IntCom you might never know that you're accepted
((laughs))

D: that's the thing

M: it would be so weird

D: yea

M: mhm but the Korean staff really wanted to do it because if they do it they don't have to pay
they get free credits so

D: mhm

M: maybe the interviews are more for the Korean staff than us I hope I just get it I hope so

D: I didn't do the interview or anything

M: no? but they make me go with the Korean staff oh ok and [name 4] was just pissed at me

R: ((laughs))

K: ((laughs))

M: so I'll go

D: but I wasn't staff either

M: hm?

D: I wasn't staff

M: ah you weren't a staff maybe that's why it's different h:m

D: I was an official staff because they (?) in case

M: ah just in case you're like just come but you're not really working working but what did the
IntCom staff do though?

D: a lot more than you even do

M: really?

D: yea

K: like in a month you have to do the whole semester [basically that's what I heard]

D: [yea pretty much]

M: a:h

R: so you do work

M: mhm

D: yea

M: but you get the free six credits with like you don't have to pay for the summer course

D: you take classes so yea

R: oh ok but then you're still responsible for

M: mhm

R: other stuff

M: but normal if I want to apply for the summer session I have to pay but it's free now so I can
compensate back so

D: what class are you thinking of taking?

M: like language courses I saw the brochure I want to take like Korean language

K: yea
 M: yea it's (?)
 D: you won't get credit for that
 M: you won't get credit for that?
 D: not for language no
 M: no a:w
 D: you have to take proper courses to get credit unfortunately
 M: I will take all like those <Kr> Hallyu {Korean wave} K-pop stuff so it's easy
 D: even elective courses (you don't get credit for that)
 M: even our elective courses?
 D: mhm
 M: really? but where can I check them
 D: I don't know
 M: but I'll have to see after the interview
 D: it's not that organized
 M: mhm
 D: like I took um marketing
 M: mhm
 D: and North Korean security
 K: [o:h]
 M: [mhm]
 D: but then I got both credits for
 M: major?
 D: major and minor yea
 M: mhm then I want to take for my major if I can
 D: yea
 M: ah
 D: but I really recommend you take the one I took about North Korea so interesting
 M: mhm I might take that if it comes to my major
 K: all the interesting classes are very much like Korean courses
 R: ah
 M: a:w
 K: so
 D: a professor who runs like this uh North Korean human rights committee thing in American
 K: cool
 D: like even this talk about North Korean on (?)
 M: mhm
 K: cool
 D: a famous-ish guy
 K: mhm
 M: famous-ish but he's a just a visiting professor? our professor? who?
 D: no no
 M: just visiting
 D: for the summer yea
 M: for the summer mhm that's cool I'll ask about that I don't even know when do we have to choose our courses and stuff
 D: I did mine right after cause me and um
 M: mhm
 D: one of the girls had (?) system (?)
 M: mhm
 D: and changed courses ((laughs))
 M: ah mhm I'll see
 D: (?)
 M: oh you didn't get computer

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D: they did it for me actually I had initially I had four no three
M: mhm
D: but they didn't wanna take one so I just told them to remove it for me
M: mhm
D: like after two weeks already
M: mhm after two weeks
D: I was like I don't like these courses take it out for me and they were like yea
M: they were like ok?
D: yea if you ask nicely because it's not as official as proper courses it's very
M: mhm yea it's like summer
D: yea yea it's got a very chill vibe so
M: I hope so so it'll be my first summer here but they will be all new people
D: mhm
M: but then they'll leave after a month so
D: yea
M: let's not get too attached ((laughs))
R: ((laughs))
K: I mean I'm leaving the same time they're leaving
M: really?
K: yea
M: oh
K: it's ending on the twelfth
M: mhm twelfth of August
D: I don't know in my experience we get more attached with (?) because they are only here for five weeks so they want to do as much as they can
K: mhm makes sense
M: mhm
D: in little time
R: h:m
K: active people I'm excited
D: sorry?
K: active people finally
D: yea
M: but some of the people here are really active
D: like there's no there's not really like (?) there's this always little (?) these people these people these people
K: mhm
M: mhm
D: this summer everybody's together
M: really?
K: that's cool
D: yea cause you go together on trips or some things like that so
M: ah oh yea for us it's easy to be close
D: yea yea
M: but how many people are there for the summer session usually
K: I've heard something about two hundred this time
D: well over a hundred yea
M: it's a lot
K: [name 8] [name 8] cause she said she did all the applications
M: yea probably because she's in charge of all the mhm I'll see how it goes I really want to try it so I have something to do in the summer then my summer would be like get shorter and shorter and I don't have my time to do my stuff anymore
R: ((laughs))
M: so my summer plan just totally changed from Busan to like what?

K: right you were supposed to be in Busan the whole time
M: that was supposed to but then now there's this like program and stuff and I'm like what ok I'm staying maybe next summer
D: it only starts like mid-July so
M: mhm like mid-July I have a month
D: exactly
M: I'll see but the people here will still be here? are they going to leave during that time? and probably I'll go to Vietnam after the summer session
D: ok
M: because like [name 9]'s dad oh it's just two weeks until semester starts
D: not even
M: oh I wanted to stay for a month
K: it ends on the twelfth
M: when does our class start?
D: somewhere in mid-July ends like literally two weeks before the semester
M: oh but I want we plan to stay in Vietnam for a month
D: yea that's not gonna work
M: it's not gonna work oh my god
R: ((laughs))
K: ((laughs))
M: you're like no
D: ((laughs))
M: I'm not even giving you hope ah my summer plan just
K: changed
M: it changed like oh shit
R: why did you bring your laptop out were you planning on studying
D: I was trying to starting to write my papers
R: in the in the [building name 1]?
M: mhm
D: I think like that happened for a reason ((laughs))
R: yea
M: I brought my laptop and everything
R: ((laughs))
M: no I'll go to the <Kr> bang {room} first cause Lisa is working on our project and I want to do it beside her so I can ask her
K: she left
M: oh she left?
K: I think so
M: ah cause she ended really?
K: she was writing something about slums
M: Islam?
K: slums
R: she went to slums with Daniel actually
M: yea
R: is that why she
K: I don't know what slum is
D: slum like a really poor area with houses
R: like a ghetto neighborhood
D: ghetto yea
K: ah
M: ghetto neighborhood ((laughs))
K: well she went to the <Kr> hakshik {shortened word for student cafeteria} now
M: [ah]
R: [you know the movie] Slumdog Millionaire? no?

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M: a:h
R: it's like that
D: yea
R: well I'm assuming
M: assuming maybe probably I thought her like um she was around at three so it ended
K: she ended at one
M: ok
R: it's eleven to one
M: ah you remember I know it
R: yea cause I met her on Wednesday and Daniel was there instead of [name 10]
M: oh ah replacement
D: [yea]
R: [mhm]
M: um then I will have to do at the [building name 1] whose shift is it now I don't know
K: mine
R: ((laughs))
M: and you're here she doesn't care
R: really
M: I guess so
R: do the Koreans get mad?
K: I don't know
R: well not mad but they didn't say anything?
M: probably they would they are always asking where's Clara where's Clara
R: ((laughs))
K: she reminds me so much of [name 11] you have no idea
M: I know
D: she was bitching at me because I missed my shift last week but we went on a trip
K: no they were?
D: yea they were like Daniel where are you? stuff like that it was my first ever missing how can you be like that's rude
R: ((laughs))
D: there was no one else there
M: yea me too I'm like where's the Korean staff
D: when I'm gone it's like a big deal
R: when you went on the trip
D: yea
K: I was always late for the shift I'm like give me a big fat lateness
M: give her a late
K: (?)
M: did you?
K: no
M: no
R: you must always be late or absent
K: always
R: right
D: ((laughs))
R: cause you have to come after class and it's not your fault
M: yea
K: I told her that she was like blah blah blah with her like sucky English
M: ((laughs)) oh well but then it doesn't really matter the late thing
R: well you're not gonna get that award or certificate or whatever
D: you need to miss a lot you need to miss a lot though
M: you need to miss a lot not to get that
R: oh so you're still safe now for three of you guys

D: yea
 M: I'm always there
 D: I just have a few
 K: do you wanna buy a certificate?
 M: buy?
 K: why not?
 D: I got them for sale
 M: ((laughs)) I have one last semester I don't know where did I lost it probably somewhere in Hongdae I still believe so cause I took it and we went to Hongdae
 K: oh
 R: you yea you told me
 M: yea
 D: Hongdae's got half of my stuff
 M: ((laughs)) your stuff everywhere
 R: Yuto's gonna get the whatever award
 M: hm?
 R: you have like the best person award
 K: I think there's two
 M: h:m
 K: but they get big scholarships for this
 M: mhm
 K: I don't think Yuto's gonna get one
 M: because Yuto's like exchange=
 R: =leaving anyways
 M: mhm
 R: but he would get something like hard working IntCom member still
 M: really?
 R: no I'm assuming don't you guys have those?
 M: there's two but then they give them all to the Korean staff because you get scholarship
 D: I've gotten it twice
 M: you got it?
 R: the scholarship?
 M: but did you get cash?
 K: it's quite big
 D: five hundred thousand
 K: yea
 M: mhm
 R: like <Kr> ohsipman-won {500,000 won}
 K: nice
 M: I will be working hard from now on ((laughs))
 K: that's why you're so chill now after
 D: yea
 K: two scholarships ((laughs))
 R: wow
 K: I really want I'm gonna be late for the meeting if they're gonna start voting vote for me ok?
 M: ((laughs))
 D: ok
 K: and you know who I'm gonna vote for
 M: I thought I thought we vote like the last semester we vote like (?) or something
 K: well I don't know how it's gonna be this time but
 M: I didn't check I really give less fuck to the IntCom these days so I don't really
 D: ((laughs)) I haven't (?) either because I have so much other things to do so
 M: yea
 K: vote for [name 12]

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M: I'll vote for [name 12] and [name 13] last semester too I vote for them and then [name 12] got it and and [name 14] but yea [name 14] is good too

K: who did I vote for I have no idea

M: cause they are still my two favorite candidate

K: [name 15] too

M: oh [name 15] oh with them who can I vote now

K: we can vote for two people right?

M: only two

D: for what

K: I'm taking [name 15] for the best working staff

M: mhm

D: the first few years he got lots of credit four five

M: oh really?

D: that's why I got one

M: that's why I got one hehehe

R: why don't you vote for Yuto? you only vote for Koreans? or it doesn't work that way?

D: you can vote anybody

K: the thing is I wouldn't vote for Yuto because

R: it's different?

M: no [name 12] and [name 15] is really good

K: they are way better than Yuto

R: [o:h] working wise

M: [on working]

K: like Yuto Yuto when it's time for the events he's like running around doing things

M: mhm

K: but there's also a part where you have to prepare before the events

R: mhm

K: [name 12] is amazing he's always like doing things leading people

R: h:m

K: thinking of ideas

M: mhm

K: [name 15]'s super helpful he's always like helping I like [name 15] because he hangs out with the foreigners outside

D: that's true yea

M: yea yea

K: because other everyone else is just like [no]

M: [nah]

K: oh my shift is until ok bye guys

M: yea

K: like you'll never see them ever again and the [name 12]'s like like we should that we should do that

R: that's nice

M: mhm

D: (?)

K: yea

M: yea

R: is he the one you were telling about you have a friend he went to the army and came back to the IntCom?

D: hm

R: that's [name 15]? oh really?

M: mhm [name 15]'s really nice

K: yea [name 15]'s awesome

D: yea cause he went beginning two thousand [and fourteen]

R: [he started with you?]

D: I mean that's when we went to the army so yea
 R: oh ok
 M: mhm
 D: I met him in thirteen so yea
 K: oh then I'm gonna vote (?)=
 R: =is his in his last year?
 D: second year because most two years now because of army so (?)
 R: a:h
split conversation
 M: and you be late for
 R: yea cause of the army
 M: mhm
 K: because my job finishes at five and it takes more than an hour to come here so
 M: oh the <Kr> hagwon {private institute} it's a really high pay though you're happy you like it
 K: yea it's really high pay
 M: yea
 R: bring a book to read or something
 K: I have a book on my phone
 M: ah but you don't have to take care of them?
 K: what?
 M: like when you're there oh you mean like on the subway [ok]
 R: [uhu]
 M: I'm like it's nice
 R: yea to read something
 K: wow twenty thousand for an hour I hope I wonder which class I'm gonna get because there's teenagers like twelve thirteen year old girls they're really good at English
 M: mhm
 K: but the eight year olds they're just
 R: the kids are harder
 K: yea and they don't listen they just
 R: yea
 K: I know this I know this because it was eight year old then it was ten years olds and then then it was thirteen year olds you can't you can't it's really obvious how they change
 M: ((laughs))
 K: the first one was like they were always moving around the chairs like walking I was only looking at the class
 M: mhm
 K: and the guy who went to one of the kids just text something like the teacher wanted to check all the other ones stood up and wanted to see what he was checking
 M: hm?
 K: why are you doing this
 M: I think I do that too and all yea ((laughs))
 R: ((laughs))
 K: all of us did but
 M: yea
 D: ((laughs))
 K: like for me as a grown up like
 R: yea
 K: why what sit down sit your ass
 D: yea
 R: ((laughs))
 M: I was just curious I think I remember even now I might do it
 K: (?) I was super super curious oh my god it was so annoying
 M: mhm well as they grow they just stop acting

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D: yea
M: they get less and less active
K: yea
M: like me now in class like
D: ((laughs))
M: ((laughs)) I wanna sleep it's cool
R: I wouldn't teach kids again
M: hm?
R: I like teaching but I like teaching adults that's why I'm doing PhD cause I wanna teach at university
D: yea
M: ah me too but I like teaching kids too
[...]
R: I don't know it's like
M: they love me ((laughs))
R: I don't like teaching them
K: because you look like a kid
M: [probably]
D: (((laughs))) you're like one of them
M: when I yea like one of them yea like last summer when I went back to high school I was with the first years like of we are like primary school secondary school and they went to the class and I was just standing there with my uniform it was my last year in high school and my friends were just like where have you been? they couldn't find me and I'm like here here like I blend in so well ((laughs))
R: ((laughs))
D: ((laughs))
M: probably that's why they like me I'm one of them and I'll run with them always I like play with them I like teaching kids I like teaching people
R: was uh
M: hm?
R: you went clubbing that day when you borrowed [name 16]'s shoes was it ok?
M: ah it was ok mhm
R: ok
M: we have the same like shoe size and all we went Octagon
D: oh cool last week? Thursday?
M: Thursday did he texted? you I don't know (?) was there I told [name 17] but
D: we were on a trip we were on a trip
M: ah yea you guys were on a trip yea yea I wanted to text (?) too and I remember like ah yea
K: oh you didn't want to text me?
M: because I couldn't contact you your phone just disappeared
K: oh yea
M: I'm like I wanted to ask you a lot of time like but I couldn't contact you I'm like do I Facebook message her? like ((laughs))
R: I did message her and she sees it right away
M: you do?
K: yea I message in Lithuania we message all the time because they're free
M: free (.) is WhatsApp not free there?
K: not WhatsApp Vibe? something
M: hm?
D: [Viber?]
R: [Viber?] yea Viber
K: the thing like the data on the Internet that you use is free
D: oh ok
K: so it's not counted (?)

M: ah
 D: they do that for WhatsApp with some providers (?)
 R: really
 K: we have Facebook for that
 M: we don't have I have data
 K: that's why we use use=
 R: =it doesn't eat up your three g
 K: no
 R: data WhatsApp
 K: no well not Facebook
 M: for Lithuania
 K: yea
 R: I was getting really excited right now
 M: you're like I will use Facebook messenger forever ((laughs))
 R: oh ok
 M: but I think for us it's like some stuff I don't know
 K: I made a WhatsApp when I first came to Korea I didn't like I used it for two weeks? but it was so much of a pain to use Kakao Facebook and WhatsApp so I just deleted WhatsApp
 R: I use all three
 D: it's normal life for me
 R: yea me too
 M: Facebook oh yea yea I use all three too but I feel weird if I start any app
 R: I have friends that use Facebook with some friends I use WhatsApp with
 D: yea
 M: for me it's like really close friends Facebook WhatsApp is like friends back home Kakao here only here
 D: yea exactly
 K: yea it's like Kakao is really here
 D: no where else
 R: do you use Kakao on your laptop as well?
 D: yea
 K: yea I do
 R: it's so much easier right? ((laughs))
 D: I got WhatsApp on my laptop too
 M: oh yea oh yea they made it like that
 R: they have WhatsApp?
 M: h:m
 R: the app?
 D: I mean you have to have the phone on the same wi-fi connection or on something but like you just get on the website and you scan your you scan something on your phone
 R: really?
 D: I'll show you
 R: ok
 D: and then it automatically connects and it's so much easier
 R: so you can just
 D: I hate texting so
 M: ah I text really quickly so I
 R: so I could deal with it with my wi-fi at home? you mean
 D: or any wi-fi here
 R: you have to go to the website?
 D: yea
 R: what's the website? like it's downloading from
 D: no you just go on WhatsApp dot com
 R: mhm

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D: I'll show you how it works it's pretty easy

R: ok

M: but I just text I always text

R: I hate yea I hate using my phone texting someone

M: no?

K: yea me too

M: ah because I used to get a job for like half a year promoting job and at a mall with really not much people going so I'm always texting like I'm standing there and I'm like I was well trained for six months so I text really really quickly

D: ((laughs))

M: everyone's always like why do you text so quickly and I text really weirdly text like this

K: yea this is weird

D: yea I saw it I was like=

M: =everyone always asks me how to you text like that? and I'm like I don't know

K: weird

M: I just got (?) I text like this

D: yea

M: so it's really quick I'm like

R: iPhone is like really tiny to text

M: ah probably

K: oh yea

R: my fingers are tiny too but I always have typos

M: ah

R: so annoying

M: hehe like mine is really big

D: my grandpa is always complaining when he has to text

M: mhm

R: uhu and it's annoying to do this way as well even though

D: [ah yea]

K: [oh yea this is weird]

M: [yea it's worse] I don't like

D: I try not to text I would phone someone yea

M: you always phone yea whenever I text you you're like ok to the point I'm like ok because I text a lot

D: yea you write letter basically

M: ((laughs)) yes I write letters to everyone you can check my message but they text me back the same too like

D: yea

M: fifty-four messages WhatsApp from just one conversation

R: ((laughs))

M: we do the same

K: I have to go

M: you have to go?

K: yea

M: a:w I'll go do my work ah not work my paper

Appendix G Transcript sample 2 (group conversation)

L: Leo

R: Researcher

D: Daniel

M: Mei

C: Clara

K: Kamile

L: but still the attitude is a little bit strange I think because data protection is not that big deal here like in general

R: ah but for themselves

L: yea but still you're going to buy Samsung and you have to put your data information like everywhere even if you get the sim card

D: yea

L: I had to I mean you too probably you had to send a picture of your passport or ID card

R: oh

D: yea back home you just go to a store and buy your sim card

L: yea it was like so strange I never had to do this in Germany because

R: that's true they just need your credit card or something with your name on it

D: but here for example like

R: but here they have pictures [like customs or something right]

D: yea [like you have to be over certain age]

R: yea that's true

L: yea when you're in [dorm name 1] too like when you use the card to enter [dorm name 1] um the security guards could even like see all your information just by logging in they can see when you went in and out again that kind of stuff

R: but my university in the UK only like the offices have it like for their information

L: sure

R: and like nobody else would know

D: yea

R: I have to tell them every time yea

L: ok like the offices you mean

R: like the international office whoever manages like the students

D: yea admin

R: like yea yea the admin they do need our information

D: yea yea

L: sure

R: because they manage our visa and stuff but like yea not like everyone has it in dorms and stuff

L: different circumstances yea

R: yea I don't think so not in the program

L: yea it's so interesting here by the way Daniel what do you study I still don't know that

D: international studies and business administration

L: ah international studies too ok

D: yea

R: oh yours is part of it's inside international studies? it's same as what Mei's doing?

D: pretty much the same yea

R: but then you chose business?

D: yea well I mean business is like separate but I'm taking it with it basically

R: oh really

D: as a second as a second minor it's like my second specialization it's like my specialization actually

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R: oh ok

D: they call it intensive minor something like that basically means specialization

L: yea what do you wanna do? did you already figure out?

D: um I don't know like I'll probably end up starting my own business sometime

R: I like interviewed him for this

D: yea

R: and he was like ah I gotta think about it ((laughs))

L: ((laughs))

D: I'll probably end up starting my own business or something whether it's small or big

R: but you said you did want to have a master's right?

D: yea but not immediately

R: oh ok

L: so you would like to make your bachelor's and you would start off a business and after that getting a master's

D: cause the thing is I don't know I just think that I mean it's cool studying and stuff but I think I have to explore the different views of the world

L: mhm

D: like studying I've been here for four years now

L: sure

D: I'm not getting enough now so if I wanna try something else I'll eventually come back

L: to Korea?

D: [no no] to studying

R: (((laughs)))

L: ah yes

D: yea to Korea of course it's my second home so

R: ((laughs))

L: ah well I mean like taking a master's degree afterwards is like having a second spring time you know ((laughs))

D: yea

L: yea

D: yea like a mini retirement except you have to study

L: and you're still young to figure that out you know

D: yea but we're the same age how old are you now?

R: you're not much older

L: twenty four

D: yea I'm twenty two (.) twenty two twenty three

L: twenty three

D: I'm turning twenty three in August yea

L: I'm turning twenty five then

R: you were born in ninety two?

D: ninety three

R: and you're turning twenty three?

D: yea definitely

L: yea if you're turning twenty three now makes sense

R: ((laughs)) I'm turning twenty eight so I was like minus five yea ((laughs))

L: ah ok

R: yea it's funny cause you're my sister's age and my brother's age ((laughs))

L: REALLY? ((laughs))

D: ah really

R: but to me them cause they're my little sister and brother they're so young but you guys you guys are just like friends

L: yea

R: it's funny like in Europe too like the age gap is really big but they're all like friends I think cause in Korea there's this formal way of speaking

D: yea yea
 R: you have to be really polite to the older one
 L: yea and I think like different school and university culture cause in Germany it's usual to have friend like in other classes
 D: yea
 L: and other study fields and other ages but here it seems like people who take the same subjects also [keep stuck to each other]
 D: [yea that's true] yea that's very true I've noticed that too [same in my faculty like] everyone that's um studying the same field they're super close together
 R: [yea yea that's true]
 L: yes
 D: I've got friends from all over the place it doesn't matter to me but
 R: yea the IntCom isn't a common like case
 D: yea
 R: the Koreans there they are really like they really wanna be involved otherwise you're really close to just your classmate
 L: yea
 R: yea that's what I've noticed as well I wasn't even part of a club when I went to university in Korea ((laughs))
 L: no really?
 R: no I just had friends I was a real Korean during that time
 D: yea yea
 L: real Korean ((laughs))
 D: where did you study?
 R: uh [uni 1]
 D: ok I think it's on this way
 R: yea yea it's like line four it's really close to Seoul station
 L: how is it called?
 D: [uni 1]
 R: [uni 1]
 L: [uni 1]
 R: it's a women's university
 L: but it's not this [uni 2]
 R: [uni 2] like the best women's university and [uni 1] is like the second best ((laughs))
 L: ah yours
 R: it's like uh yes [uni 2] is better than it's like famous but first and second best women's university
 L: mhm it's actually just a women's university?
 R: yea only women but I've seen a couple Europeans it's like the whole maybe a hundred students like female girls and then there's like one European like a blond guy
 D: ((laughs))
 L: ((laughs))
 R: because they come as an exchange student
 D: ah yea
 R: they wanna experience what it's like to be in a women's university
 D: that's interesting
 R: ((laughs)) yea
 L: either he's lucky or unlucky
 D: yea yea
 R: he gets attention like you know
 L: yea
 R: the professor's always like what do you think?
 L: ((laughs)) at the man
 R: you know yea yea or like those people find like a Korean girlfriend sometimes ((laughs))

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L: probably yea
D: what are the odds like ((laughs))
R: ((laughs))
L: it's funny though
R: yea and if it gets serious the girl goes to Europe later
L: yea
D: yea also like in a lot of my classes the professor like always asks me things
R: about what
D: like in normal class like they always use me [as an example] especially like if it's
R: [o::h]
L: the girls?
D: no no the professors
R: cause like a foreigner
D: especially like if it's a professor also like from America
R: oh really
D: yea
R: oh ok
D: and other than that like I don't know if you noticed but a lot of Korean classes um um don't talk as much in class to the professor the professor will ask something and everyone's quiet
R: oh yea yea yea
D: I get pretty annoyed with that so I'm the one that's always answering
R: oh really
D: I get really annoyed yea I feel like for me um imagining being the professor and talking and getting low responses
R: mhm
D: so I feel sorry for the professor I answer all the time
R: yea they really don't answer
L: yea it's like the studying culture here it's like getting all the stuff in your head
D: yea
R: they're scared they might be wrong
L: yea
R: like um
D: I'm wrong all the time I don't care
R: ((laughs))
L: you're wrong all the time?
D: I'm not always right but
L: yea
D: I just say it anyway
R: yea it's true yea that's why in some classes like the discussions don't even go well
D: yea yea
R: it gets really quiet ((laughs))
L: yea I actually feel same when I look at the Korean professors I got it's like in two classes but with real Korean professors which have an accent when they talk in English and these are the classes were like least of the classes there is discussion
R: yea
L: someone ask questions but really rarely and when they ask questions nobody wants to answer
R: ((laughs))
L: like after a while I feel really uncomfortable in the silence people are raising their hands
R: do you answer?
L: sometimes yea but one of them he's like the professor of international public law and I don't know he asks so strange questions and even if I think my answer is right he gets it the way that it might be wrong it's so strange
R: mhm really
L: yea and so I like to answer but it's still actually difficult

R: mhm
 L: unfortunately most of other classes are like for foreigners so there's actually discussion maybe you know the class
 D: who
 L: Sustainable Development
 D: oh [name 1]?
 L: no not [name 1] it's from [name 2] an Indian guy
 D: no I never had class from him
 L: ok
 R: why is that class strange?
 L: no it's really [interesting] like we are seven people and there's always discussion
 R: [oh this one's interesting] there's only seven people in the class?
 L: only seven people [in the class]
 R: [that's really nice] ((laughs))
 L: and
 R: it's like a seminar
 L: yea
 D: yea yea you can communicate with the whole class
 L: that's what the professor does he gives us like lectures always like thirty to forty pages and we're just discussing about the topic just discussing
 R: are they Koreans or international students
 L: mostly internationals like the one I was telling about seven people and everyone comes from another country
 R: really?
 L: one from Spain one from Germany from Canada the professor's from India one from Ghana one from Mexico and one Korean guy ((laughs))
 R: oh that's really cool
 D: that's really cool
 L: so funny
 R: wow but how is there only like seven ((laughs)) in that class
 L: I think it's because usually one of his classes you can take for this UP program it's a kind of double master's program offered by the United Nations and so they get some foreign professors
 R: are you doing is yours master's right now?
 L: no no
 R: but what year are you in?
 L: I'm simply studying law
 R: but you said it's how many years? five years for you? to study law
 L: ah in Germany it's like uh five years
 R: but what year are you in?
 L: uh it's my fifth year right now
 R: basically it's like kind of a master's stage now
 L: yea more or less it's difficult to compare because it doesn't work like with the bachelor's master's degree in Germany
 D: yea yea same with us
 R: o::h ok
 L: yea when you finish like your studies
 R: but it's more than a bachelor's degree?
 L: yea when you finish your first studies like after five years it's way more than a bachelor's degree and then you have to take three additional practice years
 R: oh ok
 L: and after three years you get something more valuable than a master's degree
 R: you're graduating soon
 L: yea
 R: you're graduating

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L: yes I hope so
R: when (.) in July?
L: no maybe
R: this December?
L: um: maybe December or in um January but I have to look
R: are you work (.) you need to start your dissertation?
L: no no we don't have a final paper I only have to write like six exams in two weeks but I can decide whenever I want to do that it's up to me completely
D: yea
R: this is why you always wear smart clothes ((laughs))
D: ((laughs))
L: yes yes ((laughs)) I'm adapting to the environment (I have been working on it)
R: you're already ready
L: yea just for the job you like for the job you have
R: ((laughs))
D: yea ((laughs))
R: but do you have a the IntCom jacket as well?
L: yea like these hoodies
R: are they free?
L: I don't know were they free?
D: ah yea I didn't pay for mine
L: me either
R: you never wear it I've never seen you wear it
D: I don't wear it
R: you don't wear it? why not you don't wanna you're not proud?
D: no no
R: ((laughs))
D: I just it's just hanging there I just never put it on
R: yea [you just wear this]
D: [it's a souvenir] yea I also have a big one I don't like that so
R: ((laughs))
D: those big like what it called baseball jackets I hate that I have it as my souvenir
L: this this
R: oh yea I was asking about that you don't like it
D: I don't like it no
L: this [uni 3] jackets the leather how's it called
R: yea yea
D: it's too heavy for me
L: yea ((laughs))
R: yea cause like so many people wear it here
L: mhm
D: yea
R: I mean like in Korea in general they always wear the jacket of the university
L: that's what I was telling about in the beginning
D: I don't like that too
L: it's like stuck into the department because if you watch the people they always have the same jacket of the department
R: it's like their identity their proud of it ((laughs))
L: yea it's so cute actually
D: ((laughs))
R: yea I've seen like a German major they have a small German flag
L: mhm
R: next to it too under like [uni 3]
L: yea ((laughs)) [it's funny]

D: yea it's true
 L: and every time I see someone with a German flag or Italian flag I really want to talk to them
 ((laughs))
 R: ((laughs)) yea
 D: ((laughs)) I can imagine
 L: but they don't teach Afrikaans here right?
 D: nah
 L: on
 D: they teach Dutch oh well actually I did some research into it the Dutch faculty have like one (?)
 in Afrikaans it's like compulsory
 L: In Dutch?
 D: yea
 L: really the Dutch (section)?
 D: yea
 L: why
 D: well that's part of when you learn Dutch
 R: you mean here at [uni 3]?
 D: yea yea
 R: the Dutch major they need to do a bit of Afrikaans?
 D: yea a little bit of literature or something cause it's same like people in South Africa study
 Afrikaans and automatically Dutch too so
 L: it's so close? eh?
 D: yea it's like ninety five percent
 L: really?
 D: when I read like it's fine
 L: interesting
 D: when I listen I have to listen very carefully
 L: ((laughs))
 R: I know this stuff because of Charlize Theron
 D: mhm
 L: Charlize Theron?
 R: you know [Charlize Theron?]
 D: [yea]
 L: not yet
 D: in Hollywood an actress
 R: maybe you would know if you saw the face she was in many movies
 D: yea
 L: for example?
 R: Monster?
 D: yea Monster she won an Oscar for that
 L: Monster?
 R: she's like a Hollywood star
 D: yea her most recent movie was Mad Max
 L: ah
 R: she's like really tall and blond
 D: yea
 L: did she play one of the virgin girls? that uh captured?
 R: where
 L: Mad Max in Mad Max
 D: no no she was like the uh
 R: isn't she the main actress
 D: the main actress yea
 L: [Mad Max?]
 D: [I'll try to find her] ((searches on phone))

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R: come on you should know
L: Mad Max when I heard Mad Max I was thinking of uh
D: the thing they play in the desert
L: [no I know the film I know the film]
R: [maybe she's not famous in Europe] you'll know if you see the face cause she's really famous for like our generation ((laughs))
L: like I told you a few weeks ago I'm really bad at names
R: oh ((laughs))
L: I'm so freaking bad at names
D: no you will recognize her ((shows pictures of Charlize Theron))
L: a::h ok yea yea
R: ((laughs))
L: what's her name again?
D: [Charlize Theron]
R: [Charlize Theron]
L: a::h ok ok
R: she was like pronouncing her name Charlize Theron ((with an Afrikaans accent))
D: Charlize THERON ((with an Afrikaans accent))
R: Theron ((with an Afrikaans accent)) yea I saw her interviewing in Afrikaans and it was so
D: ((laughs))
L: it's like you got a really interesting accent when you speak English
R: yea she's from the capital? maybe
D: um she's from close to Johannesburg she was born there it's quite a rough area too
R: oh really
D: yea
R: is she like a big star in South Africa?
D: yea except that she doesn't come there very often
L: ((laughs))
R: no I think she
D: she lives in Hollywood
R: yea she's American too I guess
D: she got all settled there now so
R: were you in South Africa when Mandela
D: it was here it was my first year
R: oh you were here
D: it was my first year yea
R: did you did like the whole neighborhood do something really big or just like it was just sad
D: not really it was just on the TV and stuff
R: oh ok yea cause they have these um statues of famous uh Mandela
D: yea yea
R: in the UK
D: ah yea Trafalgar square?
R: no not in Trafalgar it's like in front of the Parliament
D: ah ok
R: Westminster
D: Westminster sorry yea
L: there's the statue of Nelson Mandela?
D: yea
R: well there's like Gandhi Mandela and these other
L: ah ok
R: people who influenced the world
D: ok Trafalgar square just got all the embassies of the common wealth
R: oh ok
D: so yea

R: yea like the flowers were like when Princess Diana died like the whole
D: yea
L: yea
R: it was nice
L: still there are some kind of small memorials for Lady Di people put a lot of flowers and stuff around
R: yea
L: funny actually
D: it's pretty weird how I like can recall certain memories from my childhood I remember I think I was like four or something I remember sitting on the couch back home
R: you remember when she died?
D: when Diana died
R: really?
D: we were watching TV watching the funeral or something
R: yea cause it was like such big news
D: yea yea
R: like in the States people like royal family and stuff like a celebrity so like it was on TV like the whole day
L: oh gosh ok
D: yea
R: and her life was such a drama as well with like her husband's affair and everything and her
D: yea
L: ((laughs))
R: it was like really interesting
D: my mom's like quite into the whole royal family thing
R: oh really
D: she's pretty up to date with everything
L: ((laughs))
R: yea like in the UK it's like there's two sides some people love it some people think it's bullshit ((laughs))
L: yea Germany is probably the same there some people really really crazy for royal families
R: I mean it's still interesting when they have babies and stuff
D: yea yea
R: I like to read and watch and like what they're gonna name the baby
L: ((laughs))
D: and my mom always says like it always adds culture she was like we don't have culture we're lacking culture
R: ((laughs))
L: so your compensating with royal families
R: it's history too
D: yea it's history too I guess
R: that's what they consider
D: my mom says we don't have a proper culture in South Africa we don't know what culture is really
L: ok
R: well ours was destroyed by Japan
D: ah yea
L: it's actually bad
R: yea but yea culture wise I understand people
D: yea
L: Germany also has no culture actually
D: yea yea
L: not like the basic one the common understanding
R: I mean you guys do like have concentration camps so

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L: yes but [that's not something you can be proud of]
D: that's not really culture [you can't be proud of]
R: [no]
D: people ask like what's the traditional clothes like I don't have we have like
L: sorry?
R: [traditional clothes]
D: [people ask] what's South African clothes and like I don't even know we have like ten different
billions we have so many different culture
L: yea
R: it's like the States
D: mine I don't even know
L: yea
R: Germany has traditional clothes
L: yea
R: for Oktoberfest
L: yea but actually all the cliché is like white beer and the pretzel and Oktoberfest this is not actual
German this is Bavarian
R: ah yea yea
D: yea
L: this is only Bavarian culture this is nothing like
D: yea
R: then Austrians would be part of that too no?
L: yea
R: right
L: also yea (.) yea like you know Austria is like really close to Germany even the civil law it's like
pretty much the same
R: yea yea
L: the civil law code is also named pretty much the same
D: mhm
R: yea same
L: it's really similar language also they speak German
D: yea yea
L: like they don't speak really German in Austria because the accent is really funny
R: oh for you guys really
D: the same as Swiss German I guess
L: yea
D: completely different
L: German is like here <Gr> ya {yes}? like German this is Bavarian German this is Austrian German
and somewhere down there is [Swiss German] ((showing different levels with hand)) ((laughs))
R: [Swiss German] really (((laughs)))
D: (((laughs)))
L: because it's so funny
D: yea
L: in German I always laugh my ass off ((laughs))
R: really
L: when some people are like speaking in Swiss German
R: uhu I've heard for French people Belgian French is so funny
L: mhm
R: and Canadian French is ridiculous
D: ((laughs))
R: it's like horrible ((laughs))
L: I can imagine
R: I would like to know I just I don't know ((laughs))
L: do North Koreans have some kind of accent? I don't know

R: well yea you saw the movie The Interview?
 L: yea
 R: did you kind of did you notice? no? you do kind of notice it's a bit weird?
 D: yea yea I can tell that it's
 R: I mean they did kind of exaggerate to make it look like army style
 D: yea
 L: mhm
 R: like language well did you watch you weren't there?
 L: I was there
 R: oh you were there?
 L: yea yea
 R: it's like they yea it's very different the word are different and the accent is different
 D: most like I know with North Korean Korean they don't have any of the English words too
 R: yea yea it's like somehow you can say it's like back in the the language didn't develop
 D: yea yea
 R: it's like exactly how it was no English word whatever
 L: mhm
 D: like in modern Korean there's a lot of loan words from English like <Kr> el-le-be-yi-tuh {elevator} <Kr> chi-jeu {cheese}
 R: yea they have their own words yea it's funny for Koreans too
 D: yea
 R: we heard like news and we do laugh it's funny
 L: yea
 R: ((laughs)) I mean in Korea we have different accents as well
 L: mhm
 R: like if like Seoul people listen to accents down in the South it's really funny
 L: ((laughs))
 R: Jeju accent is really funny
 L: ((laughs)) ok
 D: well same with us when I read Dutch like
 R: uhu
 D: because for a lot of words I think it's ridiculously funny for example um um the most ridiculous one in Afrikaans an ambulance is <Af> ambulans
 R: oh
 D: in Dutch it's <Du> ziekenwagen {ambulance} it literally means sick car
 R: o::h
 L: sick car ((laughs))
 D: you get it yea
 L: yea it's funny
 D: yea so for me it's just ridiculously funny same with hospital like in Afrikaans it's <Af> hospitaal hospital in Dutch it's <Du> ziekenhuis {hospital} which mean sick house
 L: oh really
 D: yea
 L: sick house
 R: o::h that's so funny
Leo greets Clara in German
 L: <Gr> na alles klärchen bei dir? {so everything's alright with you?}
 C: <Fr> oui oui {yes yes} yea finished just my course
 L: do you want to join us?
 C: I have to go to the alien registration
 L: to the?
 C: alien registration
 D: ah
 L: ah to take your fingerprints

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C: yea

L: ah ok

C: but I will just go shortly go home and come for coffee

L: ok

R: ((laughs))

L: see you later bye bye

R: oh yea I asked her to come as well if she was free I took her to E <Kr> dae {shortened word for university} Ewha Women's University

D: oh Ewha yea

R: cause she wanted to do this ((shows piercing in ear))

L: ah yea

R: she saw this ((laughs))

L: yes

R: so I took her yea I brought her there and helped her with the translating and stuff

L: cool you have it in both ears?

R: no you know this ear it got ripped

D: oh

R: see?

L: oh yea what did you do?

R: it just opened it was too much on the edge

D: ah it was pretty deep enough

R: it was so much on the edge and every time I wore like a knitted sweater I was like every time I took it off

D: ouch

L: really oh shit

R: it's like the hole got bigger and bigger and the next morning I woke up like the earring was like still together like next to my ear and my ear was like ripped opened

L: oh shit

D: ouch::

R: ((laughs))

L: it's bad

R: when I tell people they're all like don't say it but for me it wasn't that bad

L: you're really lucky it healed that pretty good

R: yea it healed but still you know you can see

L: yea

R: my mom hates it she was so mad because I have like three holes here

D: ah yea

R: and two holes here

L: do you use them?

R: I used to in like middle school ((laughs))

L: ah but they're closed right now

R: no they're not closed but [it's uncomfortable]

D: [I'm so scared of piercings]

L: hm? you're

D: I'm scared of piercings

L: yea

R: you don't have tattoos either?

D: no I think I wanna get a small wave on my foot

R: you should

L: a small wave?

D: like a wave

L: ok

R: I have like a you know the Korean flower called Mugunghwa? it's like a Korean national flower

D: ok oh yea I think I've seen it

R: it's like you become a patriot when you're outside of the country
D: yea
R: so I have this flower on my thigh
D: oh ok
R: it took an hour it was horrible
D: yea
R: cause it was like
L: like here? ((points at his thigh))
R: no like here ((points to the right spot))
L: oh ok
R: just like I don't want to show it to any Koreans
D: yea of course
R: only like when you're like on the beach and stuff
L: ((laughs))
D: yea I like want mine done on the ankle or something
R: ah yea yea I have one on top of my foot as well but yea in Korea you really have to be like careful
D: yea
R: well like in Europe I think if you're gonna work professionally
L: yea it's
R: it's ok?
L: yea it's ok but usually you have to wear clothes to
D: yea of course to cover it up yea
R: yea yea
L: yea
D: (unless you like teach something like that if you become like a teacher)
L: yea but still I don't know most people don't care about tattoos or piercing cause it's really common
R: yea
D: yea
L: many girls also have piercing in the bellybutton
R: yea
D: ah yea
R: Clara has it
L: yea honestly it's a little bit I don't know
R: she has one in the back too you saw right?
L: yea yea but you can hardly see that cause it's like uh
R: oh yea yea
L: covered by her hair this is really interesting having it here in the back
R: I'm trying to look for my tatoo
L: yea looking for a picture of your tattoo ((laughs))
D: I'll show you an example of what I want to get
R: it hurt so much though usually some people who are scared they take like um pain what do you call it
D: ah yea like pain killers
R: yea yea pain killers but I didn't after I was
L: this part of the leg is really thick skin you know and if you get a tattoo there
D: yea
R: but I thought
L: it gets worse when you get it inner part of your thigh here this I heard it hurts a lot if you put like here ((points at a part of thigh) [because it's really thin]
R: [I thought it would be ok because there's a lot of fat] but it was not ok
L: because there's a lot of [fat ((laughs))]
D: [fat ((laughs))]

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R: it was not ok
L: yea
R: it's like a flower here ((shows tattoo on phone))
L: ah ok
D: I'll get something like this for mine ((shows tattoo on phone))
L: ah it's really simple you mean
D: very simple yea [very simple]
R: ah that's nice [you should do it] it's not gonna hurt at all [it's gonna be fine]
L: [like around here?]
D: no just a small one (just big as this)
R: yea you should definitely get one
D: yea yea
R: yea if you have some meaning in your life
D: yea sure I live for this
R: yea where would you wanna do it in Korea?
D: maybe yea
R: yea I think now they do a lot of tattoos here too you should try
L: maybe you should do it in wintertime because if you do it in summertime you will not be able to walk and enjoy the weather
D: no it's fine I think it's easier in summer cause you can keep it open
R: oh yea
D: for it to heal
L: maybe yea
R: cause yours is really simple it's fine
L: yea
R: they're gonna put like a wrap around it
D: yea yea
R: and you're gonna have a bit of blood coming out
L: mhm
D: yea
R: but like yea just that little is fine you just need to like yea put a wrap around it
D: yea
R: oh my god it hurts so much if you're gonna cause mine was like for an hour
D: actually yours is like colored in
R: coloring in every time like my leg the reflex was like shaking
L: oh yea
D: yea
R: like this and then after I was done I couldn't walk home
L: oh shit ((laughs))
R: my whole body was shaking like crazy
L: oh no man [this is so bad]
R: (((laughs)))
D: where'd you get it done?
R: in in London
D: oh ok
R: cause I have like a small one on the top of my foot it says faith with an eternal sign it was just simple like twenty minutes so I was like it shouldn't be that bad
L: yea yea
R: and then it was like oh my god
D: mine will take like two minutes
L: the one on the top of your foot is just like black and white right
R: yea it was just black I didn't know I thought it was like yea I'm never gonna do it again ((laughs))
D: the thing is I'm scared of anything permanent
R: I know I'm scared yea

L: mhm
 D: even my computer's wallpaper changes like every half a day
 R: ((laughs))
 L: really?
 D: I'll get bored of it like within the day yea that's why I'm scared of tattoos (?)
 R: yea that's why tattoos you have to be careful but like yours is fine
 L: yea tattoo is like more or less life decision
 D: exactly yea
 L: I don't know I'm not the biggest fan of tattoos but I told myself if I'm going to New Zealand one day I want to get one of the traditional Māori tattoos
 D: oh [that's really hard core]
 L: [because heard] yea they use like the traditional standard of doing tattoo so they got the hammer and a little sickle
 R: ((gasps)) wow
 L: and they just really just uh what's it called um they just put it into your skin
 D: yes penetrate
 R: woah
 L: yea it's supposed to work a little bit more than the usual tattoo
 D: for sure it does ((laughs))
 L: yea but the interesting fact is that um you cannot choose the design for your tattoo because the tattooist makes a conversation with you and he's trying to figure out your character and while he's talking to you he's like making your own personal tattoo every sign and every line has something to do with about yourself
 R: where is this?
 D: in New Zealand like Māori culture
 L: the the yea what's it called
 D: yea Māori
 R: o::h
 L: the indigenous people there
 R: yea yea
 L: that's maybe one thing I would consider to do
 R: this is the one on my foot ((shows tattoos on phone))
 L: ah ok
 R: this is nicer this didn't hurt that much
 L: yea
 D: that's nice
 R: yea I did kind of want to show it you know
 L: ((laughs))
 D: yea yea
 R: you know you still kinda wanna show like a bit
 L: yea ((laughs))
 R: not covered all the time ((laughs)) so yea
 L: oh well yea
 R: but not many Germans do it none of my German friends has a tattoo actually
 L: no?
 R: like UK everyone has it
 D: yea
 R: everyone
 L: really?
 D: most of my friends back home too
 R: it's so common in the UK
 L: ok
 R: so common
 L: I mean in Germany it's also pretty common

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R: in the States as well even like normal people

D: yea

R: like quiet people they just wanna put something on their body which has a really big meaning

D: ok

R: like if you are a real Christian like you would put a small cross on your arm like

L: oh well ok

R: yea likes lyrics of Eminem I think their gonna regret

D: that's pushing it

R: ((laughs)) yea it's like during their teenage years

L: yea

R: but they all do have something

D: ((laughs))

R: or like a bible (.) [quote]

D: [verse or something]

L: yea as long as it's not like Yakuza or anything it's fine you know ((laughs))

[...]

D: my mom I mean she'll get over it and my dad's chill about it it's weird like how my mom and my dad they're different sometimes they're liberal sometimes they're not usually they're like complete opposite

R: uhu

L: mhm

D: like my mom my dad he's chill to with it too things like that my mom she would rather go make me go out and (?) with a bunch of friends than getting a tattoo

R: ((laughs))

L: sounds like fun option you know

D: my dad would be just like keep it safe they are like liberal in different ways

R: uhu but they're both liberal that's good

D: yea

Audio turned off and contents are cut in between

[...]

L: Chinese students?

R: yea

L: I don't even

R: oh you don't even meet them

L: no I'm not aware that there are actually Chinese students

D: on paper there's a lot

L: yes like on the orientation day like there was this table you know indicating how many people from which nationality

D: yea yea

L: are there and I just saw that there were like tons of Mexicans tons of Japanese tons of Chinese tons of Germans

D: and we haven't met any of the Chinese to be honest

L: yes that's the point

R: what is that?

L: huh?

R: what are you trying to show?

L: the the photo I took the photo of the um

R: ah like the list

L: yea

R: like how many

D: yea

L: I took so many photos

D: I actually have this somewhere on my phone

R: why do you have the list?

D: because in the IntCom they send it out
 R: to you guys?
 D: yea cause they had it to arrange (?) all the exchange students show them where they're gonna stay and stuff like that actually I was in South Africa when I got it I was like really looking forward to like who am I gonna meet who am I gonna meet
 L: yea like this ((shows the photo))
 R: oh ok oh that's why
 L: and you saw like more or less roughly how many people from which nationality were there
 R: France is big too
 L: yea but also
 D: I haven't met many French here
 L: me neither like only [name 3] and [name 4]
 D: yea
 L: but [name 4] because she's also German
 R: but I've heard French people also hang out with themselves
 D: yea yea
 L: like Spanish actually
 D: the Spanish does it too yea
 L: yea (they like to be inside their groups somehow) I don't know why (.) it's really easy to hang out with the Mexicans I don't know why but most of the time I spent with them or either with the German people
 R: yea Mexico isn't that much bigger than Mexico is actually bigger than China ((looks at the photo with the portion of people from each country))
 L: yea it's so many Mexicans to be honest I don't get why there are so many Mexicans in Korea
 R: I don't know either I'm really surprised
 L: me too when I came here
 D: well I asked my Mexican friends and they said they just like out of being Mexico
 L: they just what?
 D: they just like being out of Mexico
 R: yea yea
 L: ((laughs))
 [...]
 L: it's the same with the Spanish and Italian people in Germany
 R: oh yea
 L: because there's so many exchange students in German universities and they don't want to come back in the end when they finish their studies
 R: yea
 L: so crazy sometimes I feel so lucky to be from Germany you know
 D: yea
 L: cause like
 C: hey
 R: hey how are you
 C: fine and you?
 R: fine
Clara and Leo talks in German
 L: yea last week already
 C: ah ok was it cool?
conversation split into two groups
 D: those are cool shades
 C haha no it's kind of funny
 L: ((laughs)) I look ridiculous ((tries on Clara's sunglasses))
 D: ((laughs))
 L: I bet it suits you very well
 C: no it's the same like you

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R: ((laughs))

C: it's the same like (?) when I see myself in the mirror I'm like ((laughs))

R: no it's better than this ((laughs))

L: I'm so fancy

C: yea exactly I'm gonna get some coffee

R: ok

L: yea uh well she's like this you know

R: we got the red pants for you yea you're ok?

L: [name 5] told me that yesterday actually yea

D: ((laughs))

L: I'm ok with that

R: yea cause the girls got the skirt and he's got the red ones [name 5] kept telling us [Mei] does he really want it? are you sure? [he wants red pants?]

L: [leggings?]

R: no red pants

L: ah ok

R: and Mei said yea he said it's ok but red pants is fine

L: yea what else should we get for it (.) it has to be red

R: I don't know she's like should we change it to black for him but

D: it's not gonna match

R: [yea] it's gonna be free anyways

L: [yea]

D: yea

R: so yea

C: do you go in the evening to the Korean Foundation thing to the party?

L: probably

R: I'm not going

L: why not

D: I might go

R: ((laughs))

conversations split in two groups

R: does uh Mei know this place?

C: this place?

R: cause she's trying to tell me something and I'm gonna tell her to come here

L: mm bagel

C: ((laughs))

L: so funny this thing

D: actually I haven't seen Mei for a while to be honest

R: oh really

D: I haven't seen her for ages it feels like

conversations split in two groups

R: where is this place? how do I tell her?

C: oh it's opposite of [dorm name 2]

L: just after the crossing the first street on the right

C: yea

D: first street yea

R: opposite of

D: [dorm name 2]

C: probably she knows

R: I think Mei will get it if I tell her like this

C: yea

R: let me see it ((looks at Clara's piercing))

C: it's awesome

R: it' hurts right?

C: no [I just sleep on this side] now ((laughs))
 R: [are you sure?] now?
 C: yea
 R: are you serious?
 L: oh
 D: when did you get it?
 C: near the women university
 D: when
 R: oh when
 C: when like um last week but it's kind of everything I do piercings heal I don't know why
 R: are you sure it doesn't hurt?
 C: yea you can touch it (.) it doesn't hurt at all
 R: woah
 D: it healed really quickly
 R: ((gasps)) maybe you're meant to be
 C: (((laughs))) I meant to be piercing yes probably
 D: (((laughs)))
 R: yea cause mine it took years to heal
 C: yea I don't know I asked my boyfriend and he told me it's like probably my body doesn't um recognize it
 R: ((laughs))
 C: so he just like yea it heals cause it does not recognize it
 R: maybe
 C: I just turned away from because it smells like smoking
 R: no it's ok I'm used to it ((laughs)) once in a while it's fine
 D: a lot of um my friends like when they get piercings like I accidentally touch them and they're like
 R: yea
 C: it happens to a lot of people because yea like also [name 4] got some and she's always like struggling with that but
 L: still?
 C: I don't know sometimes she's like ah now it hurts
 D: I feel so bad
 R: I went clubbing after like uh two days or so and every time they're like yelling in my ear I was like a::h oh my god stop it
 L: oh it hurts
 D: ((laughs))
 R: it hurt so much yea so
 C: yea I don't know why but I'm happy about it definitely
 R: well that's good I was worried it might hurt so much or like cause some people it gets infected as well
 C: yea normally it's like to be healthy (?) you know but with mine I never (?) <Gr> danke {thank you} Leo ((Leo went to pick up Clara's coffee))
 R: but oh my god the taxi like more than an hour and a half?
 C: yea it was so horrible because I was like I had an appointment with Leo to go to the supermarket and he waited for me and I had no internet
 R: o::h
 C: and he waited for half an hour and I was like I'm so sorry but
 R: cause she tried to take a taxi back here and it was like a Saturday at six pm
 D: oh must've been traffic then
 R: it took like an hour and twenty minutes
 D: from where?
 R: from Shinchon to here
 D: oh ok that's quite a lot cause usually it's like forty minutes
 L: really wow

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D: it's a lot faster yea
C: it's ok I was like I was so sleepy and then like this
R: so I told my dad about you cause we were like talking and he said oh my god you're crazy never take the taxi at that time like on Saturday
C: yea now I know it ((laughs))
L: ((laughs))
R: yea
C: well
L: how much did you pay? fifty thousand won?
C: I don't know
R: you told me at that time it was like <Kr> yi-man-won {twenty thousand won} twenty thousand
C: yea
R: I mean it's cheap for like it's cheap compared to
D: considering the time it took yea
R: compared to like Germany
C: yea
R: but like for here it's a lot for a very little distance
D: yea yea
L: yes still I'm wondering about prices from Itaewon to [uni 3] it's like nothing
R: ((laughs))
D: it's like thirteen thousand
C: it's also yesterday we went to Costco and it was like four thousand
D: yea it's cheaper to take a taxi
C: so it would be more expensive if we
D: take a train or the bus
C: yea if three people take the train
L: yea if you split the bill everything is pretty fine
C: yea but yesterday hey Kamile how are you?
L: hey what are you doing here?
K: I'm living here ((laughs))
L: oh you live here? ok
C: how are you
K: don't you have a shift?
L: huh?
K: don't you have a shift?
L: I already had my shift
R: ((laughs))
L: I'm a reasonable person
C: ((laughs))
K: actually I
C: ((laughs)) mother bear is caring about you
D: yea
L: but actually Yuto is sick as hell
D: he was sleeping in the IntCom room all day today
K: yesterday he
L: he has to do a shift
K: I don't know he's just super super sick
L: we were all trying to get him to his room but he didn't want to
R: ((gasps))
C: yea
K: he's just so obsessed to the IntCom I think he has like some kind of allergy or something?
D: he should go see a doctor
K: I think he should go to a doctor
L: maybe he already went cause he keeps telling that he's taking medicine

K: ok bye guys
 R: see you ((laughs))
 L: bye Kamile
 D: I mean he should see at least if the medicine is doing what it should
 L: hm?
 D: I mean like he says he's taking medicine but it doesn't seem like it's doing anything
 L: I don't know
 D: he said he was taking the whole afternoon in the IntCom room
 L: yea
 R: why not his own room
 D: exactly yea
 L: we keep telling the same thing because he was like laying on his belly all the time
 D: yea he did
 C: yea
 L: like for one hour
 R: he has his shift now?
 L: yea he has his shift everyone was telling him go away we have enough people
 D: yea
 L: and he was like no no
 D: yesterday he didn't even have a shift but he was there the whole time
 R: really
 D: so he didn't want to move
 R: so committed to the IntCom
split conversations in German and English separately
 D: dragon tears
 L: yea it tasted so disgusting
 D: there's this
 L: at least now I know there's an alcohol like sixty percent because I'm looking for alcohol you can like lit on uh
 D: I wonder if you can light it you should try it one day
 L: sorry?
 D: you should try it
 L: yea
 D: but it tastes so bad though
 L: no it does not
 D: maybe it's another one
 L: the Chinese one? if you put chocolate in it it would be fine
 D: yea
 R: ugh what like how many degrees?
 D: I think you need forty to burn?
 R: yuck oh ((laughs))
 L: but this Chinese stuff has like sixty
 D: anyway we found at E-mart this Chinese thing it's got a big logo like a big dragon
 L: mhm
 D: last semester my friends and I started calling it dragon tear
 R: oh really dragon tears ((laughs))
 D: yea it's like a nickname for it cause we don't know what it's actually called it's all written in Chinese we don't have a clue
 R: oh really I'm sure it's gonna be really strong
 D: it tastes so bad
 L: it tastes like how's it called like hand detergent
 R: sanitizer
 D: yea sanitizer
 L: sanitizer smell yea [it's really awful]

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R: [u::gh} even Soju I hate Soju
L: really? it's nothing
R: you like Soju?
D: plain Soju no
R: plain Soju is so bad [it doesn't even have a flavor]
D: [the flavored ones]
L: [the flavored ones are really good]
R: yea yea cause like just plain Soju tastes like alcohol
D: exactly
R: real alcohol
L: like bad Vodka
R: yea yea
D: pretty much yea
R: yea it just tastes like cheap Vodka
L: yea
D: yea
R: so bad
L: I don't get why people can drink this
D: me neither
R: I don't know like Koreans like Korean barbeque they just drink it
D: shot by shot
L: yes yes
R: it's so gross to me but have you been hung over from Soju before?
D: it's the worst thing ever
L: yes
R: you just see green letters and it makes you throw up
L: ((laughs))
D: yea yea
R: you don't wanna see anything green the next day [such bad hangover]
L: [unfortunately up until now] I drink a lot since I arrived here but I haven't throw up one time
R: you drank a lot of Soju?
L: hm?
R: a lot of Soju?
L: a lot of Soju too
R: oh I think it's so gross ((laughs))
D: yea I'm quite skeptical of Soju these days cause like last year just the flavored ones came out
R: oh yea
L: it's good
R: yea they're good
D: just the flavored ones came out and we met up with I don't know a bunch of them and we kept having shots and shots and shots [I was dead the next day] I was running from my bed to the toilet the whole day I was dead
R: [cause it's so cheap] ((laughs))
L: it is like one or two euros per bottle this is so cheap
D: yes real cheap
L: like for the
R: yea it's so easy but the next day it's horrible
D: yea it's the worst
R: cause it doesn't even have a taste if you have like gin and tonic like in the UK it's just like it's nice
D: yea yea
L: yea
R: but here so bad but like beer as well I still don't know the taste of it I don't get it
L: me neither I can't drink

R: oh you don't
 L: no I don't like drinking beer the only ones which are somehow ok are Heineken and Guinness because it's really light beer and you don't taste it but everytime I
 D: Guinness? really?
 L: Guinness
 D: I thought it's very strong
 L: no Guinness? [I can drink it like water]
 D: [for me it's really heavy]
 L: really? ok
 R: ((laughs))
 L: I can drink it like water
 D: yea
 L: like an Irish man ((laughs))
 D: ((laughs))
 R: for me Guinness tastes so bad
 L: really? oh shit maybe I'm really used to the really bad German beer ((laughs))
 R: I like those light Belgian beer oh it's a really famous one but I forgot the name
 L: Kwak?
 D: Hoegarden?
 R: no it's like in a small bottle the bottle is small too
 L: ok
 R: a bit fatter no you guys should know I forgot the name
 L: it's a brown bottle?
 R: yea
 D: I know what it looks like
 R: you know what I mean?
 D: yea
 L: me too
 R: it looks like a very light beer
 L: but you don't remember the name right
 D: I'll recognize it when I see it
 R: oh it's like D-U-U-V I don't know
 L: du?
 D: yea D-E-W-E isn't it?
 R: something like that I think you would know cause you're European
 L: I've only been once to Belgium
 R: no but like it's really common
 L: dewy?
 D: something like that
 R: something like duwee or something
 D: duve I don't know I'm trying to pronounce it in Dutch and I don't know
 R: ((laughs))
 L: D-E-W-E?
 D: I think it's D-E-W-E? D-I-E-W-E?
 R: I'm gonna try to see oh yea Duvel D-U-V-E-L it's like the one in the middle ((shows photo of beer on phone)) oh wait I'm gonna see the name and it's like this one
 D: yea that's what I had in mind
 R: yea ((laughs))
 L: yea yea I know that
 R: you know?
 L: yea
 R: this one I like it's exactly this
 L: yea Duvel yes
 R: yea I like this one

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L: oh wait there's Stella Artois also really good
R: oh
L: Stella Artois and Efes
R: oh I was talking about this one actually
L: Hoegarden?
R: oh Hoegarden is nice and like Sol the Mexican beer? Do you know?
D: Sol? yea yea heard it
L: yea
R: it's
D: there's two Corona and Sol
R: yea Corona and Sol oh yea I was talking about Corona [I like light beer]
D: [Corona is really good too]
R: Do they have cider in South Africa?
D: like proper apple ciders
L: [this is the beer from uh]
R: yea not the cider in Korea
D: no no
L: the Netherlands you drink it like with a glass ((shows picture from mobile phone))
R: ah::
L: this is really cool
R: fancy
L: yea it's like uh um they put sugar in it during the fermentation process so it gets a lack of caramel that's a little bit sweet
R: mhm
L: it's really funny
D: we have this one in South Africa it's really good Savanna just like cider
R: oh really
D: yea
L: oh
R: I've never seen it though
L: me neither apple cider
D: I've seen it in Korea
R: really?
D: yea
R: do they sell it in the UK? you don't know?
D: I'm sure they would
R: they would? Savanna?
D: yea
R: it's like cider?
L: it's South African brand?
R: it's sounds like South African ((laughs))
D: yea
R: like an African brand Savana yea I like cider because it has taste and alcohol in it
D: yea yea but
L: (a walking cliché)
D: also oh you don't drink beer
R: what do you drink?
L: me? usually
R: liquor?
L: usually I drink whiskey
D: oh wow
L: if I
D: it fits with your suits and everything
L: yea

R: Jack Daniel's stuff like that
 L: no Jack Daniel's you get blind with that stuff it's really bad
 R: blind?
 L: yea just yea
 R: ((laughs))
 L: just kidding you know if alcohol is really bad you can actually get a bad hangover
 D: yea yea
 L: and Jack Daniel's doesn't taste at all um
 R: or like Jager
 L: Jager yea sometimes Jagermeister but only if it's cold
 D: yea if you put it in the freezer my dad puts like two bottles in the freezer back home
 L: mhm
 R: really
 D: yea
 L: I like drinking like honey whiskey
 R: really
 L: there's like a lot of whiskeys which are flavored with honey
 D: ok
 L: (?) yea
 R: I forgot the name of the Russian Vodka
 L: Gorbatschow
 R: no
 L: Absolute
 R: no
 L: ok not Absolute that's (?)
 R: the one with the black label
 L: with the black label?
 [...]
 M: hi::
 D: hello long time
 M: hey hey who's sitting there
 R: nobody [Clara left]
 L: [YOU] now you're sitting there
 D: how are you
 M: good I just came from the <Kr> bang {room} I was doing some stuff
 R: did you dye your hair?
 M: before way before
 R: oh
 M: is it showing more now?
 R: yea yea
 M: they say the more you wash it the lighter it gets so
 R: yea
 L: it's normal
 R: I told you to come because we had a lot of messages and I was talking to them
 M: ah
 L: ((laughs))
 D: ((laughs))
 R: so what do you want me to do?((laughs))
 M: ((laughs)) like the uniform thingy
 R: yea
 M: cause like apparently Clara and [name 4] got the same numbers so Clara wants to change to one two three
 R: [ok]
 L: [yea]

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M: and then like the logo to be bigger and the name to be bigger cause [name 5] sent me a picture and she asked for confirmation and after I tell her the problem she's like go to this page and open the folder and [my password is] yea I'm like ((laughs)) it's in Korean ((laughs))

R: [ah she wants you to do it now] ok I'll do it

M: so I messaged you like can you help me

R: ok I can do it

M: mhm

R: yea I don't think in process yet is that the only thing Clara's number?

M: yea Clara's number and the logo to be bigger and the name to be bigger

R: how do you know the logo is small?

M: cause she showed me a picture in the IntCom group chat

R: wait I'll show it to you

M: it's like whoo this tiny

R: ((laughs))

L: ((laughs))

M: so

L: whoo that's tiny

M: ((laughs))

D: ((laughs))

R: are you going to the Korean Federation thing?

M: yep look it's like whoo so tiny ((shows photo on mobile phone))

R: oh

M: ((laughs)) yea why I told her

L: a::w that's a baby's version

D: very tiny

M: yea like

L: it's really small

R: oh

M: people will be like what's that

D: you have to come close to actually see

M: o::h the dance team ((laughs))

L: [yea actually]

R: [ok]

L: let's see the shirt oh it's a logo

D: ((laughs))

M: yea so

R: but wait did she approve yet? [name 5] did she confirm yet?

M: I don't know she just asked us to can you guys confirm? and I'm like

R: oh she asked you guys

M: yea she told me that

R: oh then she didn't confirm yet

L: then I guess

R: then I guess she didn't

M: ((laughs)) maybe you have to log in and

R: yea I'll do it at home

L: well will they arrive on time?

R: yea it will they're doing quick service to arrive on Tuesday

L: ah ok that's really

R: it will arrive on time

M: I hope and she put it in the IntCom group ((laughs)) so they were like some girl just messaged so I was like she's the [society name 1]

D: yea

R: what she sent in the IntCom group?

M: yea ((laughs))

R: with like thirty something people?
M: fifty something
L: yea
M: ((laughs))
L: so everybody knows about us now
M: yea so everyone started messaging hey what are the clothes and I'm like what just happened and I saw it I'm like oh ok
L: ((laughs))
R: that's a bit awkward
M: yea it's a bit awkward but ok
R: ((laughs)) ah so it was like with everything like the executives and [name 5] and you guys
M: I think
R: oh you saw it too? ((points at Daniel))
M: yea [I think he saw it too]
D: [yea I saw it yea]
R: ((laughs))
M: like everyone knew about it yay
R: ((laughs)) she should've messaged you separately [but it doesn't matter]
L: [that's the spirit]
M: yea
R: it doesn't matter
M: should be fine
R: the budget stuff is ok now right?
M: she never mentions about money
R: oh yea yea yea
M: yea it's just that the guys that freak out are like I think like the (?) doesn't even care about
D: yea
M: it's like ye::a and I told her to bring out the old skirts and stuff and she' like no we'll have to buy anyway and I'm like ok
L: ((laughs))
M: it's cheap but it's not that cheap if you buy that much
R: so you don't know how much it was in total?
M: I don't know I have no idea and she wanted to order another black trousers
R: for you?
L: yea she told me
M: yea she's afraid she's like Leo will really wear red shorts? oh no I should buy you a spare one like
L: yesterday I went for five minutes for something and she was like oh are you ok if we order red shorts for you? don't we have to order something else? I was just like red shorts is perfectly fine
R: red shorts are fine yea
M: it's fine
R: it's not like red tights
L: yea
M: yea it's not like leggings
L: yea I would be even ok with red leggings yea
D: ((laughs))
R: ((laughs))
L: what's the point
M: I think like Jack even says it's ok with leggings I don't think red shorts is a problem and she's like really?
D: ((laughs))
M: yea and I told even to her like you chose it yourself so
L: yea
M: she's like

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L: I'm old enough for this
D: yea he can make his own decisions now
L: I can even get a red skirt
R: what are you guys gonna do with the shoes?
M: we'll just
R: just wear your own?
M: yea maybe next time
R: are you gonna wear knee socks as well?
L: knee socks?
M: you should
L: I don't have any
M: we are gonna order it
R: no but I think she only ordered six
M: a::h
R: knee socks ((laughs))
M: ((laughs))
R: those long white socks that goes up to your knees
L: yea I know that
R: like boyscout style [isn't it] ((laughs)) or fancy royal British style
D: [yea] it's like the Scots too
M: [yea yea]
R: oh yea the Scottish traditional men's skirt ((laughs))
M: ah yea
D: yea yea with the bagpipe
L: well I'm pretty fine I'm pretty fine with my red pants
R: yea should be
M: yea but not like the socks high socks tall socks no ((laughs))
R: don't you guys need to practice on that small stage as well though?
M: like maybe Tuesday before it starts
L: yea it should work out ((yawns))
M: mhm you tired
R: I just yawned too cause it's like Friday I feel like it's a weekend or something
M: I feel like everyday is a weekend ((laughs))
L: yea more or less
D: how do you do that
M: ah you're like no ((laughs)) I don't know
R: you're always so happy
L: because everything what you do makes fun you know
R: ((laughs)) yea
D: that's true yea
M: yea everyday is weekend I feel like cause all my classes you know my schedule it's like twelve an hour and then
R: you have like ridiculous gaps so
M: yea
R: like aren't you lazy to go again? cause she's got like four five hour gaps in the middle
D: yea between I tried to put my class altogether
L: yea me too actually Wednesday and Thursday
R: hers is like spread out like
M: that's why I feel like everyday is the weekend
R: ((laughs))
M: I just woke up do my own stuff
D: ((laughs))
M: and oh one hour of class and then ok I do my own stuff and
L: yea

R: oh you don't have class today? you're done now?
M: yea I'm done now I just have two hours so it's like and it's from one to three pm that's all so I feel like everyday is the weekend and I was just playing around and then I came
D: for me Thursdays I feel like the weekend
R: why cause you don't
D: because I finish at three o'clock and then on Friday morning my classes are only for two hours so
M: mhm
R: oh that's it
D: yea
M: everyday is the weekend
R: Tuesday is hard for you right?
D: Tuesdays yea it's pretty tough
M: mine is Monday like from but actually it's from twelve so
D: mine's from nine to three so (.) straight
M: mhm mine is twelve to six straight and then the IntCom meeting till eight and then I can do whatever
D: but we don't have the IntCom meetings on Mondays
M: no no the executive
D: oh yea sorry yea yea sorry
M: you're like we changed ((laughs))
D: yea we changed
M: yea but the executive they like switched
R: ah it used to be Monday?
D: [yea it used to be Monday]
M: [it used to be Monday]
D: that's when I think about meetings I always think it's Mondays
R: mhm
D: so used to that
M: I'm not used to (?) but I still have meetings on Mondays so it's like
D: it's the same anyway
M: mhm
R: you know for movie night two three weeks ago
M: hm?
R: who was the leader for that? Marc?
M: me and Marc
R: oh it was you and Marc oh ok
M: so it's fine you're like wait you're worried
R: ((laughs))
M: no it's us so it's fine
R: yea yea
M: mhm but I don't think tomorrow (?) quiz night did you message [name 6]?
R: I didn't but since [name 7] knows about it it's ok I could just tell them a day before cause now I kind of have to let them know
M: ((laughs))
R: I was being polite I said I'll let you guys know before I come
D: (?)
R: oh cause the Korean members didn't know about me
L: ah ah yea what you told me earlier
R: did I tell you?
L: yes
M: ((laughs)) you told all that now everyone knew about it
R: yea cause like people say come to the event you Clara said that and I was like I'm not gonna go
M: you're like ye:a no maybe not

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R: but yea

M: it's just that Korean

R: so I'm just like since they're a part of it too I have to let them know

M: yea

R: but [name 7] was really nice he said like if you need something or if you wanna participate just let me know and I will help out smiley face smiley face

M: mhm

D: that's cool yea

M: he's nice

R: I was like a:w thank you

M: yea all the other people are cool I think

D: yea

R: but like since it was him and me meeting for the first time we are Koreans so we were speaking in Korean it was so formal our language

M: a::h oh like

D: oh yea I can imagine

R: it was like <Kr> ne {yes in formal language}

M: yea everytime I speak Korean with someone I just met I feel like (uncomfortable)

R: it's really formal I didn't even call by his name I said [name 7]-ssi

M: ah

D: oh wow

R: it's like really formal

M: that's why I don't like to meet people like starting from Korean

D: yea yea

M: if not it would be really formal and it's really hard to like when to change

R: it's so funny cause like calling the president

D: yea yea

R: you know you say <Kr> hoejangnim {Mr. president}

M: oh you call him hoejangnim

R: I was like hoejangnim I was trying to be nice at first because I didn't meet him before

D: yea yea

M: but it's so weird because he is actually younger than you and then <Kr>hoejangnim [name 7]-ssi

R: yea I'm sure they don't care later but for yesterday I did that ((laughs))

D: yea once you get to know him I think it's fine

R: yea he was actually telling me to get to know the Koreans as well then

M: h:m

R: cause like and I said yea I would like to and he said I agree it's hard cause I'm like much older than them and it could be hard because we have to use formal language at first

M: h:m

R: but then yea he said we talked about that

M: but then the executive says that they feel like you're investigating them then [name 7] says you can get to know them wouldn't it be like contradicting

R: no since now they know I'm not investigating them

M: ah

R: since they know I'm just there as a friend

L: since the boss told them what to do

R: yea yea

D: ((laughs))

R: he said don't worry now I'm gonna tell him

M: but did he tell on Wednesday meeting I don't know I came late

D: no he didn't

M: no he didn't mention anything but even in the executive room he didn't mention it

R: yea I think they're still mature the way that they didn't try to like talk about me like in front of everyone and stuff

D: mhm

M: yea cause I told them like

R: he was very professional

M: mhm

R: he handled it professionally like taking you out of the room just talking to you

D: yea yea

R: and just with the executives

M: mhm without the executive I didn't talk with

R: oh even without

M: yea without

R: yea yea it was really nice cause I was worried it might make a chaos with everyone and I have to explain everything but he didn't

M: yea I told him like how was it (?) but if [name 8] was the president it might be a chaos ((laughs))

L: oh wow

R: oh maybe ((laughs))

L: I don't know her that well she usually seems to be really really dedicated

R: yea I mean we talked about that in a good way like uh

M: mhm

R: [name 7] said that she's very meticulous

D: yea yea

R: and she's there has to be someone like her cause he said he's very relaxed and chill

M: mhm

R: they are very opposite people so that's

D: yea that's true

R: why they work together I said I totally understand

M: yea ((laughs))

R: of course I was a stranger and

M: yea

R: he said he would talk to her

M: mhm

R: and she knows that we talked so it should be fine now ((laughs))

M: I hope because in the executive group <Kr> [name 9]-ssi mannam {I met [name 9]}

R: what happened after that?

M: and then NOBODY replied

R: oh ok

D: (((laughs)))

M: (((laughs))) until someone said

R: something else

M: something else and then we were continue

R: oh ok well at least nobody said no

M: yea nobody says like <Kr> oe oe {why why} ((laughs)) or something it was like really nice

L: yea ((laughs))

R: I think they knew already that we were meeting

M: yea

R: he just confirmed that we met

D: yea

M: yea because [name 8] started to message me again so I'm like

R: that's good

M: maybe it's clear so

R: oh that's good

M: cause before that she just ignored me

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D: really

M: I was like oh there was some conflict

R: I mean it would be unprofessional if it went on so long

M: yea

D: yea of course yea

R: I'm sure she's not like that

M: yea

D: ((laughs))

M: it's fine again

R: yea I'm gonna be at the quiz night event but tomorrow just for the dancing stuff but I did feel it was awkward when I went to the IntCom room cause I only knew you guys

M: mhm

R: and I didn't talk to others that much

D: oh ok

R: like I felt myself awkward there too

M: mhm so you need to get to know them too yea they're nice people

L: yea for the moment it also seems to me pretty easy to get to know the Koreans

R: yea the Koreans are really nice cause they're the ones who wanna be in the IntCom

D: yea yea

M: mhm

R: they're really social and nice

M: mhm

R: yea yea

M: like if not they won't get they won't apply for it if they don't want to like know people

D: exactly yea

L: you already talked to Yuto?

R: yea yea

L: ok

M: oh Yuto is so sick just now

R: [yea we were talking about that]

D: [we were just talking about that]

L: is he still in the room?

M: no no he left he left

L: aha

D: about time yea

M: yea

L: whew

M: he was like uh and I don't know what happened he like like tripped over something

L: yea he said he's actually dying you know

M: why why ((laughs))

L: he's dying

M: I'm like what?

R: he's a giant?

L: he's DYING

R: oh dying (((laughs)))

M: (((laughs))) we're like what? but what's happened to him

L: he's got the flu maybe

R: I think it's the flu

D: but he got it badly because I also had the flu I never lied and slept=

L: William to the guy from France

D: yea yea

L: him too

M: mhm

R: maybe it's food poisoning

D: it's been going on for a while because yesterday too (?) he just stayed in the couch the whole day

R: he needs shots for that

L: whom

D: Yuto yesterday

M: why didn't he go home

D: no no in the IntCom room

L: ah yea

D: he had shifts but he just stayed on the couch from like two o'clock to eight in the evening (straight) the whole time

L: and imagine I went there like at ten to bring my Manito things to buy

D: yea

M: Manito

L: and he was still there

D: really

R: ((laughs))

L: at ten or half past ten

M: o:h

L: he just slept there all the time

D: apparently he stayed till ten o'clock that was like at seven thirty last night

M: oh

R: but he should go to the doctor

M: yea or maybe just the school nursery

D: at least it's a start if he seems worse they could send him somewhere else

M: mhm

L: yea

D: to a proper doctor

L: I mean like when [name 3] came to the IntCom room today because he was looking for a doctor

D: yea yea

L: he's face was like really red and his voice was like really really crushed

D: yea

M: mhm

L: and he was asking for a doctor and then after ten minutes the girls who were accompanying him to the one who was in [dorm name 1] came back and they told me that uh he's so sick that they had to bring him to a proper hospital maybe the doctor didn't know what to do for sure

M: mhm

D: oh wow

R: it's kind of annoying cause if you are in Korea you have to ask someone to help you can't go to the doctor straight away

L: yea

M: mhm

R: in many cases

L: you're so dependent like from people who speak the language

M: mhm

R: yea yea it's different when you're in a non-English speaking country

M: but like in [uni 4] there's actually a global center in it

R: oh really

D: yea that's true

M: and you can actually

L: [uni 4]?

M: yea [uni 4] like it's medical center like a hospital

R: ah they have their own like

M: yea

D: they actually have a hospital there yea

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M: like it's right in front of [uni 4] like they speak like Chinese Russian English
R: oh so it's not just for [uni 4]
M: it's for everyone
R: but it's really close to [uni 4]
M: mhm but it's really expensive I think it's really fancy
D: yea
M: like with the chandelier and everything
L: if you got an insurance
M: yea if you got an insurance then it's fine
R: but then people here should go there like
M: yea that's why I always tell my friends to go there because
R: yea
L: how do you get there
M: like cause I have a friend studying in [uni 4]
L: yea
M: so she just told me that you can just walk there
L: where's that ah the one which is in the cathedral upstairs?
M: mhm
D: (?) so it's like that way
M: but not at the building it's in front of the building
D: yea
L: but it's near [uni 4]
M: [uni 4] [uni 4]
L: ah ok
R: yea whatever doctor like hospital it is it should be less than like two Euros or something
M: it's REALLY expensive there
R: it's expensive?
M: it's really
R: but if you have insurance it shouldn't be more than five Euros
M: yea if you have insurance then it's fine
L: yea
M: but if you don't have it
R: it wouldn't be <Kr> man-won {ten thousand won} for just like seeing the doctor is it like ten thousand?
M: it's like fifty like <Kr> oh-man-won {fifty thousand won}
R: for what seeing the doctor?
M: for checking
R: ((gasps))
M: it's really
L: fifty thousand?
M: yea
R: but you will check up from head to toe
M: no no
R: just like seeing the doctor? oh it is expensive
D: back home it's the same price
M: really?
D: we've got insurance but
M: yea insurance can cover it up
D: they put it directly in your account
M: mhm
L: ah well so you don't have to pay the doctor
R: cause you have insurance you don't pay that much
M: you don't have to pay at all if you have insurance
L: same system in Germany

M: but you need to make insurance make appointment with them and all and go through a process if you are really ill then it kind of take a long time

R: in UK everything is free but the problem is the private sector like the private doctors it's like a hundred pounds to meet like a hundred fifty dollars

M: that's so

R: that's why they have uh free service but then free service you have to

M: wait

R: book two days after I say I wanna meet I'm dying they say come after two days

D: that's ridiculous yea that's same with our public hospitals too

M: yea ours too it's like oh I scheduled you like next month for this check up what?

R: so I just go to the emergency room

M: for normal flu you just go to the emergency but you still have to wait

R: yea like two three hours for waiting

D: that's ridiculous

R: and I go there sometimes the doctor's like you shouldn't come here it's not a big deal I was like I'm so sick and you know

M: mhm

R: yea that's the problem

L: it's weird I hardly go to the doctor

M: really

L: I only go to the doctor when I'm feeling [really really really]

D: yea me too

M: really really ill

R: in Korea you're just like you feel a little bit sick

M: yea

D: yea it's crazy like I only have a little bit of a cold no big deal and everyone's like you have to go to the hospital

M: yea

R: they say go to the hospital get a shot well I do that ((laughs))

M: really?

R: last time every time I tell my boyfriend I'm at the hospital he's like again?

L: ((laughs))

M: yea cause like you usually go to a small clinic when you're really really ill but for them

R: small clinic all the time like even a little cold you get like prescription you get shots

L: what for?

R: if you get allergy you get allergy pills

L: doesn't matter

R: it's just so common

M: yea everyone's always telling me to go to the hospital

D: for me hospital is something really serious

M: yea like surgery

L: me too

D: yea like surgery or something

L: the last time I went to the hospital I nearly broke my big toe because a big packet fell on it

D: same for my brother (?) fell oh his toe

M: a::h

R: I don't know but for me I can't stand it if I have a flu I don't wanna wait for three four days I just wanna get a shot

D: is it really that effective though

R: it is it does work

L: the shot doesn't make it really better

R: they have shots in your butt as well and like um

D: yea

R: no here it's like um they tell you to pull your pants down

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D: oh ok

R: not all the way down [just until]

D: [yea]

M: [[[laughs]])] so detailed

R: and they pat it like this and while they're patting it they put it in so they don't know they did it and I'm like [oh is it done?]

M: [[[laughs]])]

R: ok

L: it's actually pretty smart

M: oh

R: so it doesn't hurt at all

M: really?

L: yea but still

R: because the arm is for like vaccines or [some like more serious stuff] but for allergy or for cold

D: [yea that's true]

M: [a:h] they put everything here or like here

R: u:h

D: that would be scary

R: that's like IV stuff

M: yea they put here and here

R: but like yea I'm so used to it so I always go and my European friends call me like a pharmacy cause I have this huge pharmacy pack in the UK as well I have all different kinds of medicine

M: me too I brought

D: me too me too yea

M: my mom she's like if you get cold you can eat this for flu and everything

D: I look at the pharmacy my cupboard

M: yea

L: I only do that when I'm traveling at home I don't have that much medicine only for my allergy and like if I got headache it's everything

D: yea yea

L: [so]

M: [mhm]

R: like definitely going to the doctor is so common here

M: yea here yes

R: my parents always say go to the doctor go to the doctor even for like a canker sore

M: hm?

L: for what?

R: cankersore ulcer

D: oh like cold sore

R: well do you say cold sore like in the tongue or inside I think they call it ulcer

M: ulcer

R: you know white stuff you have inside

L: [yea yea]

D: [yea]

M: mhm

R: if you're really tired or if you bite your skin

D: yea

R: you have the white stuff and it grows

D: is that's what it's called?

R: yea in the States you call them cankersore and then in the UK you call them ulcers

D: ulcers yea

R: it can be anywhere in the body but for this mine gets really big sometimes

M: why

R: and you know I even get injection in my tongue

M: what? for that?
 L: why?
 R: [oh this?] it was serious because it was getting infected
 M: [I never got an injection for that] a:h
 D: oh ok
 R: it was in my tongue
 L: ok that's a different
 M: that makes sense but if it's a normal ulcer like I would wait for it
 R: but still for a cankersore I still go even if it's small not a shot but they put medicine on it
 D: yea yea
 M: you can put it yourself
 L: yea you can buy in Germany we have=
 R: =but it's much more effective
 D: the pharmacy
 L: it's not effective it's the same thing it's just this you put it like this
 R: no the doctor's more effective here
 M: ((laughs))
 R: I'm telling you
 M: she's like it's real
 R: cause I get a lot of those and I can't stand it it hurts so much but yea
 L: yea
 R: imagine getting shots in your tongue ((laughs))
 L: must feel awkward
 M: ((laughs))
 R: and it's like this big
 L: ((makes suffering noises))
 M: ((laughs))
 D: almost as bad as getting injection in the (?) to numb your=
 R: =it's even worse cause it's your tongue
 D: yea
 R: and after it's done you can't see it but it feels like it's this big it feels like your tongue is so swollen
 M: [o:h}
 D: [I can imagine] that's the same for I've got friends back home who's got tongue rings
 M: o::h
 L: tongue rings?
 R: you know what Clara has?
 L: ah yea
 R: they have it in their tongue
 L: oh ugh yea yea
 D: they say that it feels so swollen for the first two week
 R: yea they say they use a nail and just like
 D: yea
 R: it's not even like a shot it's like they just put in a nail
 L: why would you do that
 M: yea you can do it yourself then
 R: but you what's so interesting even if you had it for years and you take it out it just like pull it back to normal
 D: yea
 M: of course
 R: like nothing happened like these you still have like but for tongue no or like here as well
 L: mhm
 M: you know Elena had it here?
 R: ((gasps))

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M: like this part

L: Elena?

M: Elena yea

L: who? it's a friend

R: Elena is an Ecuadorian friend

L: ah here yea yea

M: yea this part was a ring where she got like that but I didn't saw her wear it before

R: she had it before?

M: yea

R: [o:h]

M: [I saw pictures] she's like but WHY?

R: I would like no

D: scary my cousin's got on in her nose

R: I think it's pretty

D: I think it's annoying

R: I think guys don't like it though

L: no

M: maybe you can put a sticker ((laughs))

L: I don't find piercings attractive at all

R: would you like your girlfriend to have one of those here? you?

L: no I don't like it it's like um how's it called a slut stamp you know

R: what's a slut stamp?

L: uh

M: like I'm a slut ((laughs))

R: oh

M: slut stamp ((laughs)) but I think here it's ok but if you really poke one hole here it's kind of

R: but then for Indian tradition it looks ok

M: yea yea yea yea

L: [but that's tradition]

D: [that's a traditional thing]

L: if it's a traditional thing it's got

R: yea yea

L: some kind of meaning behind it but if you do it just like=

M: no it doesn't have a meaning I used to dance like Indian traditional they just stick da da da da every way it doesn't have a meaning

R: ((laughs))

M: ((laughs))

L: but it's still you know tradition

R: I know it's like different when an Indian woman has it

M: [yea]

D: [yea]

R: you know what I mean ((laughs))

M: ((laughs)) but I don't know I won't do it I'll stick stickers before and it looks really nice but I want there to like I feel like my flu will all come from here ((laughs))

L: ((laughs))

R: no but it is disgusting I've heard once you pierce it it's just like so gross inside

D: oh yea

R: you can't it just like bleeds like crazy

D: yea

M: o:h a:w oh Kamile you looking so fancy

R: yea why is she getting so much ready

M: ((laughs))

R: she said she wants to dress up for this today's thing

D: oh ok

M: yea I think I have to
L: is everyone dressing up
R: well you're already looking fine
L: no the tie is missing
R: yea what are you gonna wear?
D: like a proper shirt
M: so I'm like maybe I should wear a dress
D: like smart casual
R: like a banquet like a conference hall
D: yea yea I don't think it's super formal though
M: I'm not sure but I think I'll wear a dress after I saw them wearing like dresses
L: h:m maybe you don't even have a dress?
R: I mean I think it's ok if you wear non-jeans
D: yea of course
L: guys if you don't mind I'm going to leave you
D: yea yea
R: yea I think I'm gonna go soon
L: I'm gonna do some homework till before we go to the
M: yea yea because it's gonna be long

Appendix H Transcript sample 3 (interview 1)

R: Researcher

M: Mei

R: could you tell me about yourself? (((laughs)))

M: [myself?] ((laughs))

R: ((laughs)) I know you're from Malaysia

M: I'm from Malaysia and I'm nineteen years old and I graduated from Catholic high school an::d

R: Catholic high school =

M: =yea

R: that's the school you um learned=

M: =mhm

R: I mean there was a English system a English education system=

M: =like for all public like (.) all the school even public school everything

R: [in Malaysia]

M: [is in English] because we're a common wealth country? so like we follow the British rule like laws and everything and our education system and also like the university system it's with like the British=

R: =but what about the rural areas?

M: rural areas?

R: like th:e

M: there are like some school like vernacular school where they teach in their language like the Chinese Chinese school or like the Malay school the primary school I went in is like a Chinese primary school so they teach in both like English and Chinese=

R: =but then every school has to learn English

M: mhm

R: right at least?

M: yea=

R: =but your school is English focused

M: English focused

R: and especially in the capital city

M: yea

R: schools are English focused

M: [you can] get around without English

R: [are you Catholic?] ((laughs))

M: no (laughs) you're like [you're] like oh you're Catholic

R: [I'm Catholic so I was asking] yea ((laughs))

M: I just go to the mass to skip classes (((laughs))) they are like ok you guys can come and I just come

R: (((laughs))) ok and like yea so when did you first come to Korea?

M: last last fall

R: last fall

M: was my first semester here mhm

R: ok um before that you didn't

M: like when I was small I came to like travel=

R: =just to travel

M: just like skiing

R: did you travel anywhere else?

M: like from last semester I went to like uh Bonghwa? an:d Taebaek an:d

R: oh so you went around Korea? =

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M: =like I went around like during the weekends like there's some free trips for like foreigners and all and sometimes they have like competitions where they pay if you like participate [and (perform)]

R: [outside of university?]

M: mhm

R: oh really? =

M: =like I just find like hm::

R: on the internet?

M: on the [internet] and there's some

R: [like Naver?]

M: yea if you use Naver it will be much better but like there are some like English websites like for international students in Korea and I just like search for [like stuff]

R: [oh] that's interesting ((laughs))

M: mhm

R: ok

M: some of them they just contact the university and they send out the email like the first fifty person and then I just sign them

R: and you just go?

M: mhm like free trip it's nice

R: that's nice

M: mhm

R: what about outside of Korea? have you been to any different country?

M: outside of Korea it's just like around me like Thai:land and like Singapo:re and all just around there

R: have you been to Japan or China?

M: not yet (.) like it's my first time coming to East Asia

R: oh really?

M: yea and I plan to get more friend and I'll go to Taiwan and stuff

R: ah

M: mhm

R: I've heard there are a lot of Taiwanese here too (.) or no?

M: I think

R: haven't you met?

M: I've met one from like the last semester she's he's he yea it's a he ((laughs))
he's one of our member

R: oh really?

M: mhm but it's only him (.) I think maybe because like Taiwanese and Chinese it's kind of similar

R: yea right

M: but I know they are [like] they really have a really deep hatred to each other

R: (((laughs)))

M: they are like don't talk to her she's Chinese ((whispers)) and I'm like oh ok=

R: =it's because of history right?

M: yea=

[...]

R: but they don't really talk about it in front of you right? or [when you meet them]

M: [I don't think (.)] like most of them (.) they talk about the Taiwan Chinese thing but for the Japanese (.) I don't know there you don't see Japanese around much because they are always like in their own group and [they are like] oh

R: [yea] shy

M: yea shy so (.) if you don't see them they will like suddenly criticize [them] right if they are around them maybe they would like mumble

R: (((laughs))) ah right

M: mhm

R: oh yea how many languages do you speak?

M: ((laughs)) like Mandarin Cantonese English Malay Korean where I'm still learning and then Hakka and Hokkien is like dialect so you can [like] ((hand gesture of getting rid of something)) them away

R: [uh] five to seven languages?

M: yea

R: ok (.) and (.) yea I asked you when you first came to Korea

M: mhm

R: why did you come to Korea to study?

M: cause like I want to study in Asia cause I like Asia a lot and like in the Asian country like before I applied Korea is the country that I don't know most

R: really

M: like I know about other cultures of other countries and all and Korea is like a really odd one? like oh and I search online and like culture is kind of like interesting? and then I tried to apply for a few scholarship and I got it so I just came

R: oh and you got scholarship from here

M: mhm

R: so you applied for other universities as well?

M: I applied one of the like government scholarship if you get it you can go to any of them but I didn't get that because it's really like competitive then I just applied here like I just applied for this too and I got this so I came=

R: =oh was that the one with Elena?

M: hm?

R: Elena? she got the government one right?

M: hers one is from her government

R: oh her government

M: her government

R: not the Korean government?

M: not the Korean government=

R: =yours is from the Korean government

M: mhm like hers is from the government like the one I applied is from the Korean government

R: oh ok

M: cause like for my government they only give like engineering [students] to come to Korea cause it's like engineering and technology and stuff

R: [ah yea yea] yea

M: and I don't want to study engineering so

R: no ok=

M: =and in Korea ((makes sad face)) it'll be really hard

R: so you learned more about Korea after you came here?

M: mhm

R: before you knew about

M: mhm before I didn't know that much (.) it's just my mom she watch a lot of dramas so=

R: =and you didn't?

M: I didn't it's like

R: oh really

M: whenever they talk drama to me it's like I'm like (.) tell me mom it's like ah you watched that ah

R: oh really

M: I just watch some like variety shows yea

R: so you didn't know any Korean before that?

M: I learned like from like I learned (.) how to read and all so that I wouldn't get lost here and because I watched some of the variety shows so I kinda know how is it like some of it

R: aha

M: and you watch from it you can watch like sceneries oh kind of nice

R: cause you said you do translating

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M: hm?

R: you said you do translating?

M: yea [but like]

R: [that means you're really good]

M: I think like [I can] understand more than I could speak

R: [like reading is better] uh huh

M: so I try to speak like if I like if they want to say <Kr> haendeupon {mobile phone} when I hear they say like uh like like <Kr> jeonhwa ? {telephone} I would know like oh jeonhwa jeonhwa but if you ask me to like what is this? I would be like oh (.) I don't know so I can translate but if you want me to translate English to Korean there will be some problems [I'm still learning]

R: [oh so it's better when you read] the Korean do it in English

M: mhm

R: but what kind of translation is it? or is it like=

M: =it's like magazine stuff

R: oh ok

M: like like oh [what's the hottest movie]

R: [you get paid for that?]

M: no we don't

R: you don't?

M: yea it's just like for our club so they are like

R: ah for your club

M: yea for the club so they are like ah thank you so maybe if I get a job outside ((laughs))

R: maybe?

M: u::m?

R: ((laughs)) ok and next could you tell me about your student life in Korea?

M: student life?

R: yea not just this semester but when you first came here tell me how [you lived]

M: [when I first came here] m:m when I first came (.) it's because I have a friend here so she took me around like to the health check and for the immigration office and everything and my house=

R: =oh you have a Korean friend here?

M: u::m no she's Malaysian [but she came here first]

R: [oh before]

M: mhm [so she brought me around] but that's a good case for me because it's like everything is nice but for the other regular students (.) because like the international organization it's like for exchange student where they bring the exchange student around

R: [she helped you? ah] oh yea you guys were talking about that

M: yea so for like my other friends it's kinda bad they don't even have like their phone number yet or they don't have a bank card

R: is it hard for them?

M: I think it would be really hard for them because in the bank or like in the hospital they don't speak English so

R: oh

M: you meet a friend that can speak Korean to bring you around if not (.) I wouldn't even know how to take the subway and all

R: how did they manage? your friends there ((points at the IntCom members talking nearby))

M: like for both of them are regular student I don't know how did they but Kamile she's an exchange so [the IntCom is helping]

R: [ah she gets a lot of help]

M: mhm but I think Marc because his dad used to work here [as a lecturer] so maybe his dad can send people to him

R: [a::h] oh ok

M: and I think Daniel I don't know maybe

R: is that why you guys are trying to have more regular international students [in the international committee] so you can help out more?

M: [mhm] but
 R: what's the reason?
 M: like no the IntCom is more of like a Korean club and they just want foreigners in [so they can like participate] and help out like it always better to have foreigners inside than to have no foreigners so they are trying to get people in but we are like trying to me and some of my friends are trying to make a foreign student association but that's just foreigners and we just help like the regular student out
 R: [ah to participate]
 M: so trying to do that but I think that's
 R: you and them ((points at the IntCom members))
 M: mhm not not them
 R: but other people
 M: but other people because like they are in the IntCom and we are like ah the IntCom we love the IntCom but for them they are like the international committee ((speaks in low voice))
 R: some of them they don't like it
 M: they don't like it because it's called the IntCom but it's run by Korean and [they help exchange students] so they don't like it so for them it's like I don't like the IntCom a lot but for my other friends they are like they want to like make it up with me because like now in the IntCom I have like a post so I kind of get a hang of how they manage stuff and how they communicate with the teachers and like checking the information
 R: [oh so they don't] oh ok
 M: but I still like the IntCom it's really nice
 R: but when you guys like create events with the IntCom
 M: mhm
 R: like committee members do you invite your non-IntCom members to come?
 M: like
 R: they still wouldn't come?
 M: like some of them wouldn't come some of them do come
 R: maybe sometimes depending on
 M: yea depends cause some of the activities they like they target exchange student they say oh this for exchange student and all
 R: mhm
 M: there's like an orientation for exchange student this like last month and the all exchange student came to eat and then in the meeting the Koreans was saying like oh I saw regular student eating there they weren't supposed to be there and I'm like what? I know the regular students
 R: seriously?
 M: so I told them like it's like the all exchange students it's not us like [don't blame on us] so
 R: [oh] ok
 M: it's kinda like so some of them are like can we even come? they are like
 R: that's why
 M: that's why they don't really like it and they want to (?)
 R: they know how they are treated
 M: yea so they really don't like it but I think it's just a problem of this school where they don't have like [a system]
 R: [they don't do it together]
 M: yea they [don't do] with the regular
 R: [they should] but then you have like different group of close international friends?
 M: like I have many groups of friends
 R: so you have like the IntCom you have Elena and the Latin friends
 M: the Latin group and the IntCom group and my major
 R: oh your major
 M: like my major classes there's like a (?) of foreign groups and the other like the Korean from the IntCom or like the Korean from my major or like the Korean I learn like that from anywhere
 R: ah

Appendix H

M: I don't know I just met mhm

R: but from your major you said you don't have that many international friends

M: like half half? I would say (.) there's internationals and like most of the Latin half of the Latin are same major as me

R: ah same as you

M: so it's kind of [likes mixes and all]

R: [mixes] ok so during the weekdays you take classes

M: during the weekdays like I take classes and I like to study in the library and all the Korean does too we just stay all night until midnight [like I used to]

R: [studying?]

M: yea cause I can't study back home I have to study in the library so I just like study until midnight and like the library's twenty-four hours and there's like so many Koreans (?)

R: yea

M: so it's like really nice environment

R: ok

M: like it's not really stressful maybe because of my education back home it's also something like this so I don't think it's really really stressful but for some of the other foreigners they are like oh it's so stressful everyone's studying and all

R: oh

M: but for me I like to study and also so it's fine and like yea like

R: what about during your gap hours?

M: gap hours? like I just go to the IntCom room and like talk with them

R: and also like you were talking about it before

M: ((laughs)) yea I'm always there

R: oh that's why

M: ((laughs)) yea they are like you are always there too ((laughs)) and other than that maybe I just call my friends to like eat out like near here there's a lot of restaurants

R: so people who are not in the IntCom just come to that room as well?

M: not usually but

R: oh that's what you were saying

M: yea I was like oh god

R: so it's just usually you and them?

M: like and other Koreans cause like in the IntCom we have like a shift thingy where we have to work there

R: oh ok

M: like when people come meet me to answer their question but it's not really working we just hang out [and play games]

R: [hang out and just like go there]

M: mhm

R: oh ok

M: like other stuff like yea it's like hanging around with my friends

R: ok

M: and for the gap time mostly like for the Korean culture they just go to like pub near here and we just hang out and we just drink

R: ok or if it's like exam period you just like go to the library

M: you just stay in the library mhm

R: ok do you go outside of like the university? would you go to Myeowdengdong or would you go to

M: during weekend?

R: sometimes

M: yea sometimes we like make a plan to go but (.) not that frequently

R: not too often

M: not too often

R: well yea cause you guys don't live in Shinchon you guys [don't have to]

M: [yea]
 R: to buy a lot of stuff ((laughs))
 M: like there's hm if you live like Hongdae o::h you'll go out always
 R: yea yea
 M: but here there's nothing much but there's pretty like a few pretty decent store that we go to
 yea
 R: just for small stuff
 M: like small stuff but we don't go like shopping it's just like weekend maybe sometimes
 R: like once a month?
 M: like a few times
 R: like once or twice a month?
 M: once or twice but sometimes when they want to go clubbing it's like at night
 R: oh yea
 M: they go like Hongdae
 R: yea ((laughs))
 M: yea the Korean night life
 R: well I said something like could you compare it with your home country but then you weren't
 an adult when you were in your home country right?
 M: yea
 R: so it's different
 M: so it's different I graduated high school [and then I came here]
 R: [you just came here right?]
 M: so but the university system because it's like the British style I think it is the same as the UK?
 R: oh ok yea I guess it's the same
 M: I think it's the same
 R: ok um I asked you this I think but I'll ask you again
 M: ((laughs))
 R: so the IntCom (.) could you tell me about the IntCom?
 M: IntCom (.) ok ((laughs))
 R: it's like you wanna help international exchange [students]
 M: [just exchange students mostly] mhm we organize events like when they first before they
 come here we contact them and [we assign] like one Korean with like five foreigners they contact
 them and all and they do pick up service
 R: [oh separately?] oh ok
 M: they pick up them from airport and then they show them around and bring them to do health
 checkup and like make a phone number and make a bank
 R: oh that's the stuff you mean you like they help out foreign students
 M: mhm exchange
 R: exchange students
 M: yea so I think we need one for the other regular international student and then after that they
 make like orientation for them and then they plan activities and all for them to pop up activities
 and we are like next week we are going here here here like sign up and we'll go together and like
 the bigger program is like the buddy program where they match like Korean and foreigner
 R: oh ok
 M: and then all the activities till like the closing ceremony and that's all
 R: oh ok
 M: it's mostly what we do
 R: so, I was about to ask you something ((laughs))
 M: ((laughs))
 R: now I forgot (.) oh I meant so for the service the exchange student use this service a lot
 M: mhm
 R: like the service the IntCom provides
 M: yep

Appendix H

R: do they also come a lot to the events and stuff?

M: mhm they do a lot like depend on what you make what event

R: so more exchange students come than regular students you think

M: actually yea

R: you would think and regular students have their own group of friends usually

M: they have their own group and exchange like own group but sometimes I have some exchange and regular too I think together it's just that they will leave you after a semester so ((laughs)) [kind of]

R: [how did you promote for these interviews?] for like um members of the IntCom? how do you promote?

M: they put it on the Facebook and also they they stick like o::h do you know like in Korea I think you would know like in Korean high school like you know where they pin like little small little paper and they stick it at the toilet and all

R: oh yea yea I know

M: (?) and they open a booth

R: oh ok

M: like in front of the dorm

R: uhu

M: like where all the international students stay so like that

R: oh it's like that and it's next week?

M: it's next week like the interview next Monday and the application is until this Friday

R: how are you gonna do it? are you gonna make people sit in a row or like

M: like

R: or do they have their own time when they're supposed to come?

M: it's like we're gonna document reveal and all and we are just gonna interview like twenty people

R: oh ok

M: and we are only accepting like [nine people] so it's gonna be two classroom and they'll be like here and with the Korean staff they'll be talking like kind of like get to know them personally here and we will be in an another room like really interview interviewing so it's like that

R: [nine people] so you have to communicate with the Korean members as well

M: mhm

R: together and then like choose

M: mhm like we cause our team is like the social events team like with Korean and also foreigner [together] so we need to like work out

R: [oh] mhm ok and why did you join this organization?

M: actually it's kind of ah I remember because I was like this like all of the when I came here like all of the activities is for exchange student and I want to join them and the only way for me to join them is [to join the IntCom] so I'm like yea so I just tried to apply and I got it.

R: [oh to be a member] ok

M: but I didn't really like really really want to join it I'm just like oh let let's apply oh oh I got it

R: you just tried

M: I just like tried but I didn't really like want want to get in but I got in and it's nice I get to join all the activities that the [regular don't really go to]

R: [yea] what did they ask you?

M: like like really like normal questions like how do you like help the Korean like help the foreigners

R: like how would you=

M: =like oh if your Korean is not that good how can you do and like what if there's like conflict and stuff like it's just like yea simple stuff

R: oh ok

M: but not really serious

R: oh ok

M: mhm

R: and he was there Daniel was there?
M: u::m ((shakes head)) he wasn't=
R: =he just saw your
M: he just saw and yay (?) I never knew that
R: ok
M: I need to thank him ((laughs))
R: uh what do you expect to gain from studying in Korea?
M: like I think it's like
R: after these four years yea
M: after these four years my Korean ability? ((laughs)) my Korean language ability?
R: ok
M: I think that's nice and like living alone I would say and managing myself and all like how to survive alone and like depending on your own and like friends and like Korea's so multi like so many foreigners are here
R: uhu
M: which is not that similar back home
R: oh ok
M: so I can learn like a lot of cultures and like make different like friends from different countries and all
R: oh ok
M: and when I travel to their house and stay at their home
R: oh yea cause I actually hosted a few of my friends back in Malaysia during winter they just come and I bring them around
R: so they got to do that with you
M: mhm
R: oh ok
M: yea we're just like we're doing that like everyone's inviting them but my friends are mostly from Latin America and it's too far for me
R: ye::a
M: so maybe if I save up I can go there they're like inviting each other
R: ok
M: so like I think after four years I would know a lot of countries and know a lot of cultures and like
R: that's true
M: that's really nice
R: ok then is that the reason also what you expect to gain I mean that's the reason why you joined the IntCom right?
M: my reason is to like join the activities they make actually ((laughs)) cause like I actually get friends from like other places too like everywhere but in the IntCom I get more exchange student friends it's a part of the game
R: so your goal I mean you say it's a goal like do you like to get to know people from different countries?
M: mhm
R: and learn their culture or languages and stuff like that
M: yep
R: and what's your like every year what's your like um immediate goals?
M: immediate goal for like that year? like
R: like for this year
M: this year (.) I wanna get like I want to have a proper Korean lesson and get like TOPIK four for this immediate goal ((laughs))
R: uh TOPIK?
M: yea they are talking about the level cause
R: oh

Appendix H

M: I never take like proper classes so I never took the exam because like I don't dare to just jump into the exam

R: uhu

M: and I took like a class this semester and I'm gonna try to like take some classes in the summer and to take the exam

R: oh really

M: and like have a level cause every time they ask me what level and I'm like [ha no::]

R: [ah they keep asking talking about that right]

M: yea and I don't know and I don't have a level cause I just learn like everywhere

R: oh ok and for like end of next month would be your exam score would be like your next like um immediate goal?

M: for my

R: do you really care about your grades? how does it work with the international students?

M: it's the same like but because I'm like a scholarship student I have to maintain but it's like three point zero GPA which is eh-hay (verbal sound of saying it's easy)

R: oh ok three point oh out of four point five?

M: mhm so like it's like really easy

R: but do you try to get like over four point oh?

M: of course

R: you do still try?

M: like actually I don't try as hard like oh I want a grade it's just that I just need to finish all the readings

R: ok

M: cause like last time I used to be like in science major

R: uhu

M: so we just we don't read as much as this major like international studies like the economics and politics stuff history we need to read a lot

R: mhm

M: so my goal is to like gain more knowledge reading more stuff than my grades cause when you're in science it's like there's a correct answer

R: oh yea

M: so you just like do and you don't really work hard for the grade but for now it's more of like gaining more knowledge than to get a grade cause if you know more you can write more

R: mhm

M: and you can't really predict your grade cause there's no answer answer it all depends on the professor

R: oh ok so would you say you work as hard as the Korean students you see at the library?

M: like only during the exam period the chat room is like the busiest they look like they are studying

R: what group?

M: like the chat group cause they look like they are studying in the library but actually they are texting

R: really? which chat group

M: like the chat group I have with them all the Koreans

R: oh the Koreans

M: I have different chat groups and it's during exam periods when it's the most busiest

R: oh really?

M: so I think like they are always look like they are studying [but they are texting] so I think I'm like more hard working than them sometimes

R: [but they are doing other stuff] ok

M: sometimes but there's exception so like [some of them]

R: [yea some people stay like all day] and [some people are really efficient] some people come and go

M: [some people study study] mhm so it's like different

R: yea it's hard to say
M: it's hard to say if I am h::m
R: but during exam period like you would really study every day right?
M: yea I would really study
R: how like how many weeks earlier would you start studying? from April you would be like working on it?
M: like last semester was my first semester here so I never knew that mid-term come so quickly ((laughs))
R: I know
M: so I didn't study till like they told me do you know like it's just two weeks to the mid-term and I'm like shit and I just cram everything in so now I start to like try to study on regular basis
R: mhm
M: cause=
R: =you mean like reviewing
M: like reviewing like after the class I need to read everyday
R: yea I think that's better
M: cause last time I didn't knew so cause in my country it's kind of our semester is really long so we study a really long period of time than examination but now it's like like four it's just like four months and it's like intensive (making gun sounds) ((laughs))
R: I know after one month and like it's just May then June right?
M: yea so it's too quick I think I have to read everything like after the class if they ask me to read it I would read it
R: yea you should
M: cause last time I save it all till the exam period
R: and you had to cram
M: and I stay in the library if you ask them I basically like live in the library like after class I just go for the whole night
R: compared to them? ((points at the IntCom members))
M: yea it's just like living there cause it's my own fault cause I didn't study anything I just like cram and I over study because there's some miscommunication so I almost studied the whole book so for the final exam I didn't really study because I studied everything
R: ((laughs))
M: in that two week so after my final exam I want to travel around ((laughs))
R: oh
M: it's just kind of a contrast when they are like suffering in final exams ((laughs))
R: how many exams do you have this semester?
M: like
R: exam yea exam centered
M: it depends on the course like some of them they are like exam take like mid-term thirty percent final thirty percent or some they are like we don't have exams we just have like assignments some is like oh it's fully exams some it just takes twenty marks or it depends on the course like it depends on professor they said it like that
R: but what about this semester?
M: for this semester [I think I have] quite a lot of exam more than assignment for my last one it's more of an assignment mhm kind of
R: [will you be busy?] which one do you like better?
M: a mixture of both
R: mhm
M: like don't make me do so much assignment and don't make me take so much exam
R: uhu
M: but I think it's I have to check the syllabus myself it's just that I didn't really care I just like the course I'm like a:h I'm gonna take it
R: ((laughs))
M: so I actually have to like check next time

Appendix H

R: which class do you like the best so far?

M: so far?

R: or which one yea

M: in this for the last semester I took I have never studied like any like humanities before and last semester it's my first time when in politics and it's kinda fun

R: really?

M: yea it's nice

R: Is that <Kr> gyoyang-sueob {non-major general knowledge class}

M: gyoyang? for the foreigners you mean?

R: yea if you're taking humanities classes it's not your major

M: oh oh it's my major

R: oh it is?

M: it's my major like liberal arts that or like because like last time a science major so I've never studied like economy or like anything politics nothing

R: but you do international studies

M: mhm but now I do it so like it's my first time like studying all this stuff so it's kind of new like for this semester I took like political science and also economics and their theory and the thinking they want you to think it's so contradicting sometimes

R: mhm

M: so yea I need to work that out and also I took a law and law kind of matches with them and all like (.) I think in this major it makes you like think more when I was in a science major I feel like a robot ((laughs))

R: ((laughs))

M: it's so robot like everything when we go to amusement park they are like oh if four person you cannot be over eighty (?) it's possible we are counting for you we are like everything we are like oh we've been counting for you we are like well I'll do the math for you and everything

R: uhu

M: it's really different I like it

R: yea

M: you feel more human I like it

R: ((laughs))

M: you use your brain in a different way

R: yea well, the professors are they Korean?

M: like some are foreigners and some are Korean.

R: ah so it's like a mix

M: it's a mix but like of course you will like the foreign professor more cause they speak English better

R: ((laughs))

M: but for the Korean professor some of them are really good it's just that they speak the Korean English.

R: you understand Korean English?

M: yea because of my friends.

R: what do you mean by Korean English? just accent or even like the words?

M: like the words. it's different like <Kr> apateu {apartment} (.) <Kr> haendeupon {handphone=mobile phone}

R: oh ok

M: and like everything it's like it's different so and when he explains a word that is [kinda hard] he says it in Korean

R: [oh] ok

M: like this is like civilization that'll be like uh like in something

R: oh ok so he kind of mixes.

M: he kind of mixes a little.

R: but isn't that annoying for students who don't know Korean?

M: I think for students that don't know it will be annoying but for me it is ok because I know

R: so some of them use like <Kr> apateu {apartment} just like the Korean English word
M: yea they use it a lot.
R: oh really? Kr> haendeupon {handphone=mobile phone} <Kr> apateu {apartment}
M: Kr> haendeupon {handphone=mobile phone} and <Kr> geulan-opeun {grand opening}. I'm like <Kr> geulan-opeun {grand opening}?
R: ah
M: so I learned a lot of Korean English here
R: do you think you speak Korean English sometimes?
M: sometimes
R: yea?
M: like yea like yea I really call <Kr> apateu {apartment} (.) <Kr> apateu {apartment} it's like a part of my English
R: now you say <Kr> apateu {apartment}
M: now I say <Kr> apateu {apartment} like with the Koreans but when I'm like with the foreigners
R: you wouldn't say apart you say <Kr> apateu {apartment} in the Korean way right?
M: in the Korean way like <Kr> apateu {apartment} (.)<Kr> apateu {apartment}
R: and you do say <Kr> haendeupon {handphone=mobile phone} sometimes right? you say <Kr> haendeupon {handphone=mobile phone}?
M: <Kr> haendeupon {handphone=mobile phone} sometimes (?) cause when you're speaking in Korean halfway and you want to add an English word in it, if you speak in like uh <Kr> geugeo {that} handphone <Kr> juseyo {please give me} it's like so weird so it's like <Kr> haendeupon {handphone=mobile phone} <Kr> juseyo {please give me}
R: yea yea
M: you just cause it sound more fluently
J uhu
M: so I just use their English
R: yea
M: but if my foreign friends they won't understand so I just speak English
R: oh ok (.) so depending on who you're with (.) you can mix it
M: depending on yep (.) if those foreigners know Korean then I would mix everything
R: ((laughs))
M: and sometimes it's like a secret language like when they came to my country, cause like if we speak English [everyone would know it] so we just use like Korean English Korean English.
R: [a::h] you did that when Elena came to Malaysia?
M: yea ((laughs)) like I use a little bit of like Spanish and Korean cause my Spanish is not that good and her Korean is not that good so it's like a mixture
R: oh so you guys know some words
M: mhm so it's like a mixture of words
R: is there a word she taught you that you use a lot?
M: like in Spanish like <Sp> no se {I don't know} ((laughs)) [is like I don't know] <Sp> no se nada {I don't know anything} I don't know anything
R: [a::h] it's really interesting.
M: yea
R: you got a lot of languages mixed
M: like mixed so when you talk it's like if you know someone knows like this and this language you automatically mix it [so like] when they came to Malaysia like it's so automatic like because my friends know all those language so I just mix I just talk with them in a mixed language.
R: [a::h ok] oh ok
M: cause it's really natural if you know
R: wow that's really interesting.
M: ah yea, even when I just came here I had to change my English because I use too much slangs
R: yea so you adapt yourself?
M: yea I need to like get rid away of all the slangs and so that actually they understand me more
R: do you speak English differently when you're with different people?

Appendix H

M: mhm

R: like when you're with Elena or with them ((points at the IntCom members)) or with Koreans?

M: I think it's different

R: you kinda change

M: I kinda change

R: you use some of their languages

M: I use the language they know

R: And you wouldn't use slang if they don't know English that well

M: mhm I have to like change everything

R: that's good you're a global citizen ((laughs))

M: global citizen ((laughs)) (.) adapting myself to everyone

R: ((laughs)) I wonder if they do it as well ((points at the IntCom members))

M: I think they will yea cause like not everyone understands like our own slangs and everything

R: mhm

M: like when my friend came she couldn't like my friend she couldn't understand like my friend's English cause there's too much slangs and all the words that's not English

R: friends from where?

M: like our friend like Elena came and my French and German

R: oh ok

M: friend came with me and all they just came to Malaysia to travel=

R: =and they couldn't understand the English there you mean? =

M: =like my friends cause it's like normal with people if they know you are foreigner so they speak to you in like the English you would know but when I'm with my friends they doesn't understand it

R: ah

M: because we mix too much stuff in the words.

R: is it like Malay English?

M: like sometimes I like mix Cantonese and Malay [in it and like everything]

R: [really (.) must be very hard then]

M: like for us it's really normal (.) it's really fluent (.) but for them it's kinda hard=

R: =so you can understand everything in your country

M: mhm for me it's normal because like yea I know the languages and all

R: that's really interesting

Appendix I Transcript sample 4 (interview 2)

R: Researcher

D: Daniel

R: I have a question personally to you

D: ok

R: cause you've been here since your first year

D: yea yea

R: and you've seen the IntCom members come and go by

D: yea yea

R: compared to other years how is this year or is it like same as=

D: = uh no I think this year this semester especially is a lot of fun

R: oh really

D: last semester too the first my very first semester at the IntCom

R: uhu

D: was great

R: uhu

D: the second and third was kind of average

R: oh really

D: then last year it was good again yea

R: so it does really depend on=

D: =yea it depends yea

R: semester (.) what do you mean by really good?

D: like people are always outgoing and positive and things like that

R: oh ok

D: then (?) no on was motivated

R: oh ok

D: like I'm the same all the time

R: uhu

D: but like others they they just don't really they aren't into participating and stuff like that

R: oh ok

D: but this semester everyone was keen to do everything

R: uhu

D: and so forth so

R: they're really social and stuff

D: yea

R: ok OK first question is how long did it take to feel comfortable in Korea? like when you first got here do you remember

D: I would say around the first two or three weeks was really rough for me

R: why?

D: because I had a bit of culture shock

R: ok

D: I um I was still a bit lonely didn't meet as many people yet

R: oh yea

D: but then after say around a month I got used to everything and found ways of communicating

R: uhu

D: and stuff like that so it just got easier after that

R: I think Kamile said that as well

D: yea like my first observation was like that I was really shocked when I realized no one speaks even a little English

R: oh yea

D: because back home we are used to speaking two or three languages

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R: uhu

D: and English is always one of them so I didn't even take that into consideration

R: oh yea

D: so when I got here the first thing I wanted to do is I wanted to get a sim card for my phone

R: oh ok

D: and no one could help me

R: ok

D: and after that everything I thought nothing is working out I was pretty negative and things like that

R: uhu

D: but then eventually I found my way

R: uhu

D: and just became my second home

R: ok and it was your first time living alone as well?

D: mhm that's true yea

R: mhm ok

D: I still remember calling my mom asking how I should do my washing

R: oh yea ((laughs))

D: ((laughs)) like laundry and stuff

R: ok and um what do you think about multilingualism in your life? cause you said you speak Afrikaans and

D: yea yea

R: English and

D: I think

R: sometimes Korean and English

D: I think it's quite important well it opens doors to things like you get to communicate with people you didn't think of before so forth

R: ok

D: um I don't know for me it's kind of normal to be bilingual at least

R: ok

D: especially from back home

R: ok

D: I think if you just speak one not necessarily like well put it this way I think multilingualism is important if you speak a language that's not spoken outside of your own country

R: ok

D: like if you just stick this one little area it's not gonna mean much

R: uhu

D: but if you speak something spoken all around or more commonly

R: mhm

D: it means a lot more

R: ok so it's like positive for you

D: yea of course yea

R: ok do you mix Korean and English as well? I mean just words=

D: = we talk with money we usually do

R: who's Mani?

D: like <Kr> cheon won {1,000 Korean won} and like money

R: oh ok ok sorry I thought you were talking about a person

D: no no we talk about money

R: yea yea you would say <Kr> yiman won {20,000 Korean won} <Kr> sam-man won {30,000 Korean won}

D: yea

R: ok ok

D: and also we do like just to like make fun when my friends are coming like <Kr> ppali {hurry} come now quickly

R: oh yea yea
 D: and things like that
 R: or saying hi or bye
 D: yea yea <Kr> anyeong {hi, bye} anyeong
 R: yea ((laughs))
 D: yea we tend to mix a lot cause usually like we're more opened about it I think
 R: but when you speak Afrikaans the phrases are like longer is it? when you mix with your grandpa or something
 D: um yea yea
 R: yea
 D: it's like literally starting in one language and ending with another
 R: oh ok
 D: it's well it depends like um with my parents it's more Afrikaans and with my grandpa it's more pure English I think
 R: ok
 D: because it's more English English
 R: uhu
 D: but we pop in a lot of words the same way we do with Korean
 R: are there are lot of South Africans who speak like just Afrikaans?
 D: u:m not that I'm aware of most of them would speak English too
 R: with English
 D: at least a large percentage yea
 R: ok so there wouldn't be like a village speaking only Afrikaans
 D: I don't think so maybe like in very very very small towns in the middle of nowhere
 R: ok
 D: but even they should know a bit of English because all the administration stuff are like in English so
 R: mhm
 D: you can't really survive without English
 R: ok
 D: like even like if you go to the rural areas there's small little kid running around they would know the native language and English they (would come to you) hello how are you and everything so
 R: ok alright
 D: it's quite interesting I guess
 R: yea cause sometimes when I see your posts on Facebook there are people speaking in a weird language but it's in English
 D: oh yea
 R: it's in alphabets so I guess that's Afrikaans?
 D: alphabet? yea
 R: yea it's in alphabet but it's not English
 D: yea yea probably Afrikaans yea
 R: ok alright um
 D: especially if it's my family commenting
 R: oh if it's with your family? it's like a mix
 D: mhm
 R: oh ok do you call your mom and dad in Afikaans? like the
 D: well like uh it's pretty funny I would speak to my dad in Afrikaans but I call him dad
 R: oh ok
 D: and my mom I speak to her in Afrikaans and I call her mama oh ok and my grandpa and my dad speak in English all the time and it's always funny because like as soon as we go to visit my grandparents the whole family switches and we speak to each other in English too
 R: oh ok
 D: and it doesn't even feel weird like you just

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R: uhu

D: yea

R: ok um and do you care about how others speak English?

D: sorry?

R: cause you're a native speaker do you care about how others speak English? do you pay attention?

D: definitely not no

R: nothing annoys you?

D: no well some people ask me like if they say something wrong I should correct them I don't think about it all the time so

R: ok

D: no

R: you feel like correcting them or you don't?

D: no I would just forget about it

R: oh when you're talking to them

D: yea

R: if you understand it's ok

D: yea yea that's the important thing if I understand it I'll ask them again if I don't get it

R: uhu

D: yea

R: but nothing particularly that annoys you

D: no no

R: or anything

D: I'm chilled with it ((laughs))

R: yea and I've heard of a lot of like especially when I'm with the IntCom members when you talk about someone else you guys say oh she's good in English she's bad in English what do you mean by she's good in English?

D: being fluent I mean not fluently like can talk without having to think and stop all the time

R: ok

D: like get the message through

R: does this mean the person is necessarily good in grammar and vocabulary?

D: no

R: not really?

D: as long as she or he can get the message through

R: ok

D: quickly

R: for you that's what it means

D: yea

R: and if someone's bad in English

D: someone who doesn't talk at all ((laughs))

R: ok if they're shy or if they don't talk they would be bad ok

D: yea yea

R: yea I guess it's different when you're in your social life and when you're studying

D: I suppose yea

R: right ok

D: everything I talk about is socially (?)

R: yea yea that's what I meant

D: but yea like personally I make grammar mistakes myself all the time I don't even notice it

R: ok

D: that's why when other people talk I don't really care

R: uhu

D: as long as I understand what they say

R: even when you're speaking?

D: I'm pretty sure I make mistakes

R: ok
D: because I was never taught English so
R: yea yea me too ((laughs)) and has your personality identity changes like when you came here?
D: I've become more open minded
R: than when you were in South Africa?
D: yea I don't know that's the thing I accept a lot more things that I (.) I mean in terms of I don't know I think I'm a lot more accepting like
R: ok
D: I would take things easy if some things doesn't go the way I prefer I would just be like whatever
R: uhu
D: if it works it works
R: ok
D: it doesn't have to work the way I want it too
R: ok
D: things like that so
R: ok you mean with different cultures? or like what just your life? for example?
D: like different cultures or a way some people do things and stuff like that
R: ok
D: that changed a lot
R: ok
D: getting used to that
R: ok um=
D: =because like every person from not necessarily because of culture but like people who do things differently because of the background or something or they have their own perspective [in life]
R: [ok]
D: I think that changed a lot
R: ok
D: it's not as (?) as it used to be
R: did it change the way how you look at people as well? you think so?
D: not to be as judgemental (((laughs)))
R: (((laughs))) ok um is your personality different when you speak different languages?
D: um
R: or not necessarily?
D: no I'm still the same person in both languages I guess
R: ok you speak English but it's not about the language it's about the language you speak it's about the environment you're in
D: yea definitely that plays a big part
R: and with who you're with I guess ok and do you ever feel like you're in between cultures sometimes?
D: yea back home
R: back home you're in between cultures?
D: yea because I come from a background that both English and Afrikaans I don't even know which one I am I'm like really literally in bewteen them
R: ok
D: because people here ask me if I'm English or Afrikaans and I'm like I don't know I'm both I guess
R: ok
D: so
R: so you're in between
D: yea
R: how about in Korea do you sometimes feel like you're becoming a bit Korean?
D: my friends say I am
R: oh really ((laughs))
D: well especially when I comes to um I'm not fussy with food

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R: ok
D: like I would eat food like some Koreans are like no I can't eat that
R: oh ok
D: and even like they would be like oh you're so Korean and stuff like that
R: oh ok back home you mean?
D: no here
R: oh here your friends would say that? ok
D: like even my Korean friends they'd be like you're so Korean ((laughs))
R: ah yea yea
D: even though personally no I'm not it's the way I do things
R: uhu
D: yea
R: yea ok and what is English to you in Korean what do you do with English?
D: communicate
R: ok
D: to communicate
R: to communicate mainly to communicate with your friends and everyone
D: yea and for me it's part of my studies
R: oh ok
D: I mean yea I used it to get through everything ((laughs))
R: ok and in your opinion what does it mean to be a global university for you?
D: yea yea
R: you know how [uni 1] here always say we are a global university international university=
D: = to connect and get connections from all around the world
R: ok
D: not just Korea but like from different countries and from countries you haven't even heard of
R: mhm
D: and things like that
R: what do you mean by connect for example?
D: you have contacts for the rest of your life
R: oh ok
D: you meet someone you get to know them become friends
R: ok
D: and even if like you will eventually spread apart at least you'll know about them
R: ok
D: and have the connections like
R: do you think that's something the university has to do to help students connect or is it more of a individual thing
D: uh I think you'd have to be individually committed
R: ok
D: otherwise in my opinion like it won't just come to you you have to reach out
R: mhm
D: and get it yourself
R: ok um could you tell me the positive things the university does for international students?
D: um first of all I think accepting them to come here ((laughs))
R: ok
D: ((laughs)) because without that they wouldn't be here in the first place and other than that um they're pretty committed to um organizing um get togethers and stuff like that like for example this today ((talking about culture exchange expo))
R: oh yea yea
D: it's like all different nationalities they get to experience
R: uhu
D: each other's cultures foods and whatever
R: ok and scholarship right ((laughs))

D: yea that's good too they're basically paying people to come here
 R: yea ok and have you experienced any negative things from the university? or something annoying that you want the university to change?
 D: probably just bad management ((laughs))
 R: bad management? at the office or something?
 D: yea yea I don't know they just (?)
 R: ok has the office changed throughout time cause you've been here for a while
 D: um compared to then they're a bit better at what they're doing now what they are but like often I would go and come with questions and they would have no idea or it would take them weeks to get back to me
 R: oh ok
 D: so it was just really bad management
 R: ok
 D: like this once I had a query and I can't go to the office all the time that's why I use email
 R: ((laughs))
 D: and I sent the email and it took three to four weeks to get back to me
 R: oh really
 D: yea
 R: ok and this is about the communities you're part of how many groups would you say you're part of at the university
 D: like official groups or
 R: any think like you have=
 D: =social groups?
 R: yea social groups academic groups
 D: around three I guess
 R: ok
 D: like um my the IntCom friends
 R: mhm
 D: people that are not necessarily part of the IntCom there's also a big group of friends and then my friends who's part of faculty
 R: oh ok
 D: but I um meet in classes and things like that
 R: so you have like three main groups you're part of
 D: yea yea
 R: ok
 D: and I know everybody and I hang out sometimes in classes and things like that so yea
 R: are they international students as well?
 D: um mix
 R: oh like a mix
 D: very mixed yea
 R: and you speak English with them
 D: ((nods))
 R: ok and what about outside of the university?
 D: um there's this one organization I'm not sure how the state is at the moment but like there's this one group that we started two years ago called um South African Students in Korea
 R: ok
 D: there was around eight or nine
 R: oh ok
 D: and like it was actually sponsored by embassy too
 R: there are only eight or nine members?
 D: yea back then I'm not sure exactly we still have a Facebook group with a couple of people I need to revive that but yea it was sponsored by the embassy they got us altogether for dinners and things like that
 R: mhm

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D: and I was officially I'm officially like a chairperson or something like on that group
R: mhm
D: so I'm part of that I guess
R: oh ok
D: and another thing I'm part of is um like last year we the it's a little bit political but like um the opposition party in South Africa
R: uhu
D: called the Democratic Alliance
R: ok
D: there's like a big massive support group from expats like people abroad
R: ok
D: and I'm part of that one there
R: they have one in Korea?
D: yea yea they have a Korean one too
R: oh really
D: yea there's a couple people I met
R: what do you guys do?
D: we just get together and have dinner and talk about things
R: politics?
D: we start off with that but [then we don't go into it (?)]
R: [doesn't really] ok
D: the headquarters of Democratic Alliance abroad is located in London
R: o:h
D: so they send them we take a photo altogether and this goes to London the official group ((laughs))
R: oh ok um
D: so my friend the manager he's just like he had like a sheet that the organization told them to do and he was like London told me to ((laughs))
R: ((laughs))
D: so everybody was proud and official about it ((laughs))
R: oh right didn't know that
D: yea
R: um and for example like the IntCom what are the things that the members do that is like natural? How do you know you're actually like a core member of the group?
D: h:m
R: like how do you know you guys are close to each other what makes you guys
D: committment I think?
R: committment to what?
D: to each other like um that's actually a difficult question
R: I know it's a vague question but you can answer it in any way
D: um
R: ((laughs)) like when you just see your friends you're the IntCom friends how do you know you guys are close or doing the right thing? like what's appropriate (.) for you guys?
D: um I guess like not to wait let me rephrase this
R: ok ((laughs))
D: (4)
R: like as a group not individually
D: (5) haven't thought about it um (6) well like to become a group it depends on the individual inside of it
R: ok
D: but I think like I said you get people that's like if you make plans for example
R: mhm

D: we usually stick with the plans you make in the group and you get this people that does things without the group's approval or something and then they just do something differently to what we ask them to as we decided to as a group

R: ok

D: and then it doesn't work out in the end and I think that's like that completely froze over the whole um

R: is this particularly about the events? event making?

D: amongst others yea

R: oh ok

D: and being like that completely ruins the whole idea of being committed

R: oh ok

D: and doing things as a group [as a community together]

R: [ok] so whatever you decided upon together=

D: =yea and like you get one or two people that does things by themselves they decide to do something differently without=

R: =ok so that ruins everything

D: yea that ruins everything cause it doesn't go like the way we initially planned it to

R: ok so then what makes people together you mean committed to what you're supposed to be doing?

D: yea committed and just doing things opened and honestly

R: ok

D: not doing it behind our backs

R: ok

D: I guess

R: ok alright and with other friends as well? like outside of the IntCom?

D: yea yea of course same vibe yea

R: ok but it's more social isn't it

D: yea it works socially the same way I guess=

R: =like with your friends outside of the IntCom group how do you know you guys are like like closer?

D: I guess it's counts the things you talk about a lot

R: ok

D: you're more opened with things and you realize it changes as soon as people start doing things behind your back or something

R: is it also the style of language you guys use?

D: no not necessarily no

R: not necessarily

D: it can happen in any language I guess

R: it's the social practices you do more than language ok and also do you speak English differently depending on who you talk to?

D: even more simplified or

R: do you adapt

D: I change the vocabulary a bit

R: ok

D: to words they might not understand

R: could you tell me different situations then? like in this situation you would be like this and this situation you would be like this

D: um when I meet people that got a relatively basic understanding of English

R: mhm

D: I would keep it very simplified

R: ok

D: I mean I would still be myself but just a bit slower and

R: ok

D: and be more obvious to what I mean

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R: ok

D: whereas with other people um like even with Marc I have to use different words because he wouldn't understand it

R: oh ok cause he uses American English

D: yea yea

R: ok

D: whereas with Mei I use the exact same English back home

R: ok and then when you speak to Koreans

D: yea yea like um the ones that are pretty good I would speak normal because they have to learn anyway

R: ok

D: and um otherwise if I just want to get the message through I keep it as simple as possible

R: oh ok

D: yea but it all depends on what I'm trying to say

R: so it's definitely different from when you speak English back in your home country

D: yea

R: yea it's good

D: but it's funny because with people from the UK Australia speak the same as back home and America is a little bit different Canada too

R: yea yea

D: and even like a lot of Koreans because they learn like American English

R: then you use like S instead of Z zed

D: yea yea

R: like that

D: spell yea

R: and you say lift instead of elevator

D: lift yea

R: yea I guess it's exactly same as British English then

D: yea

R: ok yep it's done ((laughs))

D: oh that's all?

R: yep

D: yea it was pretty funny the first time I ever saw when I was in Korea when I saw on one of the official boards it was written like Korean center I was laughing and thought they made a mistake [because T-R-E yea]

R: [oh because T-R-E] you thought it was WRONG?

D: I thought it was a spelling mistake yea

R: seriously?

D: yea

R: oh really

D: I was laughing at it cause I never seen it like that ((laughs))

R: do you speak any Korean English as well?

D: like Konglish?

R: yea

D: um it's just hard for me to pronounce the Korean way

R: oh ok

D: like the hardest thing I get is they write something that's English in Korean alphabet

R: uhu

D: I don't always get it the first time

R: oh yea yea

D: like I'd have to read it out loud and then be like oh that's what they're saying

R: oh ok

D: but with Korean words actually Korean I recognize it like immediately

R: ok so it's more difficult when they try to D: yea

D: yea
R: make it in Korean pronunciation
D: yea like <Kr> Hangeul {Korean alphabet} alphabet yea
R: but you know how they use word like you know how they say apartment like <Kr> apateu {apartment}
D: apateu yea
R: <Kr> haendeupon {mobile phone}
D: haendeupon yea
R: like you would know stuff like that
D: yea
R: you would say haendeupon?
D: with Koreans sometimes
R: [oh you would]
D: [yea]
R: ok so you do know some words
D: yea I know most of them
R: but would you pronounce it like in a Korean way?
D: not always if I'm like being funny with them or something I would be like HAEN-DEU-PON please
R: ((laughs)) ok alright
D: it's all like socially fun yea
R: yea
D: my way of getting into it ((laughs))

Appendix J Transcript sample 5 (interview 3)

K: Kamile

R: Researcher

K: the chicken barbeque thing

R: oh yea let's go there today

K: yes yea I'm gonna try

R: the chicken steak?

K: yea yea the thing is we were supposed to go the first time we met I think but it was full

R: oh yea yea it was full we can try again

K: yea

R: yea let's see it's pretty good

K: because I live right next to it (?) ok to people I will tell them it was good

R: you've never been there?

K: never been there that's why like I wanna try

R: you should try yea ok ready?

K: yes

R: the questions are on my phone

K: ok your friends are here right?

R: yea

K: was your boyfriend here too?

R: no my boyfriend's coming next in two weeks

K: in two weeks

R: and they are friends from Germany Portugal and the States and they're leaving today

K: o:h

R: yea

K: they came together like to see you?

R: well the two girls I'm really close to me and I know the boyfriends as well

K: yea

R: they just came so I was fifth wheeling ((laughs)) yea two couples came and I showed them around

K: oh that's cool

R: it was nice but it was so tiring because it got so hot

K: oh yes

R: yea it was so hot so humid and hot cause you know it's not just meeting at one place you just walk around the whole day later I just met them in the evening I told them where to go ((laughs)) but it was nice to see them

K: oh that's nice

R: yea ok first questions

K: ok

R: how important do you think it is to know Korean English while living in Korea?

K: wait Korean English?

R: like for example um like apartment you say <Kr> apateu {apartment}

K: yea

R: like these

K: oh like Konglish

R: yea yea

K: ok

R: do you think it's important? do you think it's part of English? any opinion

K: I think when you come to Korea you automatically learn them maybe coming before it's not that important but when you come here it's not I don't think it's important but you learn it really

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easily if you know English it's really easy to for example like apartment <Kr> apateu {apartment}
or what I don't know like oh let's say staff like <Kr> seuteb {staff}

R: oh ok ok

K: hm things like this

R: so you just learn it naturally

K: yea because it's really easy to memorize like this

R: ok and it's part of your English while your in Korea?

K: well I'm I think for example I was talking about part-time job I was saying <Kr> areubaiteu {part-time job} wait <Kr> areubaiteu is Japanese

R: no <Kr> areubaiteu is German

K: really? I thought it was Japanese

R: but it's a Korean word as well

K: a:h ok well I don't use it with my English usually when I talk in Korean I use the Konglish

R: ok

K: when I'm using English=

R: =you try not to

K: yea usually use the English things

R: ok alright and while you have lived in Korea like this whole time

K: mhm

R: tell me what you have learned? anything

K: anything?

R: yea

K: I learned a lot about the people how they are how loud they are

R: uhu ((laughs))

K: and how the <Kr> ajummas {middle aged women} are really really rude and how people are gonna push you around

R: uhu

K: and I did not know that before

R: uhu

K: h:m I learned it's not about Korea maybe I learned how to talk with people better I guess not to feel that awkward and

R: ok

K: and be more opened

R: what do you mean by talk with people better?

K: well I'm I'm back home I'm not the most easy going people person people person which one

R: person

K: person ((laughs)) so maybe here I learned how to be more opened and talk easily don't feel stubborn and then I would with the people I know already

R: so it's like you learned how to socialize with people

K: yea I think so

R: and you learned the Korean culture

K: yea the people culture

R: ok

K: if I can call it like that

R: both negative and postive?

K: yes yes

R: what's the positive one?

K: positive? wait let me think about it positive ok wait ((laughs)) ok hm well they're really nice in a way like the <Kr> ajummas {middle aged women} recently I had one thing when the <Kr> ajumma basically she hit me no like snatched me to like

R: ok

K: SIT DOWN SIT DOWN ok ok thank you thank you

R: they would tell you to sit down

K: yea they were like sit down they mean well

R: mhm
 K: but the way they express it is really
 R: strong? ((laughs))
 K: yea strong and harsh so
 R: ok
 K: but that's nice and they're really like no one's like I'm so happy like if I'm gonna walk around with my bag opened no one's gonna take anything out and in Europe it's gonna be so hard to translate back to European standards
 R: ok yea
 K: of safety it's safe here people are nice if you're gonna lose something they're gonna help you and
 R: mhm what about at this university? what have you learned while you were here?
 K: at this university? well it's a really global one and you can speak English here because in my last when I was in [uni 1] English was a no no even the international office couldn't really speak English and the
 R: ok
 K: international staff like the IntCom didnt' know English that well
 R: mhm
 K: well [uni 2] <Kr> dae {shortened word for university} it makes sense <Kr> oegukeo {foreign language} [they know English] yep and Seoul other than that I don't know it's small
 R: [it's in Seoul] mhm
 K: no one like that basically all the Koreans I talk to they don't really like for the example the festivals
 R: uhu
 K: everyone was like all the universities have their festivals planned everything (?) absolutely all the universities in Seoul (?)
 R: oh yea ok
 K: that's what I've heard
 R: ok and when you first came here have you participated in the IntCom events?
 K: yes
 R: like before you were an or were you an IntCom member from the beginning?
 K: eh we had like two weeks or something
 R: so you went through orientation
 K: yea
 R: you were informed of all the activities
 K: yes
 R: and you got those emails and stuff?
 K: uh yea at first they did not I don't ((laughs))
 R: oh ok so you did um and so you arrived in a country full of native Koreans but for you was it easier for you to make Korean friends or non-native friends?
 K: definitely non-native if I wouldn't be in the IntCom I don't think I would have any Korean friends well ok maybe some
 R: ok
 K: but not that many Korean friends it's hard I think
 R: but in general it's easier to make foreigner friends
 K: I think so I think everywhere it's easier to make foreign friends
 R: ok
 K: well when you're outside your country
 R: uhu
 K: because it's easier to relate to me because both of all of you are like not with your friends not with your family different cultures and stuff like that so I think it's easier to make foreign friends
 R: you guys are in the same position
 K: mhm
 R: that's why

Appendix J

K: yea yea

R: ok um then why do you think Koreans or Asians in general are scared to speak English?

K: I think they are scared to fail maybe?

R: ok

K: to be honest I haven't thought about this but they do they are scared of using

R: so even like Europeans for example they're non-natives but they just talk so what's the difference from those two in your opinion?

K: h:m I think it's all about the going back to the old days them being conservative maybe? compared to Europe well I'm scared of talking Korean I know that

R: mhm

K: but other people who are really opened they are so it's so easy for them to learn languages because they just talk and use and they are not afraid to fail and it's ok to make mistakes and it's ok to laugh about it

R: ok

K: and maybe Koreans like Asians are scared of that actually I don't really know

R: ok scared to make mistakes

K: maybe maybe but they're more conservative and everything they learn even now the kids I teach everything's in the book everything's written down they don't really speak that much

R: mhm

K: so they just learn everything memorize everything know all the rules but using them in real life is hard for them

R: ok

K: I don't know why

R: because they just follow the rules

K: yea because they follow the rules yea

R: that's why alright and could you tell me how your feelings changed at each stage while you were in Korea?

K: well first I was all crying

R: yea I remember that

K: u:h it didn't take me long to get over the culture shock I think I already knew quite a lot about Korea and at first I came from a really small country I went to Suwon first

R: oh yea

K: so small country plus a small city near Seoul it was ok I guess

R: ok

K: not that many people I got used to it quite early it's just that sometimes I feel oh I kinda wanna go home but then it's fine I'll go home soon

R: ok

K: I think it's like the first week or so when I missing my family and my parents and then I got friends friends are really important

R: mhm

K: when you get friends it's easier

R: mhm and um like in the middle when you were used to it already

K: mhm

R: did uh your feelings change?

K: about Korea or about being on an exchange program or

R: anything

K: anything u:m not really it's just that I think I like Korea too much to start thinking badly about it like

R: ok

K: like I hate Korea I wanna leave it's not that it's just that I miss home

R: ok

K: and holidays was always a problem Christmas was terrible

R: mhm

K: but I wasn't like oh I hate Korea it's just that I wanna go home it wasn't like that

R: ok and how did you feel like um when you had to say goodbye to your friends? did you go through that time? because you were here for=

K: =two times this is gonna be my third time

R: ok

K: at the end I try to stay positive but I think that oh we're gonna stay in contact all the time and we're gonna see each other and it's maybe that's the hardest part and you understand that it's basically kinda done with most of the people you're probably not gonna see them ever again you might text

R: ok

K: but little by little you don't have you can't relate anymore you don't have these things

R: mhm

K: and it just fades away little by little it's it's really depressing

R: uhu

K: I don't really cry but let me think about it yea I didn't cry when my friends left but when it's time for me to leave somehow I cry like a baby ((laughs))

R: oh ok you think about it

K: yea

R: ok

K: I don't know

R: um so did you guys like have farewell parties and last get togethers?

K: yea we did and both of the times I said bye but we have the official ones like the ones that the international office not office the international students organized we have like smaller ones

R: like smaller ones before everyone goes

K: and there's like always a party last party of the semester in Octagon and something like that

R: and how's the atmosphere during that time?

K: I don't think anyone's talking about leaving ok if there's more alcohol there's people start maybe tearing ah

R: ok

K: they start thinking a:h everyone's leaving but that's just a party thing

R: ok so yea um and so you're even more sad because you're leaving [that's how you feel]

K: [yea because] maybe it doesn't hit me that much but when oh you're leaving maybe you're gonna come back or or (I'm coming back to Korea)

R: uhu

K: maybe it doesn't hit me that much but when I'm leaving when I'm at the airport I don't think the first time I left Korea I don't think I cried there was a lot of drama in my life I just really needed my family I was like HOME but the idea of leaving is really really sad

R: yea and this time you stayed longer and you had more friends?

K: yea yea it's gonna be really hard like Mei and Daniel the full time students the Korean staff

R: yea

K: u:h I don't wanna think about it three months Yuto is killing me we only have three months shut up shut up ((laughs))

R: so then what was the most memorable moment while you were here at this university? you don't have to tell me just one you can just tell me what you liked best what you think about a lot

K: I think Jeju was like a big part of it because in Jeju we were crazy like we didn't plan anything we would plan the day before and I loved this because I was hanging out with strict rule seeking Germans and and I wanna go crazy I wanna try weird things that move and all my friends my close friend is vegetarian so I didn't wanna go to Jeju with her but she did in the end

R: uhu

K: and I told her that like I don't wanna go with you because you're gonna you can't do a lot of things

R: uhu

K: like crazy we rented bikes like oh bikes let's get them

R: uhu

Appendix J

K: like oh this let's do that and it's fun it's like fifty fifty I like having rules but at the same time letting go and just doing weird things and sleeping in the <Kr> jjimjilbang {Korean sauna} for five nights

R: oh really?

K: we did yea ((laughs)) sleeping in a <Kr> jjimjilbang for five nights

R: uhu

K: planning on sleeping in the car for one night but it didn't turn out well it was like well it was fun I think that and maybe the events because even if like some of the Korean staff do everything half fast

R: mhm

K: it's still fun like to do everything together and then after we'll go eat and drink if it was like a good event we organized everything really well

R: mhm

K: and then get closer I think

R: like those two

K: Jeju and the bigger events

R: you think about a lot

K: yea

R: ok when do you say bye to your IntCom friends?

K: hm?

R: when do you say bye to your the IntCom friends?

K: u::h

R: I guess for you it's different cause you're staying longer

K: I'm not sure I think the special goodbye is on the seventeenth but I don't think we're gonna have anything like specifically for the IntCom

R: oh ok

K: today's gonna be the last dinner but I still have three weeks so this is not gonna be a goodbye

R: if you're closer with some other people you would meet them separately

K: I think so I think so other than that a lot of people live in Seoul so

R: ah yea that's true

K: I don't think (.) if we're close they're gonna come and uh like one of Korean staff invited us to his place for the weekend so

R: ah that's nice

K: to meet his parents so I think with the close people I don't know when's the goodbye maybe when I'm leaving

R: did Emilie go back?

K: yea she did she did

R: oh she did

K: yea it was harsh but then again I didn't cry ((laughs))

R: oh you guys all met before

K: yea

R: sending her off

K: I was in Jeju when she left on the [twenty-sixth] yea so the day before we left to Jeju we had dinner I just ran back after my work (?) wait for me

R: [o:h] just the foreign members or like some Koreans

K: the IntCom yea the IntCom I think

R: for her

K: yea

R: was it sad?

K: it was sad it was sad because it's weird not to have her here I mean we got close too but then again I didn't cry it's just

R: she must've cried

K: she did she did

R: a:w

K: she cried a few times I don't know

R: ok

K: I think it's uh I don't know how it's gonna be during winter uh winter summer because during summer during winter it was really bad because there was nothing to do here

R: it was so cold yea?

K: it was so cold and boring and it's gonna be hot and boring now

R: yea

Appendix K Coding scheme

INITIAL CODING

A. Goals and future plans

A1: improving Korean

A2: gaining more knowledge

A3: finding a part time job

A4: becoming more open-minded/changing perspectives

A5: meeting friends from different cultures and visiting them later

A6: International committee goals

A7 plans after graduating

A8 career goals

Social practices

B. Studies

B1 taking classes

B2 group work

B3 studying for exams

B4 taking exams

B5 doing assignments

B6 learning Korean

C. International committee related

C1 choosing new members

C2 welcoming new members

C2.1 committee board workshop

C2.2 orientation for all new coming international students

C3 weekly meetings

Appendix K

C3.1 committee board

C3.2 football practice

C3.3 dance practice

C4 supporting new coming students

C5 creating events

C6 promoting events

C7 preparing for the events

C8 managing events

C9 attending events

C10 posting photos of past events

C11 socializing in the IntCom room

C11.1 doing work shift

C11.2 hanging out

C12 group chat on Kakaotalk

C13 parting/farewell parties

D. Leisure

D1 meeting friends for lunch or coffee during gap hours

D2 sending Kakaotalk messages and photos

D3 activities on SNS

D3.1 posting photos and statuses

D3.2 responding to posts

D4 having dinner after classes

D5 drinking and partying on the weekend

D6 shopping

D7 traveling

D7.1 exploring Seoul (e.g. parks, museums, markets, palaces, hiking etc.)

D7.2 traveling around Korea

D7.3 traveling abroad

D8 taking photos

D11 regular hobbies (e.g. photography, gym, jogging, Taekwondo, boxing etc.)

E. Home country

E1 going back home for holidays

E2 contacting family and friends back home

F. Living alone in Korea/Responsibility

F1 managing time

F2 running errands

F2.1 grocery shopping

F2.2 registering at the university

F2.3 going to the bank

F2.4 going to the phone provider service

F2.5 going to the doctor

F3 finding part time jobs

F4 working part time

F5 requesting for information and receiving help

F6 giving information and help

Linguistic practices

G. Multilingualism

G1 use of multilingual resources

G1.1 knowing different languages

G1.2 mixing languages back at home

G1.3 mixing languages in Korea

G2 complex multilingual minds

G3 positive view

G3.1 different languages are used to fill/complement what you want to say

G3.2 fluent and natural

G3.3 the ability to befriend more people

G3.4 convenient

Appendix K

G3.5 fun

G4 negative view

G4.1 mixing languages due to lack of Ln skills

G4.2 messy

H. Languaculture

H1 Talking about your own culture

H1.1 life back at home

H1.2 about the people in your culture

H2 talking about Cn

H3 talking about Korean culture

H3.1 positive aspects

H3.2 negative aspects

H3.3 Korean food

H3.4 Korean education/teaching methods

H4 comparing cultures

I. Identity

I1 national/ Cn identity

I2 identity in Korea

I3 third culture

I4 becoming more “Korean”

I5 language and identity

I6 identity change due to surroundings

I7 multiple memberships

J. View on English

J1 the role of English in your life

J2 good English

J3 bad English

J4 your own English

J4.1 confidence

J4.2 contextualizing English

J5 Korean people's English

K. View on Korean

K1 the role of Korean in your life

K2 Korean English (Konglish)

K3 learning Korean

K3.1 motivation

K3.2 demotivation

K4 speaking Korean

K3.1 pressure

L. Life in Korea

L1 awareness of Korean culture

L1.1 before arriving in Korea

L1.2 after arriving in Korea

L2 culture shock

L3 realization

L4 adaptation and feeling comfortable

L5 easier to socialize with foreigners

L6 being a foreigner in Korea/Asia

M. View on the university

M1 teaching method and professors

M2 international office

M3 frustration as regular international students

M3.1 feeling left out

M3.2 the need for integration of Korean and international students

M4 student support

M5 internationalization/ international university

N. Community culture

N1 humor

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N1.1 joking

N1.2 sarcasm

N1.3 teasing

N1.4 cursing

N2 gossiping

N3 sympathy

N4 farewells and sadness

N5 homesickness

N6 commitment

N7 requesting for information and receiving help

N8 giving information/help

N9 storytelling/talking about experience (e.g. traveling)

N10 talking about friends

N11 reason for coming to Korea

N12 reason for joining the international committee

FINAL CODING

A. The IntCom as a community of practice

A.1: The IntCom's shared goals – the joint enterprise

A2: Membership in the IntCom – mutual engagement

A2.1: IntCom activities

A2.2 Shared activities outside the IntCom

A3: Shared repertoires

A3.1: Shared habitual practices

A3.2: Friendship and membership building

A3.3: Shared discourse topics: conversations on C1 or Cn

A3.4: Shared discourse practices

A3.4.1: Gossiping

A3.4.1: Humor

B. Identity constructions

B1: Cultural identity

B2: Adaptation

B2.1: Global context

B2.2: Local context

B3: Transcultural identity

B3.1: Third space and liminality

B3.2: International student identity

C. Multilingual identity and language perceptions

C1: Mixing language resources

C1.1: Complex and negative views

C1.2: Positive views

C2: The role of ELF

C3: The role of Korean

C3.1: Goals

C3.2: Future

C3.3: Documentation

D: Multilingual practices

D1: Code-switching

D2: Translanguaging practices

D2.1: Linguistic types of translanguaging

D2.2: Functional types of translanguaging

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