

NATIVE ENGLISH-SPEAKING TEACHERS USING KOREAN TO TEACH EFL IN SOUTH  
KOREA: A SOCIOCULTURAL ANALYSIS OF TEACHERS' BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

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## Abstract

The use of learners' first languages (L1) in second and foreign language teaching is a practice that is empirically supported and its inclusion is increasingly recommended by researchers (e.g. Cook, 2001; Corcoran, 2015; Cummins, 2007; García & Lin, 2017a; Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009). Yet, native English-speaking teachers (NESTs) who deploy their learners' first languages in their classes tend to be overlooked in the research, and the Korean context is no exception.

Framed through the lens of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory (1978, 1986) and Engeström's conceptualization of activity theory (1987, 1999, 2001), this study investigates how three NESTs use Korean to teach EFL to university students in South Korea. The study uncovers how the participants' practices shape and are shaped by their beliefs toward the use of Korean, their past language learning and teaching experiences, English-only medium of instruction (MOI) policies and associated ideologies at the societal (macro) and institutional (micro) levels. The data for this study were obtained through 34 hours of classroom observations as well as background, stimulated recall and follow-up interviews.

The analysis reveals that the participants used Korean as a mediating tool serving three broad functions based on Ferguson (2003), namely, to ensure that their students learned the course content, to manage the classroom and to improve the affective climate of the classroom. Additionally, two of the participants used the negotiation of their emergent bilingual identities (Garcia, 2017) as a pedagogical tool (Morgan, 2004). However, the analysis also revealed that the use of Korean is a potential source of tension. Two of the participants perceived an English-only MOI policy. The de facto policy served to create tensions and feelings of guilt and wrongdoing. Additionally, one of the instructors feared making linguistic errors and potentially confusing her students. These fears conflicted with her expert NEST identity and led to her rarely speaking Korean in class. Yet, the tensions surrounding the use of Korean and the de facto MOI also served as the genesis for agentive actions that enabled the participants to use Korean in a modality and manner that minimized or even negated these tensions.

## **Dedication**

*To my children, Zoë and Ethan*

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## **List of Acronyms**

AR	Action research
BK	Background interview
CLT	Communicative language teaching
CLD	Culturally and linguistically diverse
EFL	English as a foreign language
ELT	English language teaching
EMI	English as medium of instruction
EPIK	English program in Korea
ESL	English as a second language
FQ	Follow-up interview
L1	First language
LOTE	Languages other than English
MOI	Medium of instruction
NEST	Native English-speaking teacher
SCT	Sociocultural theory
SRI	Stimulated recall interview (lower proficiency section)
SRII	Stimulated recall interview (higher proficiency section)
TBLT	Task-based language teaching
TEE	Teach English in English
TEFL	Teaching English as a foreign language
TESL	Teaching English as a second language
TETE	Teach English through English
TL	Target language

## **Chapter 1 – Introduction**

### **1.1 Teachers' Use of Learners' First Languages in Language Teaching**

The use of learners' first languages (L1) in second and foreign language teaching is a practice that is empirically supported and its inclusion in classrooms is increasingly recommended by researchers (e.g. Atkinson, 1993; Cook, 2001; Corcoran, 2015; Cummins, 2007, 2008; García & Kleyn, 2016; García & Lin, 2017a; Littlewood & Yu, 2011; Swain, Kirkpatrick, & Cummins, 2011; M. Turnbull, 2001, 2006). Despite extensive support from researchers and academics for the inclusion of the L1, empirically unsupported monolingual target language (TL) only medium of instruction (MOI) policies continue to persist, and, South Korea, the context for this research, is no exception.

Through MOI policies, the Korean government has mandated that Korean-speaking English language teachers conduct their classes monolingually in English. In concert with the MOI policies, the government has hired thousands of native English-speaking teachers (NESTs) to teach in schools across the country. Moreover, there is a multibillion dollar private English language teaching (ELT) industry that is premised on English-only classes taught by NESTs. The MOI policies and booming private ELT industry, however, are premised on empirically unsupported ELT ideologies where English is viewed as being ideally taught and learned monolingually through English by NESTs with an aim to maximize learners' exposure to English (Auerbach, 1993; Phillipson, 1992). It was into this ideologically-driven ELT context where I first became an English as a foreign language (EFL) teacher.

## **1.2 Rationale and Contextualization of the Study**

In 2002, I decided to move from Canada to teach EFL to elementary and middle school students at an English language institute in South Korea. I, much like many ex-pat teachers before me, did not have any teaching experience, teaching qualifications, or any knowledge of the Korean language. My teacher training and experience began on my first day at the school where I followed and observed a more experienced NEST. From that day's observations, I learned that the classes were to be an English-only space where teachers conducted their classes monolingually in English and students were restricted to speaking only in English. I also learned that as teachers we could get into trouble if we spoke Korean in the classroom. This was relayed to me by my colleague as she was pointing to the CCTV cameras that were in all of the classrooms. The cameras allowed the directors of the school to watch and/or listen to any class that was of interest to them.

While the concept of being surveilled was slightly unnerving, an English-only practice seemed logical to me based on my experiences as a French immersion student in Ontario. I remembered teachers raising their voices at me and my friends for speaking English in classes where French was the MOI. Although I did not like the strict policies, I figured that since the French immersion programs were so popular and successful, the TL-only policy must be the best way to teach a language. Moreover, since I did not understand Korean, it did not make sense for me to use the language or allow the students to speak Korean in the classroom. Thus, for me, English-only became a de facto MOI policy.

During my first year in Korea, I taught my classes almost entirely in English. It was not until the eighth month of teaching that I started to incorporate some single Korean words into my classes. As noted above, there was an English-only policy at this school; yet, I was getting increasingly frustrated trying to explain grammatical concepts to my students when they did not understand the English grammatical metalanguage. I then decided to look up Korean equivalents for words like *verb*, *adjective*, and *noun* to deploy in the classroom. While I initially struggled with the Korean pronunciation of some of the words, I found that the students responded very well to my Korean. However, I was cautious with my use of discrete Korean nouns as I was well aware that I could be observed at any moment, and more practically, my knowledge of Korean was limited.

After teaching at the language institute for one year, I then accepted a position at D University, the context for this research. When I started teaching at D University in the fall of 2003, I was cognizant that English-only as the MOI was viewed as the desired approach across Korea (see Chapter 4). I also assumed that English-only was the MOI policy at D University and I taught my classes accordingly. My English-only approach, however, only lasted a short time. I found that the overall English proficiency of my students was quite low, and the students were having trouble understanding my vocabulary explanations. As such, I looked up Korean translations for all of the important vocabulary to use in my classes. By the end of my first semester, I was using Korean translations for vocabulary and Korean grammatical metalanguage. The students appeared to understand more of the course content and they were enjoying the classes; yet, at the same time, I was not sure if I should be using Korean.

As part of working at D University, teachers are put into groups of 4 or 5 teachers for the year, and each group is typically led by the most senior instructor. For professional development (see also 3.2.1.3), new teachers are required to observe the classes of one or more members of the group and the new teachers are observed by the lead instructor. In my case, I observed three of my colleagues' classes during the first semester. I found that all of the instructors conducted their classes monolingually in English. I also asked my colleagues if they used Korean in their classes. Everyone I spoke with said they only used English or an occasional Korean word. It was at this stage that I felt that I was the only instructor actively seeking ways to use Korean in the classroom, and I was still not sure if it was an acceptable practice or not.

I continued to use Korean in my classes at D University until the winter vacation teaching term in January 2004 at D University. At that time, an instructor who had started working at the same time as me, ran into some problems using Korean in her classes. Unfortunately for the instructor, one of her students was a Korean professor who did not appreciate her use of Korean. The professor complained to the director who then requested a meeting with the instructor. Although, I do not know what exactly was said in the meeting, afterwards, the instructor said that she got into trouble for her use of Korean. She stressed that we should not use Korean in our classes, or if we did, we should be very careful that our students did not complain, as we may find ourselves in a similar meeting with the director. The impact of this incident was profound. I remember talking about this with a small group of instructors and we all felt that there was an English-only MOI policy that could be enforced at any time if someone reported us for speaking Korean. It should be noted, however, that at no time were we ever told to avoid using Korean in our classes by the director or anyone in higher levels of the administration. Thus, this incident



with my colleague led to us assuming that there was an English-only MOI policy. And given that I was a novice instructor and I really enjoyed working at D University and did not want to do anything that could jeopardize my contract renewal, I stopped using Korean in my classes.

In the spring semester, March, 2004, after having a month-long vacation when I studied Korean intensively, I still assumed that there was an English-only MOI policy. Initially, I hesitated to provide my students with a Korean translation or grammatical term. I avoided speaking Korean in classes with mature students fearing that one of them may be a professor who would report me. However, after teaching for a few weeks, I decided to test the waters and began to use Korean in my classes again. Two weeks went by and I wondered if I would be called into the director's office. A month went by and I was still not reported. By the third month of the spring semester, I was speaking increasing amounts of Korean in all of my classes and soon realized that if there was an English-only MOI policy, it was not what my students wanted. I found that my students were more engaged and understood more, and, as a consequence, they did better on my tests and assignments. As a result, my use of Korean continued to develop, and I found more ways to incorporate it into my teaching practice. However, the fear of getting into trouble for using Korean did not leave me, and I continued my practice in isolation and kept my use of Korean to myself. As a consequence, I did not have the opportunity to collaborate or compare best practices with other instructors since no one, myself included, discussed using Korean in the classroom.

By the spring semester of 2005, I continued to use Korean and I began to wonder if there was any research looking at how NESTs used Korean in support of my cross-linguistic practices. I had hoped that I would find some answers while I was working on an MA in Applied

Linguistics with a specialization in teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) that I had started through distance learning in the fall semester of 2004. Based on the assigned readings and course materials from the TESOL courses, there was no role for learners' L1s. The L1 was simply not discussed. I then made efforts to review the research in an aim to find publications that reflected my context and the use of Korean or even NESTs and their use of their learners' L1s. Based on my review of the research at that time (for current review see sections 2.7 and 2.8), the L1 was a tool for teachers who were non-native speakers of the TL, including English, and native speaking teachers of languages other than English (LOTE). NESTs and their use of their learners' L1s were not part of the published research. Again, I was left feeling isolated in my use of Korean in the classroom.

By the fall semester, 2005, I knew of only three colleagues who used Korean in their classes out of the group 23 EFL instructors at D University. However, by this time, I was much more confident in my status as an instructor at D University and, based on my experience with my students becoming more interested and active in my classes and their improved performance on assignments and tests, the advantages of using Korean were clear. It was at this point that I approached the director to finally confirm if there was an English-only MOI policy, and if there was such as policy, I was prepared to argue for the use of Korean in the classroom. To my surprise, and slight frustration, the director said that he used Korean in his classes and that instructors were welcome to use Korean in their classes for teaching purposes. I then asked about the instructor who got into trouble for speaking Korean in her class. He said that she was

not reprimanded for speaking Korean; however, to conform to the demands of the professor<sup>1</sup> who had complained, she was asked not to use Korean in his class, but she could otherwise use the language as she wished.

After my meeting with the director, I continued to use Korean in the classroom; however, I was still only one of a few teachers who actually used it in their classes. This struck me as odd since I knew that many of my colleagues spoke Korean outside the classroom; yet they did not use it in their classes even though it was permitted. As a result, I did not feel like I was doing anything wrong, but I felt isolated both at D University and in the research which appeared to overlook teachers like me. The combination of the relative isolation that I felt at D University in terms of using Korean, the dearth of research on NESTs and their use of their learners' L1, and the earlier tensions that I experienced surrounding the L1, served as the genesis for this dissertation.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

Through this doctoral research, I investigate how three NESTs at D University use Korean in the activity of teaching EFL. Moreover, in light of the contradictory ideological tenets in the Korean context, I seek to understand why they use Korean in the classroom. As such, this dissertation seeks to answer the following research questions:

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<sup>1</sup> Although I did not confirm this with the director, the need to conform to the professor likely had to do with power relations between the director who was the assistant director at that time and the professor who I believe became the acting director of the department the following semester. At that time, the position of director was filled by Korean faculty on a rotating basis. This rotating basis changed, however, when the assistant director was promoted to the position of director on a permanent basis two years later.

1. How do three native English-speaking teachers use Korean, their students' first language and the teachers' foreign language, to mediate the activity of teaching *English Conversation I*, a first-year university EFL course, to adult learners in South Korea?
2. What are these teachers' beliefs toward their use of Korean in this activity? What is the basis of these beliefs?
3. How are teachers' beliefs and practices mediated by cultural-historical factors inclusive of language ideologies toward the teaching and learning of English as a foreign language and teachers' development as English language teachers and language learners?

This dissertation seeks to answer the preceding research questions through an in-depth multiple case study approach that looks at the cross-linguistic practices and beliefs of three NESTs at D University. Chapter 2 discusses the transdisciplinary theoretical framework based on Vygotsky's genetic analysis and activity theory as superordinate theoretical framework supplemented by complementary theoretical lenses including translanguaging, language teacher cognition, and language teacher identity and emotions. The research surrounding teachers' use of their L1s in language teaching is then reviewed in relation to classroom-based practices, beliefs, and MOI policies. Chapter 3 further details the teaching context at D University and describes the data collection tools including classroom observations as well as background and stimulated recall interviews. Additionally, the analytical framework based on Vygotsky's genetic analysis and activity theory is discussed. Chapter 4, the cultural-historic domain, is a discussion of the development of ELT in South Korea as related to NESTs in Korea. Chapters 5 to 7 are the individual case studies of the three participants. Each case study is divided into two parts, the ontogenetic and microgenetic. The ontogenetic analyses detail the teacher's development as

English language teachers including their prior language learning experiences, language teacher education, and language teacher experiences with a focus on the role of learners' L1s in the language classroom. The microgenetic analysis describes the participants' beliefs and practices surrounding the use of the L1 while they are teaching *English Conversation I*, an EFL course at D University. Chapter 8 then discusses the findings from the perspective of the NEST participants' activity system, and the final chapter discusses the implications of the study along with limitations and areas for future research.

## **Chapter 2 – Theoretical Framework and Literature Review**

The primary focus of this dissertation is understanding teachers' beliefs surrounding their cross-linguistic practices where they incorporate Korean in the activity of teaching English to university students in South Korea. This research contributes to a much larger body of research reflecting the multilingual turn (Conteh & Meier, 2014; May, 2013) in applied linguistics that, as noted by Kubota (2014) “focuses on the plurality, multiplicity, and hybridity of language and language use to challenge a traditional paradigm of understanding linguistic practices in various contexts (p. 475)”. Research reflecting the multilingual turn includes: code meshing (Canagarajah, 2006), multiliteracies (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000), metrolingualism (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015), continua of biliteracy (Hornberger, 2004), hybridity (Rubdy & Alsagoff, 2013), and translanguaging (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009a; García & Lin, 2017a; García & Sylvan, 2011; García & Wei, 2014).

This research also intersects with the developing field of language teacher cognition research. Simon Borg (2003) defines teacher cognition as “the unobservable cognitive dimension of teaching – what teachers know, believe and think” (p. 81). This study then views language teacher cognition as emergent sense making in action (Kubanyiova & Feryok, 2015) and as such teachers' beliefs and teachers' cross-linguistic practices are viewed through the lens of Vygotsky's (1978, 1986) sociocultural theory (SCT) and activity theory (Engeström, 1987, 2001; Leontiev, 1981).

## **2.1 A Sociocultural Framework for Understanding Teacher Practice and Cognition**

SCT and activity theory have a rich history in applied linguistics research surrounding language education including: second/foreign language learning (e.g. Brooks & Donato, 1994; Coughlan & Duff, 1994; Lantolf, 2000; Lantolf & Beckett, 2009; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Razfar, Licón Khisty, & Chval, 2011; Swain, Kinnear, & Steinman, 2015; Swain, Lapkin, Knouzi, Suzuki, & Brooks, 2009), literacy education of deaf individuals (Mayer, 1999, 2007; Mayer & Trezek, 2015; Mayer & Wells, 1996;) second/foreign language teacher education (e.g. K. Johnson, 2006, 2009; K. Johnson & Golombek, 2010, 2016), and relatedly language teacher cognition (e.g. Golombek, 1998, 2009; Golombek & Doran, 2014; K. Johnson & Worden, 2014). Moreover, SCT and activity theory are complementary to several theoretical frameworks that have taken the social turn (Block, 2003) in applied linguistics research including situated learning and communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998); ecological and semiotic approaches to language learning (Lemke, 1997, 2000; van Lier, 2000, 2004) sociocognitive approaches to learning (Atkinson, 2014); and complexity theory (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008).

As part of a special issue of the *Modern Language Journal* on language teacher cognition, Burns, Freeman, and Edwards' (2015) review reveals that researchers have often applied tenets of Vygotsky's SCT (c.f. Golombek & Doran, 2014; K. Johnson, 2009; K. Johnson & Golombek, 2010) to cognition research. However, according to Kubanyiova and Feryok (2015), the deployment of SCT as a comprehensive theoretical framework has been limited:

Apart from elaborated discussions informed by sociocultural theory (Cross, 2010; Golombek, 2009; K. Johnson, 2006), a comprehensive treatment of distinctive

epistemological perspectives as well as of the diverse conceptual, methodological, and analytical options that the broader social turn in applied linguistics (Block, 2003) presents for researchers of language teacher cognition has not been integrated into mainstream overviews. (p. 438)

This study aims to fill this gap by extending the work of Cross (2010) to view teacher's cross-linguistic practices and teacher cognition as sociocultural activity particularly with respect to mediational means and a genetic analysis of teachers' beliefs and practices. Moreover, this study answers earlier calls from S. Borg (2006) for a comprehensive unifying framework that socially and historically situates teacher cognition.

This study's adaptation of Vygotsky's genetic analysis (1978) and activity theory (Engeström, 1987, 2001; Leontiev, 1981) as theoretical framework attempts to fuse "the dialectic between thinking and doing with the socially and culturally constructed contexts in which teachers—as thinking, historical, social, and culturally constituted subjects—find themselves engaged through the "activity" of teaching language" (Cross, 2010, p. 438). This perspective further reflects what Burns, Freeman and Edwards (2015) have termed the sociohistorical ontology of teacher cognition where cognition is viewed as a "function of place and time operating through interaction or negotiation with social and historical contexts" (Burns et al., 2015, p. 589).

### **2.1.1 Vygotskian Genetic Analysis**

Vygotsky's (1978) genetic analysis is a key tenet of this dissertation's theoretical framework in that it historically and culturally situates the activity of language teaching. Vygotsky (1978) argues that to understand human mental activity one must consider the



historical genesis of the activity. Vygotsky then conceived of four interrelated genetic domains: phylogenetic, cultural-historic, ontogenetic, microgenetic (Wertsch, 1985), as may be seen in Figure 01.

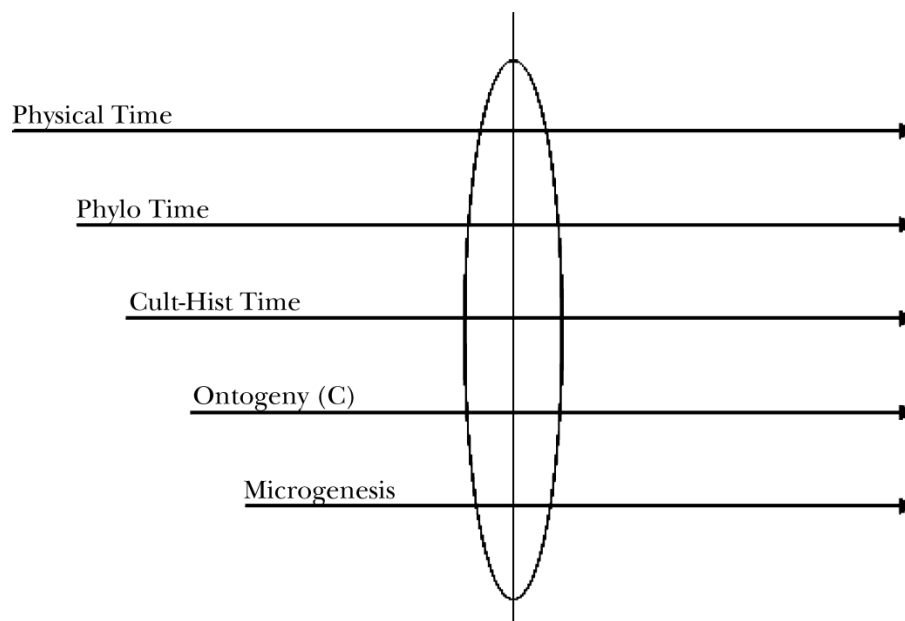


Figure 01. Domains for genetic analysis (M. Cole & Engeström, 1993, p. 20)

The horizontal lines in Figure 01 represent different time scales and domains for analysis. Physical time reflects time since the beginning of the universe; the phylogenetic domain reflects the history of life of earth. The remaining three domains are most pertinent to this research. The cultural-historic domain “focuses on development in terms of the broader ‘external’ world within which humans exist (i.e. the social, cultural, and historic basis for development)” (Cross, 2010, p. 438). The ontogenetic domain focuses on the “development of the individual subject across the human life span” (pp. 438-439). The microgenetic domain reflects the culmination of the cultural-historic and ontological domains and looks at the participants’ engagement within “the

immediate sociocultural context in relation to instances of actual, concrete activity” (p. 442).

Lastly, the ellipse and vertical line highlight that a genetic analysis connects the micro to the macro in that the domains are interrelated and what is happening at the microgenetic level is taking place at the same time in the development of the individual and more broadly, the development of a culture.

The genetic method then accounts for how teachers’ immediate practices may be influenced by their prior lived experiences and by broader macro-level influences. For example, an EFL teacher may be unwilling to turn to their learners’ L1s in the classroom (microgenetic). Thus, when attempting to understand this teachers’ beliefs, the genetic analysis has one consider the impact of that teacher’s development as a language learner and language teacher (ontogenetic domain) and the broader cultural-historic domain that can identify macro-level influences. The teacher, through their teacher training or prior experiences, may have been taught that languages are best taught monolingually in English and developed a belief consistent with their experiences. Alternatively, a given society may have language education policies which attempt to mandate how teachers should teach. These macro-level policies may have an influence on teachers’ beliefs or their willingness to use their learners’ L1s. Thus, the power of genetic analysis is that it views the teacher as someone with life experiences while also situating that teacher and the activity of teaching in macro-level discourses all of which may influence the teachers’ beliefs and practices. Teachers may also be influenced by the immediate context of their practice in the microgenetic domain. The microgenetic domain is further theorized through the lens of activity theory which is premised on Vygotsky’s (1978) conceptualization of tool-mediated activity.

### 2.1.2 Activity Theory

One of the primary tenets of Vygotsky's (1978) SCT is that all forms of higher level mental activity are mediated by historic and culturally constructed physical and symbolic tools. Physical tools are those such as a hammer to hammer a nail. Symbolic or psychological tools include music, number systems and, of importance to this study, language (Lantolf, 2000). The commonly used representation of Vygotsky's notion of subject and mediating tools may be seen in Figure 02.

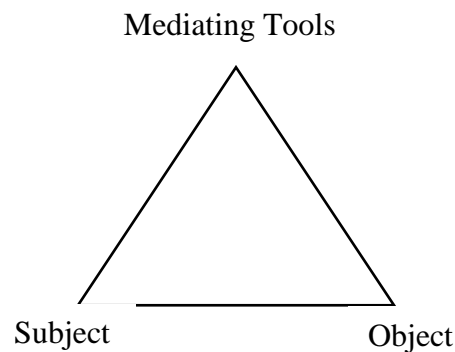


Figure 02. Adaptation of Vygotsky's (1978) tool-mediated activity.

Figure 02 shows the relationship between a human subject and an object in the world. Their interaction may be direct without mediational means from subject to object directly; for example, a person pushing an object with their hands. A subject may also mediate her interactions with an object through the use of mediational means. In this case, the interaction begins with the subject who then uses tools to mediate their interaction with the object. Consider the activity of English language teaching and a teacher who is teaching new vocabulary to a group of beginner language learners. The teacher decides to teach her students the meaning of the word *courage* and to do so

she uses the classroom computer to project two PowerPoint slides, one after the other. The first has the English word *courage* and the second has a translation of the word in her students' L1. The students follow along, smile and appear to understand the meaning of *courage*. In this example, the teacher is the subject who uses computer software, PowerPoint, as a mediating tool. The object of the activity is teaching her students the meaning of the word *courage*. In this case, the teachers' use of PowerPoint served to mediate her teaching of the word *courage* (goal). This basic conceptualization of tool-mediated activity forms the foundation of activity theory throughout its subsequent and continuous development.

In contrast to Vygotsky's (1978) notion of activity which was primarily focussed on the individual and their use of socially and historically constructed tools to mediate object-oriented activity, Leontiev (1981) shifted the focus to activity as a whole (Wertsch, 1985).

With all its varied forms, the human individual's activity is a system in the system of social relations. It does not exist without these relations. The specific form in which it exists is determined by the forms and means of material and mental social interaction (Verkehr) that are created by the development of production and that cannot be realized in any way other than in the activity of concrete people. (Leontiev, 1981, p. 47)

Leontiev's (1981) theory of activity consists of three hierarchical interrelated levels of human behaviour: activity, action, and operation. The activity level is the broadest level process characterized by a motive that is based on basic human biological needs or social or cultural needs or desires. The activity is driven by the motive and is directed at an object. If we consider the example of the language teacher above, her motive may be to teach her students English and the object of the activity may then be to teach her students English vocabulary. The motive is then instantiated in the level of action.

Actions, the second level of the hierarchy, are goal directed behaviours.

The basic components of various human activities are the actions that translate them into reality. We call a process an action when it is subordinated to the idea of achieving a result, i.e. a process that is subordinated to a conscious goal. (Leontiev, 1981, pp. 59-60)

Again, considering the example of the English teacher, her motive is instantiated through goal-oriented actions which in this case is to teach her students the meaning of the word ‘courage’.

Actions may then take the form of operations that are “automatized or habituated actions that respond to the immediate social-material conditions at hand” (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006, p. 216). If we consider the example of the EFL teacher, at the operation level, her use of the computer and the software may be automatic in that she already knows how to use the computer and software. The use of the computer and software takes place under socio-material conditions which may in turn affect the operations. For example, the computer in the teacher’s regular classroom may have been upgraded along with the software. If the teacher was not familiar with the updated version of the software, what were once automated operations may in turn become conscious actions as she initially adjusts to the new software. In this case, the social-material conditions changed the operation from an automated operation to a conscious action; however, the goal of the action as well as the object of the activity remained consistent.

Activity theory continued to be developed with Engeström’s (1987, 1999, 2001) expansion of Vygotsky’s initial triangle of the action stage of activity (see Figure 03) that is the most recognizable visual representation of a collective activity system (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Swain et al., 2015). In his representation, an activity system consists of six interrelated components all of which are in a dialectical relationship as may be seen in Figure 3.

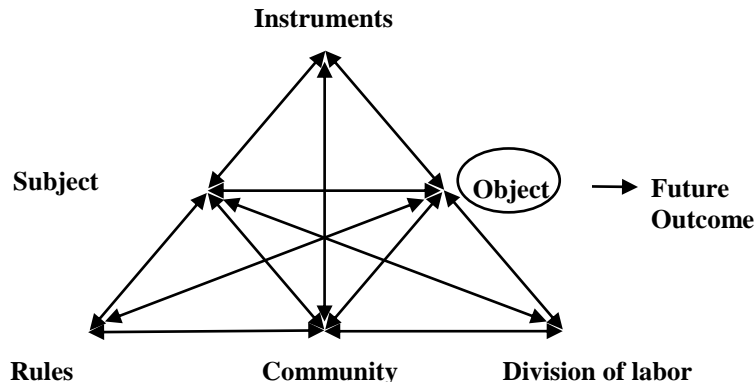


Figure 03. Activity system based on Engeström (1987, 1999, 2001).

As is apparent in Figure 03, the top portion of the triangle is the same as Vygotsky's (1978) initial triangle of subject interacting with an object with a mediating tool. The projected future outcome refers to the underlying motive of the activity. The additional lower triangles contextually situate the activity. The rules "refer to the explicit and implicit regulations, norms and conventions that constrain actions and interactions" (Engeström, 1993, p. 67). The community "comprises multiple individuals and/or subgroups who share the same general objects" (p. 67). The division of labor "refers to both the horizontal division of tasks between the members of the community and to the vertical division of power and status" (p. 67). Cross (2010) reminds us that as part of a genetic analysis "[i]t needs to be recognized that each instance of concrete activity that is observable in the present ... takes place at the microgenetic level and thus only comprises one aspect of the [genetic] analysis from the whole" (p. 440). This underscores that each component of any activity system has its own history, for example, the teacher and her ontogenetic development, and the activity system is formed and exists as part of a society's

cultural-historic development and may be subject to macro-level influences. Moreover, activity systems and their interrelated components may be influenced by other activity systems.

Lastly, activity systems are sites of tensions and contradictions which may serve to disrupt and alter the internal components or even the activity system as a whole. Engeström (1987) identified four types of contradictions or tensions that may occur in activity. Inner contradictions are tensions within a specific component of an activity system, for example, within the subject or object of the activity. Cross's (2010) discussion highlights a within subject contradiction. The teacher-subject experienced contradictions between his formal language teacher preparation and his own language learning experiences in relation to the broader cultural-historic domain. The teacher felt that his language teacher education was not applicable to his current teaching practice and felt that he had to rely more on his prior language learning experiences to teach in his context.

Within the activity system, contradictions or tensions may occur between components. E. Kim (2008) found contradictions between one of the teacher-subjects and one of the mediating tools, the textbook. In this case, the teacher found that the communicative tasks in the textbook were inadequate and mechanical. As a result, to resolve this tension, the teacher spent numerous hours creating communicative tasks at home.

Tensions may also occur between activity systems. For example, in Ahn (2009) there were contradictions between the teachers' pre-service instructional activity system and the activity system which brought in curricular reforms, namely to teach English in English. The Korean government reforms contradicted the teacher's beliefs that were based on her prior

English learning experiences. In this case, as a result of her beliefs and as a response to the way students reacted to her use of English, she resisted the government reforms and continued to use Korean in the classroom.

Lastly, contradictions may occur between a central activity system and a neighbouring activity system. An example of such a contradiction occurred with Mi-ra a teacher-subject in E. Kim (2008). In her case, there was a contradiction between the teacher education program activity system and the instructional activity system. The teacher felt that what she learned was irrelevant to her activity system, and as a result, she rejected the course content of the teacher education program.

The use of Vygotsky's genetic analysis and activity theory in turn allows for a comprehensive unified framework for the analysis of teachers' beliefs surrounding their cross-linguistic and other practices. Moreover, this theoretical framework is amenable to complementary theoretical frameworks which aid in the understanding of teachers' cognition and practice. The complementary theories and research as related to this study are discussed below.

## **2.2 Translanguaging and the Emergent Bilingual**

This study approaches the understanding of NESTs and their cross-linguistic practices from the perspective of translanguaging (García, 2009a). Translanguaging research has primarily focused on minority language learners in second language and heritage language contexts (e.g. Creese & Blackledge, 2015; García & Kleyn, 2016; García & Lin, 2017a), and researchers have advocated for translanguaging as a pedagogical approach in bilingual education (Canagarajah, 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Kleyn, 2016; García & Wei, 2014;



Stille, Bethke, Bradley-Brown, Giberson, & Hall, 2016) The present study extends these concepts to language teachers teaching EFL in South Korea.

Framing this research through the lens of translanguaging reflects a relatively recent epistemological shift in what has been typically conceptualized as codeswitching. García and Lin (2017b) argue that codeswitching research reflects a view that language users mentally switch linguistic codes when they move from one language to another to create bilingual or multilingual utterances. This view reflects an understanding that bilingual/multilingual speakers' minds consist of two or more separate monolingual systems for each named language (e.g. English and French) that they know and that those linguistic systems, however masterfully or closely deployed, do not overlap or interact with each other (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015, p. 282).

Translanguaging, however, views the minds and linguistic practices of bilinguals “as being always heteroglossic (see Bakhtin, 1981; Bailey, 2007), always dynamic, responding not to two [or more] monolingualisms in one but to one integrated linguistic system” (García & Lin, 2017a, p. 120). Rather than viewing language users' minds as consisting of separate languages like English or Korean or a variety of a language, language users' linguistic repertoires “consist of ordered and categorized lexical features” (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 289). Thus, in the mind of the speaker, there is only one linguistic system consisting of lexical features from the diverse languages that they know.

Viewing language use from a translanguaging perspective has implications for how one views language learners and the language learning process. García (2009a) has argued that

language learners be referred to as emergent bilinguals. In García's (2017) view, emergent bilinguals are moving along a continuum where they

are acquiring features that are said to socially belong to another named language, but that they must appropriate as their own into their unitary language system. Emergent bilinguals in language education programs are also learning which features are appropriate to use when and with whom, so that they can engage in different acts of suppression or activation depending on the social interaction in which they are engaged. (p. 9)

Moreover, as argued by García (2017) the emergent status is perpetual since even after learners have stopped formally learning languages, they will continue to develop and expand their linguistic repertoires as they translanguage throughout their lives.<sup>2</sup>

From the perspective of the emergent bilingual, the goal of language learning is the ability to translanguage appropriately in social interactions. From this perspective then, emergent bilinguals,<sup>3</sup> from the onset of their language learning, are successful as they increasingly deploy their linguistic repertoires that consist of features and structures from all of the languages that they know and are learning. This view of language learners as emergent bilinguals further aims to destigmatize learners' translanguaging by treating emergent bilingual's

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<sup>2</sup> García does not discuss conditions such as in an EFL context whereby a learner may learn a language formally for a number of years then cease to use that language for the rest of their lives. In this case, the learner may be suppressing the features of English in their interactions. However if they were to utter a single English feature or even receptively deploy the language by listening to English, one could argue that they are no longer suppressing the English feature and could potentially be expanding their linguistic repertoires as they socially deploy the English feature and thus continue to be an emergent bilingual.

<sup>3</sup> Bilingual here is used as an umbrella term referring to users of two or more languages.

cross-linguistic utterances as a normative practice, consistent with how bilinguals translanguage at home or in their communities.

In addition to recognizing important shifts in bilingual education and the inherent need to view language users from a position of possibility rather than deficit, framing the analysis of teachers' linguistic practices through the lens of translanguage and the participants as emergent bilinguals rejects essentialist assumptions that attempt to restrict who may legitimately teach bilingually. Some researchers have made claims as to who may teach bilingually and that bilingual teaching practices are reserved for teachers who have reached a certain threshold in their learners' L1. Macaro, whose publications are very supportive of cross-linguistic teaching practices and the incorporation of learners' L1s in language teaching (e.g. Macaro, 1997; 2001, 2005, 2009), argues that cross-linguistic practices are limited to whom he defines as a 'bilingual teacher' that has reached a certain level of proficiency.

[T]he teacher may not necessarily share the same L1 as the learners (i.e. they will not be of the same nationality), he/she will be as competent in the learners' L1 as they are in the language that they are learning (usually the teachers' native language). This is therefore a different context from the one which the monolingual native speaker (usually English) operates in... For this reason I will use the term *monolingual teacher* and *bilingual teacher* rather than *native speaker* and *non-native speaker*. (2005, p. 64 italics in original)

He then adds "codeswitching, by definition, *is only available to the bilingual teacher*" (p.64, italics added). In a different article, Macaro and Lee (2013) make sweeping generalizations about NEST's in South Korea as they claim "from our knowledge of the context [Korea], we can assert with confidence that most NESTs do not speak sufficient Korean to be able to use it

effectively as a tool with learners” (p.719). Thus, based on Macaro (2005), and Macaro and Lee’s (2013) arguments, there is an underlying view that emergent bilingual teachers or teachers who learn aspects of their learners’ L1 specifically for the classroom are to be excluded from bilingual teaching research.

This dissertation rejects the premise that language teachers must reach a certain proficiency in order to use their learners’ L1s in the classroom. This threshold perspective is monoglossic in that it reflects a native speaker norm where the teachers have to be experts in both languages in order for their cross-linguistic contributions to be respected. Rather, by viewing language teachers as emergent bilinguals, their use of their language repertoires, which is inclusive of the features and structures of two or more languages, should be respected and encouraged as an effective pedagogical practice.

This study, following translanguaging, extends the notion of the emergent bilingual in the analysis of NESTs’ linguistic practices as a means to better theorize the participants as subjects in activity. The participants are conceptualized as emergent bilinguals who are all at various stages of learning the features and structures of Korean and, to varying extents, make use of their expanding linguistic repertoires.

### **2.3 Language Teacher Identity and Emotion in Activity**

Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, and Johnson (2005) argue that

in order to understand language teaching and learning we need to understand teachers;  
and in order to understand teachers, we need to have a clearer sense of who they are: the

professional, cultural, political, and individual identities which they claim or which are assigned to them (p. 22)

As discussed above, the instructors in this study are all emergent bilinguals with varying proficiencies in the Korean language. Thus, it is important to consider the notion of the emergent bilingual identity and how it shapes and is shaped by the activity of teaching. Identity in this study is conceptualized through the lens of identity-in-activity (Cross, 2006; Cross & Gearon, 2007; Dang, 2013). Additionally, as is revealed in the analysis, two of the participants (see Tom, section 5.2.2.4.2 and Ted, section 6.2.2.4.2) use their emergent bilingual identity positions as a pedagogical tool, which aligns with Morgan's (2004) work on teacher identity as pedagogy.

This study also considers the role of emotion in language teaching and learning (Benesch, 2016; Imai, 2010) that is increasingly being viewed from an SCT perspective (Golombek, 2015; Golombek & Doran, 2014; Golombek & Johnson, 2004; K. Johnson & Worden, 2014). Emotions are viewed through the lens of activity (Dang, 2013), primarily surrounding the tensions that become apparent in the microgenetic analyses.

## **2.4 Defining Language Teachers' Beliefs**

While there has been a significant amount of research on teacher beliefs, a consistent definition of the term or even consistent use of the term has been lacking (e.g. Arnett & Turnbull, 2007; S. Borg, 2003, 2006; Pajares, 1992; S. Y. Song, 2014). As Pajares' (1992) review highlights, the same construct has been defined using numerous terms including:

attitudes, values, judgments, axioms, opinions, ideology, perceptions, conceptions, conceptual systems, preconceptions, dispositions, implicit theories, explicit theories, personal theories, internal mental processes, action strategies, rules of practice, practical principles, perspectives, repertoires of understanding, and social strategy (p. 309).

M. Borg (2001, p. 186) has outlined four common features of beliefs which I have summarized and added to below:

1. Beliefs have a truth element, where the belief is a proposition which is accepted as true to the holder. Additionally, the individual may hold beliefs that are different or conflict with beliefs held by others or even their own beliefs.
2. Beliefs influence peoples' thinking and behaviour. Researchers have argued that language teachers' beliefs, and by extension beliefs about the L1, influence teachers' practice (K. Johnson, 1994; Kennedy & Kennedy, 1996; Pajares, 1992). In the case of language teachers, what they believe to be true (e.g., what they believe to be an effective or conversely an ineffective teaching practice) may influence how they conduct their classes (e.g. Corcoran, 2008; Erkmen, 2010; K. Johnson, 1999; Pajares, 1992; Phipps & Borg, 2009)
3. Individuals may hold both conscious and unconscious beliefs. For example, a teacher may explicitly state that they believe that a communicative approach may be the best way to teach EFL. Yet, they may not be consciously aware that they hold beliefs that those classes are best taught monolingually.
4. Beliefs have an evaluative and affective aspect which, as Nespor (1987) argues, leads to value judgements. This may be the case where teachers view a particular teaching methodology as better than another.

In this study, following M. Borg (2001), a belief is defined as: “a proposition which may be consciously or unconsciously held, is evaluative in that it is accepted as true by the individual, and is therefore imbued with emotive commitment; further, it serves as a guide to thought and behaviour” (p. 186).

## **2.5 Framing Teachers' Beliefs: To Include or Exclude the L1 from Language Classes**

Researchers have attempted to frame teachers' beliefs surrounding the inclusion of the L1 in their classes (Levine, 2013; Macaro, 2000, 2001). Macaro (2000, 2001) argues that teachers may take one of three positions toward L1 use: the virtual, maximal and optimal positions. First, the total exclusion or virtual position treats the learning of a TL the same as learning a TL in the TL-speaking country. Thus, it is a belief that classes should be taught exclusively through the TL and holds that the L1 offers no pedagogical value in TL acquisition. In essence, the classroom is a virtual reproduction of a monolingual TL context, and, as long as the teacher is competent enough, the L1 may be excluded. The maximal position reflects a belief that "there is no pedagogical value in L1 use. However perfect teaching and learning conditions do not exist and therefore teachers may have to resort to the L1" (Macaro, 2001, p. 535). Macaro (2000) further adds that "teachers may feel guilty if recourse to L1 occurs but may not be able to identify the reasons for that guilt" (p. 172). Lastly, the optimal use orientation sees that

there is some pedagogical value in L1 use. Some aspects of learning may actually be enhanced by use of the L1. There should therefore be a constant exploration of pedagogical principles regarding whether and in what ways the L1 should be used. (Macaro, 2000, p. 535)

Additionally, "teachers may feel guilty about recourse to L1 but can analyze those feelings of guilt against a theoretical framework" (Macaro, 2000, p.172). Macaro's orientations not only provide a framework for considering teachers' beliefs toward the use of the L1, the maximal and optimal positions also offer a way to think about the construct of guilt surrounding the use of the L1.



The notion of guilt has been further used by Copland and Neokleous (2010) in an attempt to reconcile contradictions and conflicts between teachers' cognitions, attitudes and beliefs, and their practice. The authors found that all four teachers in their study used the L1 for numerous functions, yet the teachers also held beliefs that the L1 impedes student learning. The authors in turn argue, citing Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2005), that the teachers hold the principle that learners' L1 should be avoided in the classroom. Thus, if the teachers see no pedagogical value in the use of the L1 and that their use of the L1 could be detrimental to student learning, then, their incorporation of the L1 may lead to feelings of guilt. Moreover, accounting for differences in the amount of the L1 reported by the teachers and the amount actually used in their classes, the authors argue that if the teachers were to admit they were using the L1 more accurately, they may in turn "admit incompetence, and perhaps more damningly, would challenge their personal philosophies of learning and teaching" (p. 9). While Copland and Neoklaus (2010) do not refer to Macaro's orientations, these teachers reflect what Macaro (2001) has termed the maximal position. In addition, although not elaborated or discussed, Copland and Neoklaus's arguments further draw the reader to the notion of teacher identity and the conflicts that may occur between a teacher's conceptualization of 'good teaching' and their actual teaching practices.

Macaro's orientations are enlightening although they appear to overlook positions that may be taken by teachers who are not as reflective as the teachers in his study. For example, teachers who view the L1 as a valuable tool and use it intuitively without limitation or feelings of guilt, may not fit into the three orientations. Moreover, the three orientations appear to be static and may not take into account teachers whose orientations change based on contextual factors such as different task types or student proficiency. In another example, one of the teachers in

Macaro (2001) who reflected a maximal position felt that she was deficient as a teacher when she struggled to make her students understand her French instructions; however, when she used the L1 for discipline, this use of the L1 was acceptable. Thus, in this light, teachers may hold multiple orientations and may feel guilty for the use of the L1 in one case but not in another.

In a more recent publication, Levine (2013) argues that teachers, rather than holding a static orientation toward the use of the L1, may instead hold positions which are fluid based on a continuum as seen in Figure 04:



Figure 04. Fluid conceptualization of beliefs based on Levine (2013).

Levine argues that teachers may hold varying perspectives on a continuum where on the one end L1 use is stigmatized and teachers will prohibit its use by students and the teachers will avoid its use in favour of a TL-only environment. This view is similar to Macaro's (2001) virtual orientation. At the opposite end is an open-ended view of the L1, where teachers use the L1 and students are permitted to use the L1, although there may be some limitations to its use (e.g., limiting the L1 to certain tasks, teachers may use decreasing amounts of the L1 as a course progresses). In between the end points of the continuum lie views synonymous with Macaro's maximal position where teachers may view the L1 as something that should be avoided although they may not always abide by or enforce this perspective. Macaro's optimal position in turn falls closer to the open-ended L1 use perspective. By framing teachers' beliefs on a continuum, beliefs can be recognized as being fluid and changing along with their classroom-based realities.

The construct of guilt, however, is not addressed by Levine (2013), which is a potential limitation given that guilt is being recognized as an influence on teacher practice.

The construct of guilt also appears to be too specific to account for the wide range of teachers' emotions. For example, Probyn (2001, 2009) notes that the teachers in her study used the L1, Xhosa, for diverse functions; however, this use of the L1 was stigmatized in the South African context as the history teacher in the study commented "the vernacular [Xhosa] has to be smuggled in" (2001, p.265). Probyn (2001) notes that this stigmatization of the L1 is a source of guilt for teachers and leads to teachers hiding their bilingual practices. The teachers typically reverted to teaching their classes monolingually in English when they were being observed by an administrator. Thus, some teachers may experience feelings of guilt; however, some teachers may also experience other emotions such as anger or frustration with administrators and policy makers. Trent (2013), for example, argues that restrictive MOI policies in Hong Kong could lead to teachers viewing administrators as the 'enemy' (see section 2.9.2). Thus, while I do not argue that guilt is a consequence of the conflicts or contradictions between teachers' beliefs, MOI policies and practices, it is also important not to limit research to a specific emotional construct. Rather, one needs to recognize that the use of the L1 is a practice surrounded by contradictions and tensions that may evoke a variety of emotions inclusive of guilt.

## **2.6 English-only Ideologies: The Darkness Overshadowing ELT**

In many contexts, language teaching is often surrounded by ideologies on how languages are best taught and learned; namely, ideologies that view language teaching as a practice that is best taught monolingually and that languages are best taught by a native speaker of the language being taught. Auerbach (1993), focusing on teaching English to adults in the United States, has argued that the notion of an English-only methodology has roots in an underlying language ideology that reflects a monolingual bias, reproduces dominant power structures, and has resulted in empirically unproven convictions that it is the right way to teach. Auerbach's critiques of English-only instruction draw heavily on Phillipson's (1992) five fallacies that, he argues, underlie ELT methodologies:

- 1) English is best taught monolingually (the monolingual fallacy);
  - 2) The ideal English language teacher is a native speaker (native speaker fallacy)
  - 3) The earlier English is taught, the better the results (early start fallacy)
  - 4) The more English is taught, the better the results (maximum exposure fallacy)
  - 5) If other languages are used too much, English standards will drop (subtractive fallacy)
- (p. 185)

While all of Phillipson's tenets are reflected in the South Korean EFL teaching context, of most importance to this research is the monolingual fallacy and the native speaker fallacy.

Phillipson's (1992) monolingual fallacy echoes Howatt's (1984) 'monolingual principle', which is the belief that languages should be taught solely through the TL at the exclusion of the learners' L1. Cummins (2007) argues that the monolingual principle reflects three unproven assumptions. First, taking 'the direct method assumption', languages are best taught solely

through the use of the TL and teachers should feel deficient for any L1 use. Second, in adopting a ‘no translation assumption’ instruction is to be conducted solely through the L1, and translation should not be a part of proper language teaching. The third assumption stems from Lambert and Tucker’s (1972) study of a French immersion program in Canada where they argue that French and English should be taught monolingually and separately. This has led to the ‘two solitudes assumption’ that assumes that the TL should be the only language used in the TL classroom, and the teacher should act as a monolingual model in the TL.

These assumptions have led to language methodologies, policies and practices that seek to ban the learners’ L1s from the classroom in favour of teaching exclusively through the TL. Cook (2001, p. 404) argues that most theoretical discussions of teaching methodologies have either directed teachers to avoid using the L1 such as the direct method; explicitly called for its avoidance as in audiolingualism; or in other cases the L1 is not part of the discussion such as in communicative language teaching (CLT) and task-based language teaching (TBLT). Although the L1 is typically not mentioned in approaches like CLT or TBLT, the underlying ideology that languages should be taught monolingually is still present. Since the methodologies do not accommodate the L1, there is then an implicit assumption that the L1 should be avoided. In the South Korean context, these assumptions underlie the government language education and MOI policies that mandate that all elementary and secondary school EFL classes be taught monolingually through English. The view also leads to a preference for NESTs following a belief that they are superior English teachers.

The native speaker fallacy is a theoretically unproven ideological belief that a native speaker, by virtue of being a native speaker of a language, is the ideal language model and

teacher. This ideology can lead to discrimination in hiring practices where untrained NESTs may be hired in the place of qualified non-native English speaking teachers such as in the United States (Mahboob, Unrig, Newman, & Hartford, 2004) and in the United Kingdom (Clark & Paran, 2007). This belief can also be seen in students' attitudes preferring native-TL speaking teachers (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2002; Todd & Pojanapunya, 2009). Korea is no exception to the native speaker fallacy particularly with regard to hiring practices favouring NESTs (see Cultural-Historic Analysis, Chapter 4).

## **2.7 The Functions of Cross-linguistic Classroom-based Discourse**

In order to situate this study investigating NESTs' cross-linguistic teaching practices, the research investigating bilingual teachers' use of their students' L1s is reviewed. It is important to note that none of the studies reviewed follow a translanguaging framework; rather, they are primarily based on codeswitching which, as discussed above, has a different underlying epistemology. The research, however, is still significant as it shows how teachers use their linguistic repertoires to achieve numerous classroom functions.

The research on teachers' cross-linguistic practices is extensive as may be seen by the number of review articles published on the topic reflecting diverse educational contexts (Ferguson, 2003; Hall & Cook, 2012; Lin, 2008, 2013; Littlewood & Yu, 2011; M. Turnbull & Arnett, 2002). M. Turnbull and Arnett's (2002) review looks at the use of learners' L1s in second and foreign language classes; Littlewood and Yu (2011) focus on foreign language classrooms; Ferguson (2003) and Lin (2008, 2013) highlight content-based classes where the TL

is the MOI; and Hall and Cook (2012) review a variety of classroom contexts in addition to showing that the use of learners' L1s in the classroom is a global practice.

The majority of the studies reviewed by Ferguson (2003), Littlewood and Yu (2011), M. Turnbull and Arnett (2002), Lin (2008, 2013), and Hall and Cook (2012) investigate non-native TL-speaking teachers who have a common L1 with their students. These studies primarily focus on non-native English-speaking language teachers and teachers of content-based English as medium of instruction (EMI) classes, as well as non-native French-speaking teachers. To a lesser extent, some of the reviewed studies focus on native speaking teachers of LOTE who do not share a common L1 as their students. The articles reveal that there are similarities across studies regarding the functions served by teachers' use of their learners' L1s and these functions may in turn be generalized into broader functional categories as argued by Ferguson (2003).

Ferguson (2003) conducted an analysis of thirteen different studies that looked at the functions of code-switching in elementary and secondary schools in post-colonial contexts. The studies analyzed non-native English-speaking teachers' use of their L1, which is the same as their students, to teach English language classes as well as content classes where English is the MOI (Arthur, 1994, 1996; Camilleri, 1996; Canagarajah, 1995; R. Johnson, 1983; R. Johnson & Lee, 1987; Lin, 1996; Martin, 1999; Merritt, Cleghorn, Abagi, & Bunyi, 1992; Pennington, 1995). In addition, two of the studies (Ndayipfukamiye, 1994, 1996) looked at non-native French speaking teachers who used their L1 to teach French medium content classes. Based on his analysis, Ferguson (2003) argues that classroom codeswitching, where a teacher switches from the TL to their learners' L1, can be categorized into three general categories: curriculum access, classroom management, and interpersonal relations. Curriculum access refers to the use of

learners' L1s "to help students understand the subject matter of their lesson" (p.39). Classroom management functions serve to "to motivate, discipline and praise pupils and to signal a change of footing" (p. 39). Lastly, interpersonal relations functions aim to "to humanise the affective climate of the classroom and to negotiate different identities" (p. 39). Ferguson's taxonomy is used to frame the review of the research on how bilingual teachers' use their learners' L1s in the classroom.

### **2.7.1 Non-native Target Language Speaking Teachers' Use of their Learners' L1**

The aim of this section is to provide readers with an overview of how teachers use their learners' L1s in their teaching practices across diverse educational contexts through Ferguson's (2003) typology. The studies reviewed below are those that analyzed actual classroom data where the researchers attended the classes and took notes or the lessons were video or audio recorded for subsequent analysis.

**2.7.1.1 Curriculum access.** Curriculum access is in essence a teacher's use of their learners' L1 surrounding course content and it helps to ensure that their students have access to the course content regardless of their proficiency in the TL. Research shows that teachers frequently use the L1 for vocabulary instruction, to explain grammar, as well as to explain course content and check student comprehension (Adendorff, 1993; Copland & Neokleous, 2010; Edstrom, 2006; Gearon, 2006; Lin, 1996; Liu, Ahn, Baek, & Han, 2004; Macaro, 2009; McGaughey, 2010; Nagy & Robertson, 2009). For example, Macaro (2009) reports on two different research projects where non-native English-speaking teachers used Chinese to teach vocabulary by providing L1 equivalents and elaborations for new vocabulary. In the South



Korean context, the non-native English-speaking secondary school teachers in Liu et al. (2004) used Korean for numerous curriculum access functions including grammar and vocabulary instruction, to provide background information to the lesson and to highlight important course content.

**2.7.1.2 Classroom management.** Classroom management is non-course content use of a learner's L1 that aims to shape student behaviour such as to discipline or to encourage students to participate. Ferguson (2003) further adds that “[i]t may also demarcate talk about the lesson content from what we may refer to as the management of pupil learning; that is, negotiating task instructions, inviting pupil contributions, disciplining pupils, specifying a particular addressee, and so on” (p. 42). Research shows that teachers use the L1 to focus students' attention, to change classroom activities and give task directions as well as to discipline, praise and encourage students (Canagarajah, 1995; D. Kang, 2008; Lin, 1996; Liu et al., 2004; McGaughey, 2010; Merritt et al., 1992; Qian, Tian, & Wang, 2009; Skerritt, 2004). For example, Lin's (1996) analysis of English-speaking teachers in an English as a second language (ESL) class in Hong Kong shows how the act of switching to the L1 is a change of footing (Goffman, 1974) where the teacher moves from teaching in English to disciplining in the L1. The teacher in Kang (2008) used Korean, her and her learners' L1, exclusively for classroom management functions including task instructions and to discipline students.

**2.7.1.3 Interpersonal relations.** Interpersonal relations functions aim to “to humanise the affective climate of the classroom and to negotiate different identities” (Ferguson, 2003, p. 39). For example, teachers use the L1 in order to reduce the perceived social distance between the students and teachers (R. Johnson, 1983; R. Johnson & Lee, 1987; McGaughey, 2010;

Pennington, 1995) or to negotiate teacher identities (Camilleri, 1996; Lin, 1996; Simon, 2001). For example, the teachers in Camilleri (1996) used a combination of English and the L1, Maltese, to construct their professional identities. The use of English allowed them to construct an educated professional identity while, at the same time, the use of Maltese allowed them to maintain a Maltese identity. Moreover, through the use of the two languages, the teachers avoided being seen as too purist which is associated with speaking only Maltese, or too snobbish which is associated with speaking only English (p. 102).

**2.7.1.4 Multifunctionality of cross-linguistic practices.** Ferguson's (2003) taxonomy provides an effective lens to focus on the classroom functions of teachers' use of their L1s. However, it is important to recognize that cross-linguistic utterances may simultaneously serve multiple functions. For example, praising a student in the L1 may serve a classroom management function while at the same time, depending on the classroom context, it may also reduce the perceived distance between students and teachers serving an interpersonal relations function. This is not necessarily a problem, but rather a reminder of the multiple functions that a single utterance may have. Simon's (2001) study provides an excellent example of the multiple functionality of bilingual utterances and how this may occur due to learners' and teachers' sharing a common culture and language. Simon (2001) investigated Thai teachers of French in Thailand and argues that due to the Thai teachers and students sharing a common language and culture, the teachers' recourse to Thai can serve to encourage students to cooperate which "... not only achieves instant proximity with the pupils, but expresses a dimension of teacher status in Thai society, that of being the *friend* and helper of pupils in a master-disciple relationship" (p. 340, italics in original). Thus, one utterance in the L1 may serve multiple functions. It may first

serve a classroom management function to encourage students. It may also serve interpersonal relations functions due to the students and teachers sharing the same L1 that is embedded with Thai culture, meaning and customs. The use of the L1 allows the teacher to negotiate additional identity positions and, relatedly, this identity negotiation may reduce the perceived distance between teachers and students.

Further examples of the multi-functionality of the L1 and how culture is tied to language may be seen in Camilleri (1996) and Lin (1996). In Camilleri (1996), the teachers' use of Maltese and English serves an interpersonal function and its use also serves classroom management and curriculum access functions. The teachers in Lin (1996) alternated between the L1 and TL to signal a change in the role-relationship between students and the teacher where the switch from English to Cantonese is indicative of a more friend-like role-relationship while the switch back to English reverts back to the teacher-student role-relationship (p.113); yet, at the same time, these linguistic switches also serve classroom management functions.

The research investigating non-native TL-speaking teachers' cross-linguistic practices that incorporate their and their students' L1 in the activity of teaching shows that the practice is prevalent across different language education contexts and serves multiple functions in the classroom. Furthermore, on the basis of teachers sharing a common L1 and culture with their students, teachers appear to have numerous interpersonal functions available to them through the use of the L1 such as being able to negotiate different identity positions that are invoked by utilizing a culturally embedded mutual L1.

### **2.7.2 Native Target Language Speaking Teachers' Use of their Learners' First Languages**

As discussed above, there is extensive research investigating non-native TL-speaking teachers' cross-linguistic practices. Research investigating native TL-speaking teachers, especially NESTs is scarce. Below, this research is reviewed by first focusing on native TL-speaking teachers of LOTE followed by the research on NESTs.

**2.7.2.1 Teachers of LOTE.** Multiple studies have investigated teachers of LOTE who are native speakers of the TL and their use of their students' L1 which is the teachers' second language (Duff & Polio, 1990; Flyman-Mattsson & Burenhult, 2009; S. Kim & Elder, 2008; Moore, 2002; Polio & Duff, 1994; Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie, 2002). The findings from this group of studies show that teachers use their learners' L1 for curriculum access and classroom management functions much like non-native TL-speaking teachers. Polio and Duff (1994) found that instructors used the L1 for curriculum access functions relating to grammar and vocabulary instruction, classroom management discourse including task instructions, and interpersonal relations where the teachers indexed a stance of empathy or showed solidarity with their students. Notably, as also found in Moore (2002), the authors found that some of their teachers practiced speaking their students' L1 with their students. In these cases, the students taught the teachers a word or term that had come up in the lesson. Polio and Duff (1994) note that this could be "another manifestation of solidarity as both teachers and students share the role of FL [foreign language] learners" (p. 318). This observation is noteworthy since it applies to teachers who do not share a common L1 with their students much like the participants in this dissertation.

**2.7.2.2 Teachers of English as a second/foreign language.** As noted by de Oliveira, Gilmetdinova, and Pelaez-Morales (2016), research investigating NESTs using their students' L1,

which is the teacher's second or foreign language, is scarce. In cases where a NEST has been the subject of investigation, they are typically highly proficient, if not fluent, in their students' L1.

Forman (2007) investigated a NEST and his nativelike use of Thai with lower English proficiency students in an adult ESL class in Thailand. Through the analysis of a single classroom dialogue between the teacher and students, Forman argues that the teacher's use of Thai allows the teacher to draw upon his students' cultural knowledge to help understand the meaning of the TL vocabulary. This study shows, then, that Thai may be used for curriculum access functions, and it also reveals how the teachers' extensive knowledge of Thai language and culture allowed him to build on his students' cultural resources.

Research on NESTs who are emergent bilinguals in their learners' L1 is limited. S. Cole (1998) and de Oliveira et al. (2016), however, are rare exceptions to this gap in the research. S. Cole (1998) advocates for the incorporation of his learners' L1 in EFL classes in Japan. While the article does not provide an analysis or present actual classroom data, the author provides a list of Japanese terms and phrases that English teachers in Japan may use in their classrooms. The phrase list is focused on administrative vocabulary, grammatical metalanguage, and classroom language such as language to call for a Japanese or English equivalent and a few classroom instructions. His phrase list is not exhaustive but it does hint at how the author himself uses Japanese in his classes. Moreover, the functions of the phrase list are consistent with curriculum access and classroom management discourse functions.

In a more recent study, de Oliveira et al. (2016) looked at how a native English-speaking kindergarten teacher acquired and used Spanish. This study appears to be the only published

study that investigated a NEST who is a beginner learner of her students' L1 and is able to incorporate limited amounts of Spanish to assist the English language learners in her class. While the context is not specifically an EFL or ESL class, the study shows how the teacher is able to deploy Spanish for curriculum access - where she uses Spanish to highlight important content, to help her students comprehend the course content; to manage the classroom – where she makes sure her students understand the classroom instructions and to motivate students; and for interpersonal relations where she tries to relate to her students. The significance of this research is that it reveals how a teacher who is limited in the proficiency of a learners' L1 is still able to use this emerging resource to serve many of the same functions as bilingual teachers who share the same L1 as their students.

As for the South Korean context, research that has explicitly focused on NESTs' use of Korean is absent. The research, in most cases, refers to instances of team teaching where NESTs teach their classes monolingually through English and their Korean colleagues teach monolingually in English (Carless, 2006), or cross-linguistically with the Korean teacher speaking Korean and English and the NEST speaking English (Huh & Lee, 2014). Thus, at the time that this literature review was conducted, there were no studies revealing NESTs' use of Korean in the Korean classroom, a gap that this dissertation addresses.

## **2.8 Teachers' Reported Use and Rationale for Using the L1**

A further area of investigation has looked at why teachers use the L1, with the focus on teachers' reported use of the L1 and their rationale for its use. This research has been categorized following Ferguson's (2003) taxonomy and is discussed accordingly below. It should once again be noted, that teachers who share a common L1 with their students make up the bulk of this research. Studies of native TL-speaking teachers who do not share their learners' L1, especially studies involving NESTs, are rare.

### **2.8.1 Curriculum Access**

The research reveals that teachers are primarily concerned with their students learning the course content. This is achieved by using the L1 to explain course content, confirm that students understand the course content, and to ensure that students are able to engage with the course content. The studies reviewed below also show that teachers' use of the L1 for curriculum access may vary based on the type of task and teachers' perceptions of students.

Teachers report that they use the L1 to explain course vocabulary, grammar, as well as content surrounding the language being taught in addition to confirming that the students have understood this course content. Numerous studies reveal that teachers report using the L1 to teach TL grammar and vocabulary and to confirm that their students understand the lesson content (Butzkamm, 2003; Copland & Neokleous, 2010; Crawford, 2004; Duff & Polio, 1990; Forman, 2010; S. Kim & Elder, 2008; Liu et al., 2004; McMillan & Rivers, 2011; Polio & Duff, 1994; Samar & Moradkhani, 2014). Teachers further report that the L1 allows them to cover the requisite course material, and presumably in such a way that students understand and learn, in a

limited amount of time (Copland & Neokleous, 2010; Forman, 2010; S. Kim & Elder, 2008; Liu et al., 2004; Samar & Moradkhani, 2014).

As may be expected, teachers report using the L1 differently across teaching tasks or TL (Duff & Polio, 1990; S. Kim & Elder, 2008; Levine, 2003; Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie, 2002; Samar & Moradkhani, 2014). For example, Duff and Polio (1990) and Levine (2003) found that the teachers in their studies report using the L1 more frequently to teach grammar than for communicative tasks. S. Kim and Elder (2008) found that the reported amount of the L1 used by the two teachers in their study varied greatly with the Korean teacher using significantly more of the L1 than the French teacher. The authors connect this discrepancy to the teachers' experiences as language learners, the teachers' perceptions of their English abilities, and the relative value that the teachers place on the language being taught in New Zealand.

In addition to the influence of task type, teachers also reported using differing amounts of the L1 based on their perception of their students' TL proficiency with the L1 being used more frequently with lower proficiency students (Forman, 2010; D. Kang, 2008; S. Kim & Elder, 2008; Liu et al., 2004; McMillan & Rivers, 2011; Samar & Moradkhani, 2014). Teachers also vary their use of the L1 depending on their students' physical and emotional well-being (Forman, 2010; Hobbs, Matsuo, & Payne, 2010; S. Kim & Elder, 2008). In Forman (2010), one of the teachers increased the amount of the L1, Thai, based on her perception of her students' being uncomfortable and tired due to the weather conditions (p. 76). The Korean teacher in S. Kim and Elder (2008) was sensitive to the amount of TL that he used with his students and would increase his use of the L1, English, to avoid overburdening his students. Lastly, some teachers reported



avoiding the L1 based on their perception that their students want TL-only classes (McMillan and Rivers, 2011).

### **2.8.2 Classroom Management Discourse**

Teachers report using the L1 for functions aligned with classroom management, mainly for providing or clarifying instructions or procedural information (Copland & Neokleous, 2010; De La Campa & Nassaji, 2009; Hobbs et al., 2010; Liu et al., 2004; Macaro, 2001; McMillan & Rivers, 2011). In many cases, teachers often refer to time as a justification for using the L1 for instructions (De La Campa & Nassaji, 2009; Hobbs et al., 2010; Macaro, 2001; Nagy & Robertson, 2009). For example, the teachers in Hobbs et al. (2010) felt that instructions were best provided in English, their learners' L1, in a Japanese as a foreign language class to save time. This is similar to a teacher in Macaro (2001) who used the L1 to “keep the flow going” by providing instructions in the L1. Teachers also report that the use of the L1 is an effective means to maintain classroom discipline (D. Kang, 2008; Liu et al., 2004; Macaro, 2001; Nagy & Robertson, 2009; Samar & Moradkhani, 2014) and to encourage student participation and engagement (Liu et al., 2004; Macaro, 2001).

### **2.8.3 Interpersonal Relations**

Teachers, in particular teachers who share a common L1 with their students, report that the use of a shared L1 and culture allows them to show solidarity with their students (Canagarajah, 1995; Forman, 2010; Lin, 1996; Samar & Moradkhani, 2014). Edstrom (2006) explains how she used the L1 due to a ‘moral obligation’ to her students stating “moments when my sense of moral obligation to a student, in this case concern about communicating respect and creating a

positive environment, overrides my belief in maximizing L2 use” (p. 287). The NESTs in McMillan and Rivers (2011) argued that the L1 helped “when the meaning is important or involves students’ personal lives, emotions, etc.” (p.255). Other teachers in the study argued that the L1 was effective for building rapport through humour. In all cases, the teachers’ use of the L1 contributed to improving the affective atmosphere of the classroom although, based on this survey of the research, it does not appear that teachers were as cognizant of, or perhaps researchers were less interested in, their use of the L1 for interpersonal relations when compared to curriculum access and classroom management purposes.

## **2.9 Medium of Instruction Policies and L1 Use: Tensions and Conflict in ELT**

The previous sections reveal how researchers understand teachers’ cross-linguistic practices based on classroom observations and teachers’ rationale for its use through interviews and surveys; yet, the discussion is incomplete. As discussed above (see section 2.6), language teaching is embedded with ideologies including notions that it is best to teach monolingually through the TL, and ideally, that languages should be taught by a native speaker of the TL. This in turn has led to MOI policies that attempt to mandate the language of the classroom. These policies may be macro-level texts produced by national ministries of education or local micro-level instantiations where individual educational institutions attempt to control the MOI. These policies, in many cases, serve as sources of tension and conflict surrounding teachers’ practices and even their identities as language teachers.

### 2.9.1 Macro-level Medium of Instruction Policies

National or provincial/state levels of government typically have a significant role in language education planning, including the establishment of MOI policies that are implemented at the local level. The research on the local implementation of MOI policies reveals that such policies do not consistently reflect the needs of teachers and students. This disconnect between policy and classroom realities, in turn, leads to tensions surrounding teachers, their identities, and their practice (Choi & Andon, 2013; Glasgow, 2014; S. Y. Kim, 2002; Liu et al., 2004; McMillan & Rivers, 2011; Probyn, 2001, 2009). Probyn (2009), in a rural South African context, argues that learners often do not have a high enough English proficiency to be able to participate in EMI classes. There is frequently a gap between the desired school language and what is possible in classroom practice...policy is reshaped and remade as it is enacted at various levels in the system: national policy is reinterpreted at school level according to popular opinion and practical constraints; and reinterpreted again when it is enacted at classroom level; and at each level there is a gap between policy intentions and policy enactment. (pp. 127-128)

Teachers, then, are in a balancing act where their students' parents want their children to learn English, but for the children to understand the course content they need the L1. This results in teachers incorporating the L1 into the classes; however, this use of the L1 is stigmatized, and teachers do not reveal their cross-linguistic practices beyond the walls of the classroom.

Moreover, this conflict between what is required in the classroom and macro-level instantiations of policy is a source of tension and guilt for teachers (Probyn, 2001).

The French teachers in McMillan and Turnbull (2009) either used or excluded the L1 according to their beliefs on how to best teach their students rather than explicitly following a

TL-only policy. Interestingly, the researchers note the influence of important others (Kennedy & Kennedy, 1996) on one of the teachers. For one teacher, his practice of a French-only classroom coincided with the official Ministry of Education MOI policy:

From the early stages of the program [late French immersion], the students must be able to understand French and use it to communicate. It is therefore essential that French be the only language of communication in the classroom. (Atlantic Provinces Education Foundation as translated and cited in McMillan and Turnbull, 2009, p. 15)

However, the teacher reported being pressured by others to increase the amount of the L1 in his classes. Rather than adjusting his teaching practices, he instead transferred to another school where he could continue teaching monolingually in the TL. The authors note that the teacher may have been receiving mixed messages where the ministry guidelines state that the classes should be taught monolingually, while at more local levels, the policy may be more relaxed, creating a space for the L1. The significance of this study is that, like in most of the studies reviewed, tensions in the classroom occur when there is a contradiction between teachers' beliefs and a macro-level MOI policy. In this case, the tensions were due to a micro-level reinterpretation of the policy that was in conflict with the macro-level policy and the teacher's beliefs. In either case, the contradictions may lead to tensions on the part of teachers that may, to varying degrees, influence teachers' practices.

S. Y. Kim (2002) looked at teachers' perceptions of English-only instruction in light of the Korean government's policy mandating that EFL classes be taught monolingually through English. The study found that attitudes toward the policy varied depending on the level of education. Elementary school teachers, on the one hand, were supportive of the English-only

policy and English-only instruction, whereas secondary school teachers saw a disconnect between policy and the demands of the classrooms. The teachers argued that they had to use Korean to adequately teach their students the requisite English grammar and reading that would be on the high-stake Korean university entrance exam

Liu et al. (2004) found that the national Korean curricular guidelines calling for teachers to maximize English in the classroom did not have a consistent influence across teachers. Some teachers felt compelled to maximize their use of the TL while others noted that the policy had no influence on their practice. The authors argue that teachers' beliefs toward effective teaching practices led to teachers either abiding by the policy or not. As an example, two teachers who claimed they were not influenced by the policy also felt that the English-only teaching practices were not beneficial to their students. These conclusions are consistent in a later study by Choi and Andon (2013). Choi and Andon (2013) investigated the impact of a teach English in English (TEE) program in Korea on teachers' implementation of a macro-level English-only MOI policy. The study reveals that regardless of the training which aimed to develop teachers' abilities to teach monolingually in English, three out of the four participants stated they would not change their cross-linguistic practices. The study revealed a disconnect between the policy and classroom realities where the teachers' object of teaching was to prepare students for the university entrance exam. The focus of the national university entrance exam's English section is primarily on English grammatical knowledge, vocabulary and reading, and the teachers did not see English-only as an effective means of teaching the exam content. Thus, the MOI policy was not in line with the teachers' beliefs on how to best prepare the students for the college entrance exam which thus impeded its implementation. Likewise, Glasgow's (2014) paper analyzes the

impact of a recent Japanese government English-only MOI policy for EFL classes in Japanese secondary schools. Glasgow shows that the TL-only policy is vague and, at times, conflicting, regarding how much of the L1 teachers are allowed to use. As Glasgow notes “[t]he *Course of Study* explains teaching methods and course goals recommending that English classes *should be conducted in English* (p. 154, italics in original). While in the same document it notes that teachers should use “*English in accordance with the students’ level of comprehension* [which] may be interpreted as license to use Japanese if the level of comprehension of students is low” (p. 154, italics in original). In turn, the teachers reinterpreted the policy based on their contextual needs which led to the policy not being implemented. In particular, the teachers were influenced by a need to teach to the university entrance exam that was not updated along with the MOI policy. This resulted in “Japanese as the *de facto* language of education as critical in having students fully understand content and advance their studies from one level to the next” (p.157, italics in original).

The study also draws a connection between the policy and the teachers’ non-native English-speaking teacher identities. Two of the three teachers reported conflicts with their English proficiency and having to teach monolingually in English, which in turn necessitated the incorporation of Japanese. The third teacher viewed himself as a “cultural and linguistic mediator [of the TL] in the classroom as a non-native speaker of English” (p. 158), which in turn necessitated and, in his view, legitimated the use of the L1. Thus, the macro-level policies’ reinterpretation at the classroom level was based on teachers’ beliefs on how to effectively teach to the university exam and was further influenced by teachers’ identities as non-native speakers of English. While the findings from the studies discussed above reveal a strong degree of teacher

agency based on the teachers' reinterpretations of macro-level policies so that they are in-line with their beliefs, this is not always the case. One of the pre-service teachers in Macaro (2001) was influenced to a great extent by government policy. Macaro notes that the teacher, in addition to teaching children, also taught adults. The teacher stated that she regularly used the L1 with her adult students; however, when teaching her secondary school students, she strove to teach monolingually in French and felt deficient when she had to use the L1. Macaro argues, based on the teacher's perception of her use of the L1 as a deficiency and her TL-only approach in line with the national curriculum's TL-only policy, that for her "official government statements are more powerful agents than her own beliefs" (p. 541). However, it should be emphasized that the study looked at pre-service teachers and their agency to resist or reject language policies may differ when compared to more experienced teachers.

### **2.9.2 Micro-level Medium of Instruction Policies**

Educational institutions and language departments also attempt to implement micro-level MOI policies that aim to ban the L1. Nevertheless, the implementation of micro-level policies is rarely consistent across teachers and may, much like macro-level policies, become a source of tension (Duff & Polio, 1990; McMillan & Rivers, 2011; Samar & Moradkhani, 2014; Trent, 2013).

Duff and Polio (1990) found that while TL-only policies were prominent in the different university language departments in their study, only three out of thirteen teachers reported that the policy led to them conducting TL-only classes, and those teachers came from departments that explicitly communicated the TL-only policy. McMillan and Rivers' (2011) survey of 29

NESTs at a university in Japan investigated teachers' attitudes surrounding the role of their learners' L1 in light of an institutional English-only MOI policy. The analysis reveals that the teachers held differing views towards the policy with two teachers outright rejecting the policy and teaching cross-linguistically, whereas others followed the policy to varying degrees. Trent's (2013) study sheds light on the influence of MOI policies, teachers' beliefs toward the use of the L1 (see section 2.5) and their colleagues' practices on preservice non-native English-speaking teacher identity construction in Hong Kong. The study reveals how differing interpretations of English-only MOI policies may constrain teachers' available identity positions. For example, at the beginning of the pre-service teaching practicum, two of the instructors were constrained to the identity position of 'follower' in that they felt that they had to abide by the MOI policies in their school even though they held beliefs that the policies did not match the classroom realities that necessitated the use of the L1. Thus, the policies served to constrain the teachers' agency to use the L1. However, the study also revealed the effects of the teacher community where more senior teachers recommended that the instructors take a more flexible approach and include the L1 as necessary, but, at the same time, instructors should also ensure that the school administrators did not learn about this practice.

This interaction with community members, similar to the impact of important others discussed in McMillan and Turnbull (2009), in turn enabled teachers to take a new identity position of 'flexible teacher'. However, this identity position, while creating the space for teachers to incorporate the L1 as needed, was fraught with tension since the teachers felt that they were doing something 'sneaky'. Moreover, one teacher argued that it was as though there were two MOI policies: an English-only policy for the benefit of outside stakeholders such as



administrators and parents, and an inside policy for teachers and students. Trent also identified a third identity position, ‘decision maker’, that teachers were constrained from taking due to the MOI policies. The teachers argued that policies, rather than dictating the MOI should instead put the linguistic choice back into the hands of teachers who are best able to decide what works at a given moment with a given group of students. However, due to the restrictive English-only policy, this identity option was not available to the teachers and, thus they were relegated to taking identity positions that do not align with their beliefs.

## **2.10 Summary**

The research reviewed above reveals that the analysis of teachers’ use of their students’ L1s has grown in complexity and depth over time. Classroom-based observational studies and their analysis by researchers reveal that the L1 is a tool that teachers use to help their students understand the course content, to manage the classroom, and to reduce the affective distance between students and teachers. More in-depth studies began to consider the role of teacher cognition. Research through surveys and interviews, sought to understand what teachers know and think through the analysis of teachers reported use and rationale for their use of the L1. These studies highlight that teachers claim to use the L1 in ways comparable to those found in the observational studies, namely, to teach the course content (e.g., vocabulary and grammar), to manage the classroom and to create a space that supports learning, and to reduce the perceived distance between students and teacher. These studies further reveal that context may lead to the increased use of the L1. These contextual factors include students’ emotional and physical conditions, students’ language proficiency as well as institutional factors such as time constraints.

The research further branched off into the role of teachers’ beliefs and the interaction between

beliefs, MOI policies and the role of teacher identity to show that the use of the L1 is not a benign practice. Rather teachers' beliefs vary from a view that the L1 is detrimental to language learning and should be banned in all forms from the classroom to a view that embraces the L1 and its potential uses in the classroom. Moreover, the research reveals an emotional aspect where some teachers experience emotions such as guilt. The notion of guilt appears connected to contradictions between teachers' practice, their beliefs and macro and micro-level MOI policies which seek to ban the L1 from the classroom. In addition to creating tensions in the minds of teachers, the use of the L1 in light of MOI policies that attempt to ban its use may further serve to limit teachers identity options. Yet, in spite of the tensions, the research reveals that many teachers take agentic actions and are able to resist or reject MOI policies by continuing to use the L1 in their classes although this may have to be done in secret, behind closed classroom doors.

While the research has been extensive and the research has revealed how the use of the L1 is complex and rife with tension, the majority of the studies have focused on teachers who share a common L1 and culture with their students. In the few studies that have investigated teachers who do not share a common L1 and culture with their students, the classroom functions and reported use and rationale are consistent with the curriculum access and classroom management functions. Surrounding the interpersonal relations functions, some of the studies report that teachers use the L1 to show solidarity as fellow language learners with their students, albeit as learners of different additional languages.

Where there is a clear gap in the research is surrounding the identity positions that native TL-speaking teachers may take up when reverting to the L1. As the research shows, teachers

may be able to show solidarity with their students (Polio & Duff, 1994) as fellow language learners, but it is much less clear if they are able to invoke the same culturally embedded identity positions such as in the case of Simon (2001). Moreover, while teachers may be able to show solidarity with the students, the role of power relations connected with a teachers' use of the L1 is also absent from the research. For example, the effect of students helping a teacher learn their L1 may have an impact, if tentative, on the power relations in the classroom surrounding the student-teacher relationship and this could have affective implications for the activity of teaching. However, this aspect of L1 use has not been addressed in the research.

Teachers who do not share a common L1 with their students share similarities to teachers who have a common L1 in that they aim to teach to their beliefs, and in many cases these beliefs include the use of the L1 in spite of MOI policies. However, what is markedly absent from the research is an investigation of the interplay of beliefs, practices, MOI policies, and language teaching ideologies and its effect on teacher agency. It is not clear if teachers' use of the L1 is a benign practice free of constraints and tensions, or if these teachers are faced with similar constraints and tensions as teachers who share a common L1 with their students. Nor is it clear if MOI policies have comparable limitations on teachers' identity positioning. Given that Trent (2013) argues that MOI policies have the potential to lead to teachers viewing their administrators as the 'enemy' (p. 242), it is important to see if this could also be the case for teachers who come from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds than their students.

Lastly, at the time that the literature was reviewed, research investigating the linguistic practices of NESTs in South Korea was entirely absent. The functions of NESTs' use of Korean is unknown along with NESTs' reasoning and rationale for its use, and this group of teachers'

beliefs toward the use of their learners' L1 in a context where English-only ideologies circulate widely in macro and micro level MOI policies. This dissertation aims to fill these gaps through a holistic in-depth analysis of three NESTs and their use of Korean in the activity of teaching EFL to adult learners at a university in Korea. A Vygotskian sociocultural theoretical and analytical framework will be employed for this analysis

Vygotsky's (1978) genetic analysis and activity theory, namely, Engeström's (1987, 1999, 2001) activity systems framework are the key theoretical frameworks. I analyze teachers' cross-linguistic practices and their beliefs surrounding these practices based on a genetic analysis of three intersecting domains, namely cultural-historic, ontogenetic, and microgenetic domains. The development of ELT in South Korea inclusive of ELT ideologies and macro-level policies is conceived of as the cultural-historic domain. The participants on-going development as English language teachers surrounding the role of learners' L1s in ELT based on their prior language learning, language teacher training, and language teaching experiences is viewed as the ontogenetic domain. Lastly, I view the participants' instances of actual activity, specifically their cross-linguistic practices and beliefs surrounding these practices as observed over a period of six weeks as the microgenetic domain.

The sociocultural framework is further supplemented by complementary theoretical frameworks. Through the lens of translanguaging, Garcia's (2009b, 2017) notion of the emergent bilingual is extended to theorize the teachers and their deployment of their expanding linguistic repertoires to teach EFL. Teacher identity surrounding teachers' use of Korean and their identity positions as emergent bilinguals are conceptualized as identity-in-activity.

Relatedly, teachers' emotions are tied to teachers' identity-in-activity and the tensions that surround the use of Korean in the classroom.

## **Chapter 3: Methodology**

This study follows a multiple-case study design with an aim to explain and provide thick description (Geertz, 1994) of three EFL teachers' beliefs and practices surrounding their use of Korean in the activity of teaching EFL to adult learners in South Korea. The following sections contextualize this study by overviewing the site of this research, the EFL department at D University, the instructors at D University, and the course, *English Conversation I*. The participants and recruiting process is then discussed followed by an overview of data collection methods and data analysis procedures.

### **3.1 Research Context**

#### **3.1.1 D University**

D University is the research site for this study. It is a private university located outside of a major metropolitan city in South Korea's Gyeongnambuk province with approximately 20,000 undergraduate students. There are 13 colleges that cover a broad range of majors including engineering, social studies, education, and agriculture. Regardless of major, all undergraduate students at D University must successfully complete one introductory English conversation course, *English Conversation I*.

The EFL department at D University is responsible for the teaching of all non-credit and credit EFL classes at D University. Non-credit courses are taught in the same building as the EFL department and credit courses are taught at the individual colleges, requiring instructors to walk to different buildings across campus. Most importantly, the EFL department is responsible

for developing and revising the curriculum for *English Conversation I* as well as recruiting EFL instructors.

**3.1.1.1 English Conversation I .** The EFL department is responsible for developing and teaching *English Conversation I*. *English Conversations I* is a compulsory one-semester introductory EFL credit-course taught by NESTs that all D University students must pass in order to graduate. The classes meet for two hours each week for 13 weeks with additional time allocated for examinations.

The course curriculum and textbook are created and revised by the director and a small group of instructors. The group reviews and decides on a textbook for the course, develops a list of core competencies, namely, language functions, grammar and vocabulary as well as textbook chapters that coincide with the core competencies. All of the EFL instructors are provided with a copy of the textbook, accompanying DVD, and the list of competencies and chapters to teach. Individual instructors are free to teach the course how they wish and may bring in extra materials if desired so long as the core competencies are taught.

The core competencies are then tested in class through speaking exams, quizzes and assignments, all of which are created by individual instructors. The competencies are also tested through standardized midterm and final exams that are created by the director and a small group of instructors. The midterm and final exams all take place on a Saturday during the midterm and final exam periods. The midterm and final exams are each worth 30% based on 15% for the standardized written exam and 15% for the in-class speaking exam. In-class quizzes and assignments are worth 20% and attendance is worth 20%.

Lastly, the MOI is not specified in any document or text provided to instructors, nor is it discussed in any formal capacity such as in instructors' meetings. Furthermore, the director provides examination guidelines to all D University instructors that they handout to all of the students. These guidelines are bilingual documents with the entire set of guidelines written in both English and Korean.

**3.1.1.1.1 Student placement.** The majority of students are placed in classes according to their major and the classes tend to reflect a wide range of English language proficiencies. The participants also report that students from different majors have higher or lower English language proficiencies overall. For example, according to the participants, students in agricultural and automotive majors are seen to have lower English language proficiencies than students from social welfare and English education majors.

The only placement exception is with students who have a Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) score higher than 700. Those students are streamed into what the university has termed *Advanced English Conversation I*. The advanced classes consist of higher proficiency students of the same major and they tend to have similar English language proficiencies. Other than the students' overall proficiency, the course content for the advanced classes follows the same list of core competencies and uses the same textbook as the regular *English Conversation I* class. However, the instructors of advanced English classes have the option of creating in-class midterm and final writing exams specifically for their advanced classes, or they may have the advanced students sit the standardized midterm and final exams with the regular stream *English Conversation I* students.



**3.1.1.2 EFL instructor qualifications and recruitment.** EFL instructors at D University are primarily recruited through online job postings on Korea-specific or international EFL job bulletin boards, referrals from current instructors or, in some cases, through relationships with sister universities in the United States. All interested instructors must meet the requirements to obtain the requisite E2 foreign language teaching visa as mandated by the Korean government and D University's institutional requirements.

The Korean governments' requirements for an E2 visa for NEST teachers are the following:

1. Applicant must Be a citizen of a country where English is the primary language:  
USA/ Canada/ Australia/ New Zealand/ England/ Ireland and South Africa only
2. Applicant must be a native speaker or have studied from the junior high level (7th grade) and resided for at least 10 years or more in the country where English is the primary language
3. Applicant must graduate and hold at least a Bachelor's degree from an accredited school. A degree from a French-speaking University is not a sufficient qualification to teach English. A temporary degree or graduation letter from University is not acceptable.  
(Consulate General of Republic of Korea, 2017)

Instructors are also required to satisfy D University's institutional requirements which are in addition to the E-2 visa requirements. At the time that the most novice teacher, Ella, was hired, the minimum requirements were that instructors must either hold an MA in any subject with the equivalent of at least one year of university teaching experience or hold a BA and a TESL certificate and have more than three years or the equivalent of university teaching experience.

Potential instructors who have met the requirements are then interviewed by the hiring committee which consists of the director and two or three EFL instructors. The committee, after conducting interviews, then makes recommendations on who should be offered teaching positions although the director has the final decision on who may be hired.

Instructors are then offered a one-year full-time teaching contract. The terms of the contract included a competitive salary, a minimum of 10 weeks of vacation, on campus housing, and enrolment in the national health plan. The contracts are renewable and instructors are eligible for annual raises primarily contingent upon student evaluations. Based on my experience working at D University, most instructors who wish to continue teaching at D University successfully renew their contracts and receive a raise. At the time that the data was collected, there were 23 full-time EFL instructors.

**3.1.1.3 Teacher development at D University: Peer observations.** All of the instructors at D University are placed into small groups of 5 or 6 teachers as designated by the director. Each group consists of instructors reflecting different levels of experience. For example, there may be two teachers with four years of experience, two instructors with two or three years of experience and one new instructor. Each group has a lead instructor who is typically the most experienced. All of the instructors are encouraged to observe each of the group members with new instructors being strongly encouraged to observe at least two instructors in each semester of their first year. After the classroom observations, the two instructors meet with each other to discuss the lesson, share ideas, and through this process develop professionally as teachers. Additionally, the lead instructor is required to observe each teacher in their group and provide feedback to the observed instructors. The lead instructor also submits feedback to the director on

each observation. The director observes returning instructors once a year and new instructors each semester in their first year of teaching. The instructors' contract renewal and raises are partly contingent on the director's observations.

### **3.2 Participant Recruitment and Selection**

I recruited participants shortly after I arrived in Korea in April 2011. After arriving at D University, I spoke with former colleagues and introduced myself to instructors that I did not already know with an aim to identify instructors who:

1. were able to read and speak some Korean to incorporate in their classes
2. acknowledged using Korean as part of their teaching practices
3. taught both higher and lower proficiency groups of students

This in turn led me to initially invite five instructors to take part in this research. After explaining the details of the study and going over the informed consent documents, all five instructors agreed to participate and signed the informed consent documents. The number of participants, however, was reduced to three after initial classroom observations and interviews. This was done primarily due to time constraints and some of the participants had overlapping teaching schedules that would prohibit me from attending their classes for observation. In this light, I reduced the number of participants to three which would allow me to attend all of their classes in person and limit the number of classroom observations to what I felt was more manageable. The three selected instructors' profiles may be seen in Table 01.

<b>Instructor</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Korean Proficiency</b>	<b>Years Teaching in Korea</b>
Tom	MA (TESL)	High intermediate	6.5 years
Ted	BA + TESL Certificate	High beginner	5 years
Ella	MA (Digital Storytelling) + TESL Certificate	Intermediate to high intermediate	2 years

Table 01. Participant Profiles

As may be seen in Table 01, the participants reflect different levels of education, self-reported Korean proficiencies, and teaching experience. Tom, holding an MA in Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL), has the highest level of education relating to ELT. He is also the most proficient Korean speaker as he is able to hold conversations entirely in Korean with Koreans, and he is also the most experienced instructor having taught at the university level in the United States and at D University for more than six years. Ted holds a BA in English and, after arriving in Korea, completed an online TESL course to earn his TESL certificate. He is a relative beginner in speaking Korean although he knows enough for everyday living (e.g. shopping and dining) as well as Korean for the classroom. He is also a fairly experienced instructor having taught in Korea for more than 5 years with three of those years at D University. Ella holds an MA in digital storytelling, which is unrelated to ELT, and she earned a TESL certificate through an online course prior to arriving in Korea. Ella has a fairly high Korean proficiency and like Tom is able to hold conversations in the language. She is a relative novice instructor and is in her second year of teaching at D University.

The choice of relatively diverse participants was intentional in hopes of collecting diverse beliefs and practices surrounding the role of Korean in the classroom. Please note that each of the participants' language learning and language teaching experiences are discussed in further detail in their respective chapters.

### **3.3 Data Collection and Analysis**

The data collection methods for this study consisted of semi-structured background interviews, classroom observations, stimulated recall interviews as well as follow-up interviews. The data collection tools allowed me to construct case studies for each participant based on my analysis of the participants' ontogenetic and microgenetic domains (see Chapters 5, 6, and 7). Each data collection tool and its relationship to the analysis is described below.

#### **3.3.1 Background Interviews**

I conducted an initial set of semi-structured background interviews with each participant to understand their ontogenetic development as well as to partly inform the microgenetic analysis. Each instructor was interviewed once with interviews ranging in duration from 75 to 90 minutes. I transcribed all of the interviews through the use of Elan and uploaded NVivo for coding and analysis

For the interview process, I developed an initial set of interview questions (see Appendix A) which were used to elicit the teachers' language learning and teaching experiences as well as their teacher education and beliefs surrounding the role of the L1. The interview then moved to the instructors' experiences at D University surrounding the use of Korean to understand the

teachers' perceptions of MOI policies and their perceived use of Korean in the classroom. Throughout the course of the interview, I asked additional questions based on the participants' responses (e.g. asking the participants to expand or exemplify a point). In other instances, I took up a different line of questioning connected to their ontogenetic development or their present use of Korean in the classroom (see Appendix A for list of initial interview questions).

Through the use of NVivo, I coded all instances where the participants spoke about second and/or foreign language learning experiences, teacher training as well as early EFL teaching experiences. Additionally, I coded all instances relating to teachers' beliefs and their prior practices related to the use of learners' L1s throughout the above listed experiences. The aim of this analysis was to determine to what extent teachers' prior experiences contributed to their present-day beliefs and practices as revealed in the microgenetic analysis.

### **3.3.2 Classroom Observations**

After completing the initial background interviews, I arranged with each participant to observe their highest and lowest proficiency section of *English Conversation 1* – based on the instructors' perception – throughout the second half of the semester, for approximately 6 weeks. Each instructor then chose two sections and agreed to have me observe and/or record their classes for the remainder of the term. I observed the classes in person in addition to video and/or audio recording the classes. After the classroom observations were completed, I chose to focus on three units reflecting chapters 7, 8, and 9 in the textbook, which I viewed as being most representative of the teachers' practices (see Table 02). The selected classroom observations

totalled approximately 34 hours of classroom data, all of which I transcribed through the use of Elan and uploaded the transcriptions to NVivo for analysis.

Table 02. Classroom Observation Schedule

Tom	Unit 7	Higher	April 27, 2011 & May 02, 2011	
		Lower	April 28, 2011 & May 03, 2011	
	Unit 8	Higher	May 11, 2011 & May 16, 2011	Stimulated Recall Interview
		Lower	May 17, 2011 & May 18, 2011	Stimulated Recall Interview
	Unit 9	Higher	May 04, 2011 & May 12, 2011	
		Lower	May 12, 2011 & May 19, 2011	
Ted	Unit 7	Higher	April 28, 2011 – 2 hour class	
		Lower	April 27, 2011 (Compressed class)	
	Unit 8	Higher	May 2, 2011 – 2 hour class	Stimulated Recall Interview
		Lower	May 30, 2011 & June 01, 2011	Stimulated Recall Interview
	Unit 9	Higher	May 12, 2011 – 2 hour class	
		Lower	May 2, 2011 & May 04, 2011	
Ella	Unit 7	Higher	May 4, 2011 & May 06, 2011	
		Lower	May 3, 2011 & May 09, 2011	
	Unit 8	Higher	May 11, 2011 & May 13, 2011	Stimulated Recall Interview
		Lower	May 16, 2011 & May 17, 2011	Stimulated Recall Interview
	Unit 9	Higher	May 18, 2011 & May 20, 2011	
		Lower	May 23, 2011 (Compressed class)	

The classroom observations provided examples of the participants' actual use of Korean in the activity of teaching EFL. The participants used spoken Korean and to a lesser extent cross-linguistic PowerPoint slides and written Korean text on the chalkboard or whiteboard. Based on the classroom observations for each teacher, I conducted a functional analysis of the participants' use of Korean.

**3.3.2.1 Korean functional analysis (mediating tool).** Through NVivo, I identified all instances where the participants spoke Korean in the classroom. I then looked at the entire utterance which consisted of either an entire Korean phrase, word or took the form of a cross-linguistic utterance consisting of Korean and English. I then considered the entire utterance as a whole and assigned it a function based primarily on Ferguson (2003); see Table 03 for full list of coding criteria. I then conducted a frequency tabulation to determine what functions were more commonly used and to determine if the participants varied their use of Korean with the higher or lower proficiency groups. I was mindful that this analysis reflected how I perceived the participants were using Korean in the classroom, and I confirmed this analysis with the participants at numerous times throughout the data collection process. Additionally, the stimulated recall interviews (see below) allowed me to confirm my functional analyses for the unit 8 classes.



Table 03. Korean Functional Analysis Coding Criteria

<b>Curriculum Access</b>	<b>Description of cross-linguistic functions</b>
Topic introduction	Introduce a topic for the whole class or part of a section
Explanation	Explaining a concept, vocabulary or grammatical item
Emphasis	Highlight the importance of a given course component typically connected to assessment
Example	Providing a Korean example
Elicitation	Attempt to elicit an English equivalent of a Korean word or to elicit a response to a question or activity
Feedback	Corrective feedback
Vocabulary translation	Translation of course vocabulary
<b>Classroom management</b>	
Task directions	Explain in-class tasks
Homework instructions	Elaborating on English homework instructions
Assignment/Quiz/Exam information	Elaborating on assessment instructions and times, dates and locations for exams
Class scheduling	Providing information surrounding make-up classes
Procedures, rules	Detailing classroom rules such as late policies or exam rules
Praise	Acknowledging positive performance
<b>Interpersonal relations</b>	
Joking/Playfulness	Instances of Korean that appear intentionally deployed to make students laugh.
Chatting	Non-course content chatting. Typically occurs before classes start

### 3.3.3 Stimulated recall interviews

I conducted two stimulated recall interviews with each participant, one for their higher and one for their lower proficiency sections for a total of 6 interviews. I conducted the interviews after each teacher had taught unit 8. Unit 8 had many of the same tasks as other units

in the textbook; however, it had a higher number of new vocabulary items which I felt would lead to increased instances of Korean. Also, by the time the instructors had taught unit 8, I felt that they would be used to my presence in the classroom since it would be my fourth or fifth time visiting their classes, and I anticipated their use of Korean would be more representative of their actual practices. I conducted the interviews within one week after the participants had taught chapter 8. Each interview took between 90 to 120 minutes, and I transcribed all interviews through ELAN and uploaded the transcripts to NVivo for analysis.

The analysis of the stimulated recall interview data served to inform the microgenetic analysis based on the participants' reflections and comments on their practices with a specific group of students. The interviews helped establish the teachers' goals and objectives for the specific groups of students, as well as how and why they used Korean with those students. Moreover, the participants revealed their perceptions of their students, their perceptions of formal or informal rules surrounding their teaching practices and the use of Korean. The interviews were also helpful as they, in many cases, led to the participants discussing their beliefs and the conflicts and tensions surrounding their use of Korean and their perceptions of MOI policies and connecting those views with past experiences. The reflections of past experiences served to further inform the ontogenetic analysis.

### **3.3.4 Follow-up interviews**

After I had finished a preliminary analysis of the data, I scheduled follow-up interviews with each participant. The follow-up interviews were a time to ask the participants to confirm parts of the analysis and to answer questions that had arisen while I was transcribing their classes

and interview data, or during the preliminary analysis. This data, to varying extents, informed the ontogenetic and microgenetic analyses. The follow-up interviews lasted approximately 30 minutes each.

## **Chapter 4: Cultural-historic domain of ELT in South Korea**

The cultural-historic domain is, in essence, the historical development of a society in which the subjects exist (Cross, 2010). Of importance to this research is the cultural-historic domain of ELT in South Korea as it relates to the native English-speaking instructors in this study. Thus, the focus of this chapter is to highlight the shift to CLT in Korea that has increasingly led to the view that English is best taught monolingually through English, and that native English-speaking instructors in turn are the ideal teachers.

### **4.1 Transitioning to CLT to Develop Learners' Spoken Communicative Competence**

In the early 1990's, in recognition of the forces of globalization, the South Korean government began to promote the importance of developing Korean learners' English communicative competence as a means to ensure that Korea could participate and compete economically and politically on the world stage. As such, the Korean government, through the Ministry of Education and the national English curricula, changed the pedagogical approach from grammar-translation to CLT, in particular, a strong form of CLT with a growing emphasis on English-only teaching practices.

#### **4.1.1 Korea's 6<sup>th</sup> National English Curriculum**

Korea's 6th national English curriculum was developed in 1992 and implemented in 1995 at all public middle and secondary schools. The curriculum marked a significant shift from the previous audiolingual and grammar-translation methods that were used in middle and secondary schools respectively (Li, 1998). The 6th curriculum aimed to develop Korean learners'

communicative competence through the use of a notional-functional syllabus. The emphasis of the EFL classes also turned to the development of learner's spoken English competence through a learner-centred approach, focusing on developing English fluency over accuracy (Kwon, 2000; Min, 2008; Yoon, 2004). The focus on fluency and the learner-centred approach of CLT in turn influenced the MOI. While the curriculum did not mandate the MOI, the CLT curriculum, as adopted by the Ministry of Education, stressed that, where possible, English be used. Therefore, the amount of English in the classroom had to increase considerably compared to prior grammar-translation approaches (Li, 1998).

The implementation of CLT during the time of the 6<sup>th</sup> curriculum was not without challenges. Li (1998) found there were considerable difficulties in its implementation as teachers lacked adequate pedagogical training and were not proficient enough to teach communicatively despite in-service teacher training programs. In addition, student resistance and further contextual factors such as grammar-based exams hindered the implementation of the approach.

#### **4.1.2 Compulsory Elementary English Education**

After the 6th curriculum's development, although prior to its implementation, the Kim Young-Sam government came to power in 1993. The government implemented its *Segyehwa* [globalization] policy which further prioritized the development of Korean learners' English communicative competence. In turn, the Korean Ministry of Education implemented educational reforms, requiring English as a compulsory subject starting in elementary school (Jeon, 2009, 2010; Jung & Norton, 2002; J. Park, 2009; S. Park & Abelmann, 2004; Shin, 2007; Yim, 2007).

Beginning in 1997, after two years of curriculum planning and textbook development, English became a compulsory subject starting in grade three. The curriculum focused on developing learners' communicative competence with a primary emphasis on spoken English. In this light, learners in grade three were only taught spoken English while reading and writing was introduced in grade four. However, the role of reading and writing was limited with only the English alphabet taught in grade four, word level reading and writing in grade five, and short sentence reading and writing in grade six to ensure the focus remained on developing learners' spoken English proficiency (Kwon, 2000). In essence, the elementary English program echoes the 6th curriculum by showing a preference for importing Western based approaches to ELT—learner-centred CLT—with an emphasis on English as the MOI in order to develop Korean learners' spoken fluency.

The implementation of the elementary English program put a fair amount of stress on the backs of elementary school teachers who in many cases did not have EFL training and were suddenly expected to teach using an unfamiliar pedagogical approach and in a language in which they may not have been proficient. As such, many Korean teachers had to learn new pedagogical approaches and had to improve their own English proficiency. In order to assist Korean EFL teachers, the government increased in-service teacher education surrounding CLT methodologies and spoken English conversation (Kwon, 2000) although as Jung and Norton (2002) found, the in-service training was not adequate and teachers struggled to adopt CLT and English as a MOI.

#### **4.1.3 Korea's 7<sup>th</sup> National English Curriculum**

The 7th national English curriculum was developed while the Kim Young-Sam government was in power as a part of the *Seghewa* policy, although it was implemented after his tenure in 2001. The 7th curriculum applied to all EFL classes at elementary, middle and secondary schools in Korea. In essence the 7th English curriculum served to continue the 6th English curriculum although what is most relevant for this research is that the 7th curriculum was the first curriculum to mandate the MOI through the implementation of the 'teach English through English' (TETE) policy. The TETE policy mandated that the MOI for all EFL classes be English-only in elementary and middle school starting in grades three, four and seven while expanding to other grades in the following years (S. Y. Kim, 2002; Shin, 2007).

As Shin (2007) argues, the English-only classes in the 7<sup>th</sup> curriculum in turn led to Korean EFL teachers being categorized into two groups, those teachers who could teach in English-only and be placed to teach in one of the English-only grades (three, four or seven) and those who could not. The measure of a "good teacher" was reduced to their English-speaking proficiency, rather than other forms of expertise such as education or years of teaching. Moreover, and significant for this research, this emphasis on teachers' ability to speak and teach in English, "leads to the often contested and yet still prevalent myth of the NS [native speaker] as the ideal teacher" (p.79).

#### **4.1.4 Lee Myung-bak Government's Educational Reforms**

The Lee Myung-bak government that came to power in 2008 brought with it a number of education reforms surrounding the teaching of English. Echoing the Kim Young-Sam

government, based on the notion that Korea's future economic success is based on the English proficiency of Korean students, the government proposed English immersion in all public schools where EFL, as well as math and science subjects, were to be taught exclusively through English. However, this radical proposal was quickly retracted after public outcry. In its place, the government mandated that all EFL classes from elementary to high school be taught monolingually through English (J. Lee, 2010).

In order to support EFL teachers, the government invested heavily in in-service TEE training that was intended to equip Korean teachers with the skills needed to teach their classes entirely in English. The government also instituted certification programs where teachers were recognized for meeting certain TEE training and English proficiency benchmarks. TEE certification offers career benefits for Korean EFL teachers who have the certified ability to teach English in English (S. Song, 2009, June 29).

The movement to English-only teaching practices in Korean EFL classrooms reflects what Macaro (2001) has termed "the virtual position" (p. 535) where in essence the Korean EFL classroom is treated like the TL country and, if teachers are able, Korean can thus be excluded. In addition to the implementation of national policies mandating the pedagogical approach and MOI, the Korean government began recruiting and hiring NESTs to work in Korean elementary and secondary schools.

#### **4.1.5 Native English-Speaking Teachers in South Korea**

The recruiting of NESTs by the Korean national and provincial ministries of education is indicative of who the Korean government deems as the ideal or, at the very least, preferred



English language teacher with the aim of developing Korean learners and teachers' communicative competence. The Korean national and provincial governments run programs like the English Program in Korea (EPIK) in order to support Korean EFL teachers with native English speakers' 'authentic' linguistic resources. NESTs work alongside Korean teachers in elementary, middle and secondary schools as well as in English-only camps. In the section below, EPIK and similar programs are discussed in relation to hiring practices and English-only camps and their underlying ELT ideologies.

**4.1.5.1 English program in Korea (EPIK).** The Korean Ministry of Education's EPIK was established in 1995, shortly after Kim Young-Sam's *Segyehwa* policy came into effect. In essence, the program recruits NESTs to work alongside Korean EFL teachers in Korean schools. According to the EPIK website:

Since its inception, EPIK has had the goals of improving the English-speaking abilities of Korean students and teachers, developing cultural exchange between Korea and abroad, and of introducing new teaching methods into the Korean education system. (n.d.)

What is salient about EPIK's goals is that they reflect the governments' awareness of a gap between Korean teachers' English proficiency and the proficiency required for them to effectively teach English using CLT (Min, 2008). The goals also indicate a dissatisfaction or, at the very least, a need to revise or modernize EFL teaching in Korea. Or as Shin (2007) states more pointedly:

NS [native speaking] teachers entered to invigorate the ineffective traditional English teaching system in Korea, whose weakness has often been attributed to the inadequate speaking abilities of Korean English teachers. (p. 78)

According to Jeon (2009, 2010), the program is the government's policy response to the economic losses to the Korean economy due to Korean parents sending their children abroad to learn how to speak English. However, it is also a response to the booming private English language industry where parents are spending a large portion of their income in order to send their children to study with a NEST (see section 4.1.5.3). In this light, the implication of hiring NESTs to work in schools that Korean children are already attending is that parents may save money by not having to send their children to expensive private language institutes or abroad.

Whether the programs are a response to economic or pedagogical needs, what is clear is that the recruitment of NESTs is viewed as a solution to Korea's perceived English education problems. This was further affirmed in 2005 through the government's Five-Year Plan for English Education Revitalization that aimed to put one NEST in every middle school by 2010 with a longer-term goal of having at least one NEST in every elementary and secondary school (Jeon & Lee, 2006; J. Park, 2009). This recruitment effort would require the hiring of over 10,000 NESTs (J. Park, 2009).

NESTs are then viewed as the ideal teacher and the eligibility requirements for the EPIK program further refines what the Korean government views as the ideal teacher. Eligibility requirements are based on a teacher's status as a native English speaker, their country of citizenship and education background. Specifically, the teachers must be a native speaker of

English and hold citizenship from one of seven countries where the Korean government has determined that English is spoken as the primary language, namely: Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Ireland, and South Africa.<sup>2</sup> Teachers must have also completed their secondary and post-secondary education in English as well as have obtained a bachelor's degree from a university in one of the aforementioned countries (English Program in Korea, n.d.). The eligibility criteria for EPIK also mirrors the E2 teaching visa requirements which all foreign English teachers, including EPIK teachers, must hold in order to legally teach in Korea.

The most striking aspect of the eligibility requirements is that teaching English as a second language (TESL) or teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL) training or English teaching experience are not required to be an English teacher in this program or to obtain the E2 teaching visa. From a reflexive point of view, it is difficult to understand how a native English speaker without any TESL/TEFL training will be able to “introduce new teaching methods” or even effectively teach. Rather it is a person's status as a native English speaker with citizenship from an inner circle country (Kachru, 1990) and a BA in any major that qualifies one to develop Korean learners and Korean EFL teachers' communicative competence as well as to be an effective teacher trainer. The Korean government, in addition to hiring NESTs to teach in elementary and secondary schools, also recruits NESTs to teach in English-only villages.

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<sup>3</sup> With proof of secondary education conducted in English

**4.1.5.2 English-only villages.** English-only villages offer a more affordable alternative to sending children abroad by, in essence, being a replica Western town with functioning buildings and facilities staffed, in most cases, by NESTs with the language of the village being exclusively English (J. Park, 2009; Shim & Park, 2008). The villages therefore reflect the authenticity notion of CLT in that they strive to provide an authentic communicative English experience for learners, and NESTs provide the cornerstone of this authenticity. The hiring requirements for the villages are same as the EPIK program since those qualifications ensure that the teachers will be able to obtain the E2 visa allowing them to work in Korea.

The English-only villages and the placement of NESTs in elementary and secondary schools through programs like EPIK serve to reinforce the view that NESTs are the ideal language teacher as they will typically speak with an inner-circle variety of English, and in most cases, they will by default teach monolingually through English since most NESTs are unlikely to speak Korean.

**4.1.5.3 Private English language education.** The Korean government's shifting emphasis on developing learners' communicative competence contributed to a boom in the private English language education market in which Koreans spent over 11 billion US dollars in 2008 (S. Kang, 2009, June 28). Specific data on the total number of such institutions is not made available, although to highlight the prevalence of English institutes, J. Park (2009) claims that "hundreds of English-only 'cram schools' (*hagwon*) have been opened in almost every city in South Korea" (p.53). While J. Song (2012) argues that out of the 70,213 private education providers, of which 43% are schools teaching core school subjects, the majority of the remaining

57% are likely English language institutes. Regardless of the lack of an exact number, English language institutes are prolific in South Korea from major urban centers to rural coastal towns.<sup>4</sup>

English language institutes typically offer English conversation classes aimed at developing learners' communicative competence for both adults and children in small group settings. These classes are often taught by a NEST or in some cases a Korean teacher may teach on alternating days. In the case of alternating teachers, what typically occurs is the Korean teacher focuses on vocabulary and grammar and the NEST focuses on speaking and listening through communicative tasks or activities building on the content from the Korean colleague's class.

Different institutes have different policies regarding the MOI. As J. Park (2009) comments, there are thousands of English-only language institutes which will then likely have English-only policies. This view is supported by the experiences of two of the participants in this study who worked at five different English language institutes, all of which had de jure English-only policies banning Korean from the classroom. In other cases, the institutes may not have an English-only policy; however, the practice of hiring NESTs who are unlikely to speak Korean is in itself an implied English-only policy since the default MOI will be English.

English-only kindergartens also form part of the private English-language industry where children attend classes based on an English kindergarten curriculum. The kindergartens, which can be quite expensive, employ NESTs who conduct their classes in English or in some cases the

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<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that the relationship between Korean public education and the private language institutes is dialectic. The private English language institutes react to the national English curriculum while other curricular innovations such as attempts to place NESTs in every school are a reaction to the growth of the private industry.

kindergartens may have Korean teachers who teach bilingually (Jeon, 2012). The focus of the kindergartens is then to develop learners' communicative competence with the aim of developing native like fluency in English.

**4.1.5.4 English-only in tertiary education.** English-only policies may be seen in several different areas in Korean post-secondary institutions, specifically in EMI content courses, non-credit English language courses and credit-bearing general English courses. These three contexts are discussed in further detail below.

The Korean government, starting in the early 2000's, began implementing policies to internationalize Korean higher education with the aim of increasing the amount of Korean academic research published in leading English academic journals, improving Korean university graduates' English communicative competence, as well as increasing the number of international students attending Korean universities as a way to account for the declining number of domestic Korean students (Byun et al., 2011). These policies, such as the BK 21 Project, offer financial incentives based on a universities' proportion of EMI to Korean classes, the number of foreign faculty, and international students. As such, this has led to the 'Englishization' of Korean higher education and research where some universities, including some of the top universities in Korea, have increased the number of EMI courses and programs offered, or in some cases, such as KAIST university, have switched to only offering English-medium courses (Byun et al., 2011). This has influenced universities' hiring practices where professors are hired based on the understanding that they will be able to teach through English, and if they are not able to do so after a probationary period they may be denied tenure (Byun et al., 2011). The shift in increasing the number of EMI courses and foreign faculty clearly reflects a view of the need for English in

order to ensure global competitiveness in academia; however, teaching ideologies are also clearly present. While NESTs are not dominant in these content courses, the implementation of EMI has forced Korean instructors to teach like monolingual native English-speaking instructors, reflecting a monolingual English-only ideology.

In addition to offering EMI courses, universities typically offer non-credit English language courses as well as for-credit general English courses. The non-credit courses are similar to the EFL classes offered at English language institutes although they are typically smaller in size than the credit courses in university. For example, at D University, the site for this research, typically there are not be more than ten students in a non-credit class compared to 30 in a credit course; however, the classes are all taught by NESTs. General English classes are credit courses, typically taught by NESTs, and most Korean universities require that students complete one or two semesters of general English classes in order to graduate (Kwon, 2000). In both the non-credit and credit courses, it is dependent on the university or appropriate department as to whether or not there is an English-only MOI policy. However, based on the common practice of hiring NESTs, monolingual English teaching ideologies are perpetuated through the very act of hiring NESTs over Korean English-speaking teachers.

## 4.2 Summary

The cultural-historic analysis of ELT in South Korea reveals that two ELT ideologies are dominant, namely that English is best taught monolingually in English and that NESTs are the ideal English language teachers. The ideologies may be seen from both macro and micro-level perspectives. From the macro-level, the Korean government, through language education policies and teacher training programs, has attempted to mandate that ethnic Korean EFL instructors teach their classes monolingually in English. The native speaker and monolingual teaching ideologies are also made visible through the government's policies to recruit thousands of NESTs to teach alongside Korean EFL teachers. The ideologies are also reflected in the foreign teacher visa requirements that restrict the hiring of all NESTs to seven primarily inner circle countries (Kachru, 1990), which nearly ensures that most NESTs will not know how to speak Korean, at least upon arrival to Korea. From a micro perspective, the native speaker and monolingual teaching ideologies circulate through the multibillion-dollar ELT industry that is primarily based on English-only classes with NESTs and in higher education through the increasing number of EMI courses, credit and non-credit EFL classes taught by NESTs.



## **Chapter 5: Tom**

Chapters 5 to 7 are individual case studies, reflecting the analysis of the ontogenetic and microgenetic domains for each participant. Each chapter begins with a brief overview of the instructor and then moves to the ontogenetic analysis, describing the participants' development as English language teachers over time. The ontogenetic analysis is then followed by the microgenetic analysis based on the instructors' classroom-based practices. The participants' cross-linguistic practices, as well as their beliefs and the tensions surrounding these practices are then illuminated and discussed. Tom is discussed first in this chapter, followed by Ted and then Ella in the subsequent two chapters.

Tom is the most experienced teacher at D University, is the most proficient Korean language speaker of the three participants, and comparatively uses Korean the most in his classes. The ontogenetic analysis overviews Tom's experiences as a language learner and his development as an English language teacher and seeks to identify the language learning and teaching ideologies that have framed these experiences. This analysis then helps to reveal how Tom's beliefs may have been influenced by these experiences and ideologies as well as how those experiences and ideologies may impact his current beliefs and practices as discussed in the microgenetic analysis.

### **5.1 Tom - Ontogenetic Analysis**

While growing up and becoming an ESL teacher in the United States, Tom experienced differing language teaching ideologies, pedagogical approaches and MOI policies depending on the language being taught. Tom's cross-linguistic Spanish learning experiences are first

discussed, followed by his post-secondary education including the monolingual teaching practices that he had learned and practiced while completing his MA in TESL. This is followed by an analysis and discussion of Tom's initial EFL teaching and Korean language learning experiences in South Korea.

### **5.1.1 Spanish as a Foreign Language Learning**

Tom's experiences learning Spanish were a mixture of formal classroom-based learning and informal self-study experiences. Regardless of the teaching or learning approach, all of his experiences were cross-linguistic with ample support from his L1, English.

**5.1.1.1 Classroom-based Spanish as a foreign language learning.** In high school, Tom studied Spanish for two years. The classes were taught by non-native Spanish-speaking teachers who shared the same L1 as their students, English. Thus, the classes were a cross-linguistic space where English was the MOI in which teachers were tasked with teaching beginner students the foundations of Spanish grammar and vocabulary. As the courses progressed, the teachers and learners increasingly used more Spanish although English remained the MOI. Tom enjoyed learning Spanish which led him to continue studying Spanish in university.

While Tom was completing an undergraduate degree in English Poetry, he took seven Spanish language courses. In his first year, he took four Spanish courses which built upon the grammar and vocabulary he had learned in high school. In his second year, he took three advanced courses: *Spanish Communication*, *Spanish Writing*, and *Translation*. The Spanish courses were taught by a combination of native and non-native Spanish-speaking instructors, all of whom held a master's degree or higher. Regardless of whether the instructor was a native or

non-native speaker of Spanish or if the course was introductory or advanced, the classes were taught cross-linguistically with English as the MOI. This approach was appreciated by Tom as he notes:

I think it was good, I mean it helped us see how we could fit Spanish in, like how we could understand it through, both Spanish and English, and I like being able to compare how they're similar and different so, that was good for me. (TOMFQ)

While Tom found the inclusion of English instructive as he was able to connect Spanish with English, he did at times wonder why the instructors did not use more Spanish. Especially in the advanced classes, he felt that if the instructors had spoken more Spanish, it would have benefitted his Spanish listening skills (TOMBK). Yet, overall, Tom enjoyed the classes and felt that he had developed a strong Spanish foundation.

**5.1.1.2 Informal Spanish language learning.** Tom continued to learn Spanish by reading and working his way through Spanish literature. The books he read were from an advanced Spanish literature course from which he had previously withdrawn. The process of reading the Spanish books was a cross-linguistic practice where he spent a fair amount of time reading the books and then consulting his textbooks and a Spanish/English dictionary to clarify meaning. He also consulted with his former university Spanish instructors if he had questions that he could not answer on his own. The interactions with his former instructors were also cross-linguistic since his instructors used a combination of English and Spanish to answer his questions (TOMBK). This practice, the classroom learning experiences, and likely Tom's personality as a language learner contributed to Tom developing his Spanish proficiency to the point that he was able to confidently speak Spanish whenever he had the opportunity.

English, Tom's L1, played a crucial role in all of Tom's Spanish learning experiences either in the classroom or through self-study, which contrasts with dominant ELT ideologies that privilege native speakers and monolingual teaching practices (Howatt, 1984). From an MOI policy perspective, Spanish-only MOI policies seeking to ban English from the classroom were absent; rather cross-linguistic teaching practices were the norm. From an ideological perspective, Spanish-speaking instructors were the preferred teachers regardless of their status as a native or non-native speaker of the language. Moreover, the learners' L1 was viewed as an essential teaching and learning tool. While Tom did show some concern about the instructors not speaking more Spanish in his advanced classes, this appears to be a reflection of his increasing Spanish proficiency and needs as a language learner rather than a purely ideological position.

### **5.1.2 MA TESL and ESL Teaching Experiences**

After graduating with a degree in English Poetry, Tom enrolled in an MA TESL program which included an ESL teaching component that provided him with his initial ESL teaching experiences.

**5.1.2.1 MA TESL.** Tom completed a two-year MA TESL degree at a state university in the United States starting in 2001. The degree consisted of coursework, teaching at the university's English language institute, and a research component. The goal of the program was to prepare aspiring teachers to teach English to language learners in the United States. The MA TESL program espoused a communicative approach to ELT that overlooked or ignored learners' L1s. Tom notes that the published research that he had to study as part of the coursework focused on culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) classrooms where there were many different L1s.

“So theoretically they [learners] weren’t using their L1s in the class because they couldn’t communicate with other students if they did” (TOMBK). Thus, it appears that the MA TESL program was either unaware of, or ignored research which showed how learners’ L1s can be incorporated in CLD classrooms (e.g. Cummins, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009; García, Skutnabb-Kangas, & Torres-Guzman, 2006; García & Sylvan, 2011). In addition to learners’ L1s being overlooked in the course readings, the classes did not look at contexts where there was a common L1 among students such as in Korea.

We didn't really learn about or study or talk about the role of first languages in classes of, full of, all people [with the same L1] but it teaches that you really should try not to use their first language as much as you possibly can because it's just more beneficial. (TOMBK)

Tom's comments reveal that the graduate program, and quite possibly Tom at this stage, held an ideology that English is best taught monolingually to CLD classes echoing a maximum exposure ideology where it is believed that the more that learners are exposed to English the more they will learn (Howatt, 1984; Macaro, 2001; Phillipson, 1992). Furthermore, the program’s emphasis on CLD classes overlooks the realities of many less linguistically diverse classrooms where the learners may benefit from L1 support. Tom further reproduced this monolingual approach when he taught ESL in the university’s English language institute.

**5.1.2.2 Teaching English while learning to teach.** As part of the MA TESL program, Tom obtained a teaching assistantship where he was paid to teach English in the university's language institute which, likely in concert with graduate program, had an English-only MOI policy. Tom taught three courses to adults: beginner conversation, advanced conversation and

advanced reading. The classes, similar to many ESL classrooms in multicultural contexts, were CLD environments. Due to the numerous L1s in the classes and that Tom did not speak a language in common with his students, English was both the MOI and served as a lingua franca between students and teacher (TOMBK). As such, by default, Tom taught the classes monolingually and the classes were an English-only environment. This experience in turn served to reinforce and reproduce the English-only teaching ideologies that were circulating in the MA TESL program. While not using the L1 may not have been problematic for Tom, the experience had the potential to normalize a monolingual approach to ELT. Much like the monolingual principle (Howatt, 1984), on the surface it may have appeared to be a commonsense approach to teaching; however, the practice may have overlooked potentially helpful language learning tools, particularly with less linguistically diverse classes.

In contrast to Tom's cross-linguistic language learning experiences, Tom's MA TESL and early ELT experiences were monolingual. Furthermore, Tom's novice teaching experiences were governed by an English-only MOI policy. Tom appears to have accepted the practices espoused by the MA and English language institute as normalized best practices that he then reproduced in his early teaching practices in South Korea.

### 5.1.3 Initial EFL Teaching Experiences in Korea

After Tom completed his MA, he wanted to teach English outside of the United States. His university had a cooperation agreement with D University and a classmate of his had begun teaching at D University and had told him about her experiences. He liked what he heard and applied for a position at D University. Tom was then hired based on his status as a NEST from the United States as well as his ESL teaching experience and his MA in TESL.

Throughout Tom's early teaching experiences in Korea, English-only was his normative practice. This monolingual practice was likely influenced by the dominant monolingual teaching ideologies circulating as part of Korea's cultural-historic domain of ELT, the contextual factors at D University, and his prior teaching and language learning experiences. As discussed above, all of the participants were hired into Korea at a time when the Korean government espoused English-only practices through both explicit and implicit English-only MOI policies (see Cultural-Historic analysis, Chapter 4). Thus, before Tom first stepped into the classroom, he would have been, to varying degrees, influenced by English-only policies that were ideologically similar to Tom's TESL training and teaching experience. Moreover, given that Tom could not speak Korean, he would have been initially limited to only speaking English in his classes leading to a default English-only practice in line with the cultural-historic ideologies and his prior beliefs and experiences.

Tom's default English-only practice would have been further influenced with contextual factors at D University. As a novice instructor, Tom had to observe other teachers' classes. In his case, all of the teachers that he observed taught their classes monolingually. Thus, without

seeing any instances to the contrary, the norm, based on the peer-observations was to teach monolingually. Tom's novice monolingual teaching practices at D University were then likely due to his development as an English language teacher in relation to the cultural historic and microgenetic domains. An argument may also be made that Tom viewed English-only as a best teaching practice based on a maximal exposure ideology (Phillipson, 1992) since he taught monolingually for nearly his first three years at D University. Had he preferred a cross-linguistic approach or saw a place for Korean in his classes one might have expected him to learn a few Korean words; for example, Korean metalanguage that might have helped his lower proficiency students.

#### **5.1.4 Korean Language Learning**

In contrast to Tom's Spanish language education, all of his Korean language learning experiences were informal. Tom initially learned from three Korean language books each containing 25 chapters for a total of 75 chapters. The textbooks focused on Korean grammar and vocabulary and the first two beginner textbooks had English translations for all of the introductory conversations, examples, grammar explanations and vocabulary. Once he started studying the third and more advanced Korean language textbook, the amount of English was reduced although the introductory conversations and grammar explanations were still translated into English. Tom found that the role of English mediated his Korean language learning especially since he did not have a teacher:

It [English] was helpful, for sure, especially, I wasn't taking a class, so I didn't have a teacher to explain, anything, so the book was basically, the English part of the book, was basically my teacher explaining, explaining things to me. (TOMFQ)



Tom reveals the necessity of having L1 support for beginner learners, especially since he was studying on his own and did not have anyone who could explain things to him in English, Korean or through non-verbal means.

Much like Tom's Spanish learning experiences, Tom continued to learn Korean through reading. Tom read many Korean versions of children's stories that he was familiar with growing up in the United States, for example, *The Three Little Pigs* or *Little Red Riding Hood*. By already knowing the story in English, Tom's background knowledge was activated (Cummins, 2007) and he could focus on the Korean vocabulary and grammar by matching the words and sentences while following the story through the images in the book. When he did not understand a word or grammar point, he would then turn to his Korean language textbooks or a Korean/English dictionary (TOMBK). In this way, English gave Tom access to the unknown Korean vocabulary and grammar that he was then able to learn on his own and eventually use in practice.

After Tom's Korean proficiency improved, he sought a more immersive Korean experience that would force him to use Korean and give him minimal recourse to English. To achieve this goal, Tom made arrangements to meet with a student majoring in Korean education twice a week. The first meeting of the week was based on a handout that the tutor brought with him. The second meeting took the form of conversation over dinner in the cafeteria. Tom found the experience to be challenging since communication breakdowns occurred frequently and many times he had to resort to his Korean/English dictionary and point to a word. Since using the dictionary could be disruptive, in many cases, he would stop for a moment and then simplify his speech (TOMFQ). The monolingual tutoring sessions were beneficial, though, for different reasons compared to his self-study approaches.

I don't think I learned a whole lot of new vocabulary and stuff with him [the tutor]. I don't remember learning a whole bunch of new things with him. It was new stuff that I had already, ... that I should have known or that I had already covered in textbooks on my own, but then, I needed reinforcement ... but probably I hadn't absorbed well enough to actually fully use on my own. So, it was good. It was a good opportunity.  
(TOMFQ)

Tom found that the Korean immersive experiences were not necessarily a way to learn new vocabulary and grammar, but instead allowed him to practice what he had already learned. This possible limitation could also have been due to the tutor not bringing in material at a high enough level. Also, since his tutor did not speak English, Tom could ask about the Korean language, but he struggled to understand his tutor's Korean explanations, thus, limiting Tom to talking about what he already knew or was familiar with.

Tom's Korean language learning experiences reveal that he benefited from the use of his L1, English, and the TL, Korean, as they were essential for him to develop his Korean vocabulary and grammatical knowledge. The monolingual approach through his tutor served as a way for him to review and reinforce what he had already learned. Ideologically, from the textbooks that Tom chose to work from, Korean was best learned with English support that decreased as his proficiency increased through the different levels. Tom's practice of consulting bilingual dictionaries also reflects an ideology that English is a valuable tool for vocabulary and grammar acquisition. In contrast, surrounding communicative uses of Korean, Tom's decision to work with a monolingual Korean tutor reveals an ideology privileging native Korean-speakers who teach without recourse to learners' L1s, at least for communicative purposes.

## **5.2 Tom - Microgenetic Analysis**

Tom's microgenetic analysis takes place after he had transitioned to using Korean in his classes. Unfortunately, in Tom's case, this research does not reveal the conditions that led to him incorporating Korean into his classes. Tom himself is not certain except that his first use of Korean was spontaneous but effective, and this successful implementation then led to him using it more frequently to the stage that he was at when the data was collected.

Tom's two sections of *English Conversation I* that I followed were industrial engineering management and math education majors. Tom perceives that the industrial engineering students' English proficiency is the lowest out of all of his sections, with most of these students only having a basic understanding of English. According to Tom, this makes communicating solely through English difficult since the students have trouble understanding basic classroom instructions. Perhaps connected with the limitations in English proficiency, Tom finds that the students are reluctant to participate in class and their motivation to learn and study English is quite low. The students in his higher proficiency section have a much stronger English foundation in comparison. The math education majors are able to understand most of his English explanations and descriptions in addition to being motivated and willing to participate in class.

### **5.2.1 Tom's Beliefs, Perceptions and Classroom Korean Practices**

In contrast to the other participants, Tom perceives that there is no difference in his use of Korean between his high higher and lower proficiency sections; rather he minimizes the amount of Korean that he is able to use based on his perceived limited Korean proficiency.

My Korean is not stellar. It's not wonderful, so it's not like I can say a lot more complex things to the lower-level [proficiency] students to make them understand. So, what I'm saying in one class is probably the limit of what I can say in another class. You know what I mean, but that being said, like, different little individual vocabulary words, I wouldn't have to say in the advanced classes. (TOMBK)<sup>5</sup>

Tom's comments reflect the extent of his Korean proficiency where he, at times, is not able to convey complex instructions or descriptions to his lower proficiency students who could benefit from this support. Thus, he concludes that his use of Korean is balanced in the two sections with the exception of some vocabulary that the students in the higher proficiency section already know. However, in practice, Tom's tends to use more Korean with his lower proficiency students (see Table 04).

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<sup>5</sup> Interviews are coded by instructor name and interview type. BK—background interview; SRI—stimulated recall interview (lower proficiency section); SRH—stimulated recall interview (higher proficiency section); FQ—follow-up interview. For example, TOMBK is Tom's background interview.

Table 04. Korean Functional Analysis for Tom's Lower and Higher Proficiency Sections

	<b>Low</b>	<b>Higher</b>
<b>Curriculum Access</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>84</b>
Topic Introduction	23	6
Explain	24	26
Emphasis	12	11
Examples	17	11
Elicitation	50	19
Feedback	0	0
Vocabulary translation	13	11
<b>Classroom Management</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>61</b>
Task directions	46	28
Homework	8	2
Assignment/quiz/exam information	12	5
Class scheduling	1	3
Procedures, rules	6	1
Praise	23	22
<b>Interpersonal Relations Functions</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>
Joking/Playful	8	6
Chatting	5	7
<i>Baksu</i> (applause)		
Emergent bilingual identity		

Table 04 reveals that Tom uses Korean for more overall functions with his lower proficiency students, especially for course content and classroom management functions. Also, although not visible above, Tom tends to use much less Korean for the different functions in his higher proficiency section. For example, in his higher proficiency section, he may only use one or two Korean words in a grammar explanation; whereas in the lower proficiency section, he uses much more Korean such as in Excerpt 01 below. This use appears to coincide with Tom's perceptions of his lower proficiency students' abilities where most students have only a basic

understanding of English and need a fair amount of support that Korean appears to provide. Where he tends to use Korean more similarly between the two sections is in the use of Korean to translate vocabulary as well as for interpersonal relations functions. It should also be mentioned that two of the categories for interpersonal relations are not quantified. The use of *baksu* (applause) is a form of praise that is already tallied in the classroom management functions although I argue that it also serves an interpersonal relations function (see section 5.2.2.4.1). Moreover, as I discuss below, Tom's use of Korean, at times, reflects his identity as an emergent bilingual NEST, which further serves an interpersonal relations function. However, it is possible to argue that anytime Tom uses Korean this may reflect this Korean learner identity thus attempting to quantify how frequently this occurs with any accuracy is not possible (see section 5.2.2.4.2). In order to better understand why and how Tom uses Korean, his beliefs and perceptions of his use of Korean supported by actual classroom data are discussed below.

#### **5.2.1.1 Students learn and feel comfortable using (some of) the requisite course**

**content.** Tom's aims to have his students learn and feel comfortable using the English taught as part of the course. The interview data reveal three distinct areas where Korean plays a mediating role toward this goal, the use of Korean to teach course content, which is similar to the course content category in the functional analysis; the use of Korean culture; and lastly, the use of Korean for discipline.

**5.2.1.1.1 Korean to teach the course material.** Tom's beliefs toward the role of Korean echo his prior language learning experiences. As discussed above in Tom's cross-linguistic Spanish language learning experiences, his L1, English, had an important role mediating his understanding of the new language and helping him draw connections between Spanish and

English. In the case of Korean, Tom believes it makes it "easier for students to understand what it [word or grammatical concept] is in English and to relate it to their own language" (TOMBK).

Tom explains how he accomplishes this in his classes through the use of Korean metalanguage.

Just saying it first in Korean so they know exactly what that is. So, then I don't have to use that Korean word again like *myeongsa* [noun] and *dongsa* [verb] ... If I say *myeongsa* [noun] and the word 'noun' after it, then I can use the word 'noun'. That's a big part of it. Introducing a topic or a word in Korean just by a simple translation and not having to really use it again. (TOMBK)

Tom's comments above also reflect a pedagogical approach, where he scaffolds (Wood, Bruner, & Ross, 1976) learners' English acquisition by only using the English word(s) once his students have learned the new material. Excerpt 01 below is from the lower proficiency section where he uses this approach to introduce a grammatical topic and to provide supporting examples.

Excerpt 01 Tom LC71<sup>6</sup>

- 01 Tom: page 44, page 44, and today's, today's grammar that we are learning is this  
02 [Tom points to '현재 진행 시제 – Present Continuous' on the chalkboard]  
03 Tom: 현재 진행 시제 [*hyeonjae jinhaeng shijae*; present continuous],  
04 Tom: present continuous tense,  
05 Tom: TV 를 보고있어요[*TVreul bogoisseyo*; I'm watching TV],  
06 Tom: 미역국을 먹고 있어요[*miyeokgukeul meokgoisseoyo*; I'm eating seaweed  
soup],  
07 Tom: I'm eating 미역국 [*miyeokguk*; seaweed soup] right now, uh huh,  
08 Tom: 이렇게 [*ireohgae*; like this],  
09 Tom: in English, so for example, I am teaching right now

Excerpt 01 is Tom's introduction to his lesson on the present continuous tense. Tom first introduces the grammar structure that they will study in lines 01 to 04. He does this in line 02 by

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<sup>6</sup> Classroom observations are coded by instructor name, section proficiency, chapter, and either class one or two. For example, Tom LC71 is Tom's lower proficiency class, chapter 7, the first of two classes.

pointing to the chalkboard where he has already written in Korean and English ‘present continuous tense’. Then in lines 03 and 04, he reads the Korean and English text. In lines 05 to 06, he provides Korean examples using the present continuous to activate students’ background knowledge (Cummins, 2007) and also help students who may not be aware of the English or Korean metalanguage. Then in line 07, Tom partially translates his Korean sentence from line 06, so that it contains the English grammar and a Korean noun. The use of a Korean noun in this case may help lower proficiency students who have a limited vocabulary. In this way, students can focus on the English grammar and not yet be concerned with new vocabulary. Then in line 09, Tom switches to an all-English sentence in the present continuous tense.

This pedagogical approach appears to be sensitive to the cognitive demands of Tom’s students, in particular lower proficiency students who may find it difficult to keep up with the simultaneous introductions of new words and grammatical structures. This in turn may account for his increased use of Korean with his lower proficiency students.

**5.2.1.1.2 Korean culture – Keeping students interested.** Tom brings many aspects of Korean culture into his classes either through the use of an image of a famous Korean celebrity or by referencing parts of everyday Korean student life; in either case, it is always through the Korean language. By including Korean culture in this way Tom finds that it perks students up and the students “...can have a lot more input which is interesting” (TOMFQ) which can supplement the textbook that is based on American culture. A relatively simple example of this incorporation of Korean culture may be seen in Excerpt 01 above where Tom uses *miyukguk* [seaweed soup] in his example sentence in lines 06 and 07. In Korean, *miyukguk* is a common soup but it is steeped in tradition. Many Korean women eat the soup daily for at least one month



after giving birth and connected to this, *miyukguk* is also a traditional birthday breakfast meal.

The use of *miyukguk* serves to maintain or increase students' interest and allows them to focus on the otherwise English part of the sentence. Excerpt 02 below is from Tom's higher proficiency section where the students are looking at the PowerPoint images and describing the appearances of different people.

#### Excerpt 02 Tom HC81

- 01 Tom: OK, who is that? [picture of Korean actor Jo Seung-woo]  
02 Ss: Jo Seung-woo  
03 Tom: from the movie 친구 [*chingu*; Friend], that was him in  
친구 [*chingu*; Friend]?,  
04 Ss: 마라톤 [*malaton*; Marathon]  
05 Tom: no not 친구 [*chingu*; Friend], 마라톤 [*malaton*; Marathon]  
06 Ss: 마라톤 [*malaton*; Marathon]  
04 Tom: age, how does he look?  
05 S3: twenties  
06 Tom: twenties, so he is young?  
07 S9: middle age  
08 S5: old  
09 Tom: or middle aged or old? middle age, really is he  
10 Ss: middle age  
11 Tom: I don't think so, middle age is in your thirties, forties...

In Excerpt 02 the students are looking at an image of Jo Seung-woo, a famous Korean movie actor, and a number of students are engaged and give their opinions about his age while using the vocabulary that Tom had been teaching. What is not quite explicit in the transcription is how interested the students were during this task. Based on my observations, the majority of the class was engaged first in Korean, on naming the actor and the movie that made him famous, but also in English, when the students were shouting out the course vocabulary and sharing answers with each other. This response indicates how powerful an image of a popular Korean artist, a form of

Korean pop-culture, may be in some classes serving to mediate student learning and engagement with the course content.

**5.2.1.1.3 Discipline – Bringing students back on task and empowering teachers.** Tom differs from the other participants in that he uses Korean for discipline purposes. The use of Korean in this way is an attempt to have students re-engage with the course content and ideally learn what Tom is teaching. Additionally, an argument may be made that Korean serves to maintain or reestablish his role in the classroom where Tom is the teacher who teaches and the students are those who learn from the teacher. Below, Tom retells an episode where a group of students were sleeping in his lower proficiency section.

Yesterday, in this class, I kind of got a little bit frustrated because maybe three or four people [students] were blatantly just [Tom pretends to sleep] head down sleeping and I just said in Korean: '*jalmyun gyeolseok hal geo yo*'. If you sleep, you will be absent. If you do this, you will be absent. If you play on your phone, you will be absent and 'oh' they all sat up and paid attention for the rest of the class. (TOMSRI)

Based on Tom's comments and the classroom observations, this use of Korean is an effective way to deal with students who are not acting according to the expected norms of the classroom. In this case, Tom was able to threaten students with academic consequences if they continued to sleep in his class which he may not otherwise have been able to do in English alone since the students likely would not have understood the English equivalent. Thus Korean, in addition to being a tool that can reengage students with the course content, can also serve an empowering role for native English-speaking instructors allowing them to communicate potential consequences to students. This option, however, is likely limited to teachers whose Korean proficiency is high enough to compel student action.

**5.2.1.2 Students engage in communicative tasks.** Tom's use of Korean serves a mediating role toward a second goal surrounding the engagement of students in communicative tasks. By Tom providing task directions in Korean, his students, assuming they are paying attention, will likely know what they have to do and they can then spend more time practicing the new content through the activities as he notes below.

Sometimes explaining what I wanted them to do [in English], ... that takes so long. Sometimes ... if I just explain what I want them to do in Korean, right now, [Tom snaps fingers] then they can do it, get in their groups, get in their partners, focus, and then use, actually do the English we're supposed to be doing in the book for the activity. [It] speeds up the process. (TOMFQ)

Tom's comments also reflect the pressure of only meeting with his students twice a week for 50 minutes at a time which limits the amount of time he has to teach new material and then have students practice speaking using the new material. Thus, according to Tom, Korean, can reduce confusion, save time and allow students to start practicing the new material sooner. An example of this may be seen in Excerpt 03 from Tom's lower proficiency section.

Excerpt 03 Tom LC82

- 01 Tom: work together with your partner, and talk about her,
- 02 Tom: with your partner, 얘기합시다 [yaegihabsida; let's talk],
- 03 Tom: what is the girl's name?
- 04 Ss: Jeon Ji Hyeon
- 05 Tom: Jeon Ji Hyun, Jeong Ji Yun,
- 06 Ss: Jeon Ji Hyeon
- 07 Tom: Jeon Ji Hyeong,
- 08 Tom: look, talk about her 외관 [oegwan; appearance], her appearance and
- 09 Tom: her 성격 [seonggyeog; personality], talk about her,
- 10 Tom: 얘기합시다 [yaegihabsida; let's talk], ready, begin,
- 11 [students begin activity]

In Excerpt 03 Tom has just finished a whole-class activity describing people, and he is setting up a similar activity with his students except they will work in pairs. The students need to describe a famous Korean actor, Jeon Ji Hyeong, using the vocabulary they have studied. First, he tells the students that they will talk in pairs in English and then in a potentially confusing bilingual sentence, he tells students ‘with your partner, let’s talk’. It is confusing since ‘let’s talk’ implies a group speaking activity inclusive of Tom which contradicts with the ‘with your partner’ part of the sentence; however, this does not appear to be a significant stumbling block. In lines 03 to 07, Tom elicits the name of the actor, which he could not remember. This stage of the instructions focusing on the Korean actor serves to engage most of the class, further highlighting the benefits incorporating of Korean culture. Then in lines 08 and 09, he uses a Korean word for the key instructions, in that the students have to talk about the actor’s personality (*seonggyeog*) and appearance (*oegwan*)<sup>7</sup>. In line 10, he tells them again ‘let’s talk’ and to begin, and the students begin working in pairs in line 11.

If we consider the Korean content on its own, Tom has said: ‘let’s talk’; the actor’s name, Jeon Ji Hyun; ‘personality’ and ‘appearance’; and then ‘let’s talk’ again. Thus, the use of key Korean nouns in otherwise English phrases appears to be enough to get all of the students on task speaking English with their partners almost immediately. To add further support to the effectiveness of the instructions, Tom had a short follow-up activity where he elicited his students’ answers from this task. Their responses showed that they had all discussed the actor’s

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<sup>7</sup> Tom’s use of the Korean word 외관 (*oegwan*) is a Korean word used to describe the appearance of buildings rather than people which should be 외모 (*oemo*). The students, who are very quick to point out and help correct Tom’s Korean inaccuracies (see section 5.2.2.4.2), did not point out the error to Tom and it did not appear to have any impact on the class.

personality and appearance, although to varying extents, which may be a reflection of the varied English language proficiencies among students.

**5.2.1.3 Course content and communicative tasks.** The use of Korean can further mediate students' learning of the course content and also lead to students feeling more comfortable or willing to engage with the communicative activities. Tom achieves this through the interpersonal relations functions of Korean and also through identifying as a Korean language learner.

**5.2.1.3.1 Korean for interpersonal relations.** Tom's use of Korean helps to create a positive, enjoyable learning space for his students. This positive environment, in turn, supports students learning the course content and helps to encourage students' participation in the communicative activities. Tom primarily achieves this through Korean onomatopoeia and interjections, joking with his students and by calling for rounds of applause for his students.

Tom's classes are sprinkled with Korean onomatopoeia and interjections which may be in response to a student, class tasks, or even the textbook or a PowerPoint slide.

Using those *ahee* [Korean interjection similar to 'oops'], oh, those kind of Korean expressions. It's just for fun. You know make them laugh or be more comfortable and the fact, probably a habit too [that is] just ingrained in my personality. (TOMSRI)

This practice is another way to bring Korean culture into Tom's classes and is also at times a marked practice as the students sometimes laugh at Tom's interjections as though they did not expect him to know those expressions. The result is to lighten the mood in the classroom. Tom

further improves the mood by often, based on classroom observations, using Korean when joking with his students, as may be seen in Excerpt 04 from his higher proficiency section.

Excerpt 04 Tom HC82

- 01 Tom: now, let's start talking about some people, what about my character?  
02 Tom: what am I like, using some of these words, what am, what is your teacher  
Tom like?  
04 S3: kind  
05 Tom: kind, thank you, and...  
06 S8: cute  
07 Tom: and 계속 [gyesog; continue],  
08 S2: smart  
09 Tom: 계속 [gyesog; continue],  
10 S9: cute  
11 Tom: oh cute, yeah, you can use other words too right, smart  
and 계속 [gyesog; continue],  
12 S8: handsome  
13 Tom: oh 잘했어요 [jalhaesseoyo; well-done], right right, good, oh very nice,

In Excerpt 04 above, Tom has just finished a vocabulary building exercise surrounding personality traits and he is now having the students use the vocabulary to describe him. Tom soon turns the activity into a way to have the students flatter him, and, while laughing and smiling, he uses Korean to encourage the students to continue. In line 07, after being told that he is kind and cute in lines 04 and 06 respectively, he tells the student to ‘continue’ in Korean and then again in line 09 and again in line 11, each time after being complemented. Then in line 13, he praises the students in Korean telling them ‘well done’ and continues to praise them in English. Throughout this entire interaction both Tom and the students are laughing and having fun. The use of Korean in this case appears to be marked since the students’ English proficiency is quite high and they do not need Korean prompting to understand what to do. Furthermore, the

Korean praising in line 13 is the only time that Tom has praised the students using Korean, other than *baksu* (see below); thus, the use of Korean again is marked. Therefore, the use of Korean, in this cross-linguistic interaction is twofold, first it encourages students to use the course vocabulary and second it serves to lighten the mood of the classroom which further serves to encourage student engagement with the course material.

Lastly, Tom, in most instances, praises his students in English; however, there is one prolific exception, his use of the Korean word *baksu* [applause]. This is a unique use of Korean specific to Tom where after a student or the whole class has provided a correct answer or completed an activity, he will typically praise his students in English followed by Korean *baksu* [applause] and the students will invariably applaud as may be seen in Excerpt 05 below.

Excerpt 05 Tom H82

- 01 Tom: what does she say is Ken's character?
- 02 S7: outgoing but lazy
- 03 Tom: outgoing but lazy, very good,
- 04 Tom: whoa, 박수 [*baksu*; applause] very nice
- 05 [Ss clapping]

In Excerpt 05, Tom is following up on a listening activity with his higher proficiency students. In line 02, a student provides the correct answer. In line 03, Tom repeats the answer and then praises the student first in English and then in line 04, he calls for applause in Korean. The students in turn applaud in line 05. After the students finish clapping Tom moves on to the next question. The practice of saying *baksu*, however, is more than simply requesting a round of applause.

I do that, well the actual action of clapping is, to get them to encourage each other ... Just to encourage each other and to give them a little bit of tiny little break from doing it [classroom task]. So, kind of a using it as a transition as well using it as an 'OK well done. We've mastered this or we've talked about this. You've done a good job and now let's add to it. Let's increase what now we're doing [and add] something more on top of that'. (TOMSRI)

Tom's comments reflect the multi-functional nature of his use of *baksu* where, in addition to a way to praise his students, it can also serve a transitional role to move the class to the next task or as a way to mark the end of a task. Furthermore, *baksu* is commonly heard on Korean television programs where the host of a television show will call out *baksu* after a performance or speech (TOMBK). Thus, *baksu* also serves as a connection to Tom's students' lives outside the classroom by connecting the class with Korean pop-culture.

**5.2.1.3.2 As a fallible emergent bilingual – humanizing the classroom.** Tom, connecting with Morgan (2004), uses his identity as an emergent bilingual as a way to motivate students to try to speak English and to not be afraid of making mistakes. He does this in two ways, first based on his identity as a Korean language learner and second, connected to this identity position, through his, at times, imperfect Korean.

I tell them that I am studying [Korean] currently. So, they know that I'm actively studying. So, they also know that and I tell them, 'Don't worry. Speak slowly. When I'm learning Korean, I have to speak slowly and sometimes I make mistakes, but its OK'. I use the fact that I am studying Korean to tell them that it's OK, in English, if you make a mistake. That's OK. Don't worry so much about it. Just try to [speak English to the] best of your ability, and if you make a mistake its OK. You can try again later and make and say it correctly. So, I kind of use the fact that I'm studying Korean to help them understand that I know what they're going through. I know what is



happening and obviously when I speak Korean I make mistakes. So... it puts me more on a human level than just this almighty teacher. (TOMSRI)

In essence, Tom's identification as a Korean language learner creates a space where the hierarchical roles of the classroom are positively upset and the inherent power relations are altered. Tom changes from being an 'almighty teacher' (TOMSRI) instead to a teacher who is also a fallible emergent bilingual who needs help when he is using Korean. The students then take on the role of learner-teachers since they are able to teach and help Tom with Korean language and cultural issues such as spelling, vocabulary and confirming cultural references. By using Korean in the classroom and occasionally making mistakes and having the students help him, Tom is showing the students that he is willing to try to speak and write in his second language and he is not afraid to make mistakes. Then by identifying with students as not only a teacher but also as a fellow language learner, he is able to encourage them to speak and use English and to not be afraid of making mistakes. This practice in turn leads to his students learning and being comfortable using English as well as engaging with English through the locally contextualized communicative activities.

**5.2.1.4 Students know important administrative information surrounding course assessments.** Tom finds that Korean ensures that students know what they have to do for future evaluative components such as quizzes or exams.

So mainly when I use Korean is when I want them to understand what they need to do for something in the future ... I want them to prepare them for a quiz by giving them the exact date and time in Korean. They [have the] exact [information], so no misunderstandings. I'm saying it in Korean so no excuses to not come this day or to be late. (TOMBK)

Not only does Tom provide students with the necessary details such as when and where to write a quiz or exam, he will also use Korean when giving assignment instructions. An example of this may be seen in his assignment instructions for his lower proficiency class in Excerpt 06 below. In this case, he uses both English and Korean where Korean serves a primary role to provide the requisite details.

Excerpt 06 Tom LC81

- 01 Tom: a 초대장 [*chodaejang*; invitation] like a card, that I open up, [Tom is holding an example invitation]
- 02 Tom: OK, and include this information,
- 03 Tom: 어디 [*eodi*; where] , 어디서 [*eodiseo*; where], right, 언제 [*eonje*; when], 누구와 같이 [*nuguwa gati*; with who ],
- 04 Tom: yeah right, 뭘할거예요 [*mualhalgeoaeyo*; what will we do], OK, make, make a 계획 [*gyaehwoek*; a plan], a 약속 [*yaksok*; appointment] with me
- 05 Tom: so you need to make a nice 초대장 [*chodaejang*; invitation],

In line 01, he introduces the assignment in Korean and English and shows the students an example invitation. Then, in 03 and 04, he uses Korean to state all of the required details that the students must include for the assignment. In 05, he ends his instructions through a bilingual sentence telling students to make a nice invitation. According to Tom, the instructions were effective since all of the students completed the assignment and submitted them on-time (TOMFQ). Thus, Korean ensures that the students understand what they need to do to complete evaluative tasks correctly. In this manner, Korean not only ensures that students know what is expected of them, but it also serves as a way to make students accountable for completing their assignments correctly and on time (TOMBK; TOMSRI; TOMFQ).

## 5.2.2 Tensions and Contradictions

Tom tends to view the use of Korean as a positive mediating tool in his activity systems and this is further supported through the functional analysis; however, the use of Korean is not without tensions. In particular, he experiences tensions surrounding his use of Korean and his assumption of an English-only MOI policy.

Tom assumes that there is an institutional English-only MOI policy that teachers ought not to use Korean and instead teach English entirely through English (TOMBK; TOMFQ):

- 01 JM: Is there any official policy that you shouldn't use Korean in your classes?
- 02 Tom: No, he [course director] never. Of course, the director discourages [it]. He said we shouldn't. There's no formal contract that we signed that we shouldn't use it. It's discouraged by the director and in general.
- 03 JM: Has the director said you shouldn't use Korean in these classes? Do you remember any instances of that coming up?
- 04 Tom: Not at all, no. He hasn't observed me in ages so, Tony [lead teacher] was my last observation. He is super nice and he wouldn't say anything anyway [to director]. (TOMFQ)

Tom's comments indicate that he believes there is an English-only MOI policy at D University and that his use of Korean is contrary to those policies. This assumption of a rule, whether real or not, in turn conflicts with Tom's use of Korean and in turn serves as a source of tension.

Tom's resolution to this apparent conflict and tension is an agentic action on his part. He maximizes the use of Korean with his students whenever possible while not getting into trouble for this use at the same time. He achieves this by not using Korean in classes where he is being directly observed by the director since that would be a violation of the director's English-only MOI rule (TOMFQ). However, while not being observed by the director, behind closed doors with only his students, Tom freely uses Korean to meet the objectives of his classes.

Furthermore, likely based on his years of experience at D University, Tom knows most of the instructors, and, in turn, he knows who will be supportive of his use of Korean.

As discussed above (see section 3.2.1.3), lead teachers observe a small group of teachers' classes and report their findings back to the director. Tom views his current lead teacher as someone who will not reveal his use of Korean to the director (TOMFQ). So as long as Tom is being observed by a lead teacher that Tom is familiar with, he will use Korean in those classes as well. Therefore, Tom's way of addressing the English-only policy is to apply it to only specific situations, namely when he is being observed by the director, and he disregards it in most other cases.

While Tom has learned to use Korean in such a way that he does not get into trouble, the use of Korean in light of his perception that he is violating an English-only MOI policy and, also, due to his ontogenetic development surrounding ELT and the cultural-historic domain's English-only discourses can lead to an emotional response. In particular, Tom at times experiences feelings of unease with its use.

It just kind of started happening [using Korean in class], but it was effective. So, it kind of made me think, 'Oh, OK, this works, so maybe I should keep doing it'. But you know again, *I, kind of feel weird about it* [using Korean]. *Sometimes, like I [feel] I really shouldn't be doing it.* But again, it's not like I speak, I couldn't possibly speak all the time in Korean. (TOMFQ, italics added)

While Tom has concerns about his use of Korean, he does not have a clear idea of the origins of these cognitions and there are likely numerous sources for these tensions. The most immediate source is the contradiction between his use of Korean and his perception of an English-only MOI

policy. The ontogenetic analysis also indicates that all of Tom's experiences surrounding ELT reflected monolingual teaching ideologies. His MA TESL training advocated an English-only approach to teaching and Tom's practice teaching at his university's English language institute followed an English-only policy. Moreover, as discussed in the cultural-historic analysis for ELT in Korea, English-only teaching policies are found at both macro and micro levels. Thus, it would appear then that Tom is rather isolated in his practice, and while his use of Korean has led to positive results and he has not suffered any negative consequences for its use, the negative discourses surrounding the use of Korean or other learners' L1s likely make him feel like he is doing something that he should not be doing as well as making him 'feel weird'.

## **Chapter 6**

Ted, like Tom, is an experienced EFL instructor who actively uses Korean in his classes although compared to the other participants, Ted's Korean proficiency is limited. The ontogenetic analysis reveals how Ted, from the beginning stages of his career as a teacher, sought and learned Korean to teach cross-linguistically. The analysis reveals how Ted's positive view of including his learners' L1 and rejection of monolingual teaching practices are rooted in the beginning of his teaching career and can be directly connected to his present-day practices as revealed in the microgenetic analysis.

### **6.1 Ted – Ontogenetic Analysis**

Ted grew up in a monolingual English-speaking home and community in New Zealand. Throughout his elementary and secondary schooling, Ted did not learn any additional languages. In high school, he studied Maori; however, the course focused on teaching students Maori culture rather than how to speak Maori. After graduating from high school, Ted attended university and earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in English. As part of his degree Ted took courses in English grammar although he did not take courses relating to ESL or EFL teaching. In Ted's case, like many other teachers moving to Korea, he did not have and was not required to have any teaching qualifications to work in Korea.

#### **6.1.1 Early ELT in Korea - Ignoring English-only in Favour of Cross-linguistic Pedagogy**

After Ted graduated from university, he found that his employment opportunities were limited in New Zealand, which, in addition to a desire to experience living in a different country,

led him to seeking work in Korea. Given Ted's status of a native speaker of English and citizen of New Zealand, he easily found teaching positions at English language institutes in Korea. In the four years after Ted graduated from university, he taught at three different language institutes; each reflecting English-only teaching ideologies.

Ted was first hired by a large ELT institute that produced their own English language textbooks and activity books. In the position, Ted and a Korean EFL teacher co-taught kindergarten and early elementary school-aged children. The institute provided the curriculum through their textbooks and activity books and designated teaching duties accordingly. As Ted comments "the school policy was that the Korean teachers were there to explain it all and teach in Korean and we were the ones there to help them practice it" (TEDFQ). Therefore, the Korean-speaking teacher, using the textbook, taught the course vocabulary and grammar on one day, and the following day, Ted would go through the communicative tasks in the activity book that were based on what the students had studied with the Korean teacher. The institute had a de jure English-only MOI policy, which was regularly communicated to the NESTs in meetings although Ted did not heed to the policy.

At first, Ted taught his classes monolingually since he did not know Korean, but he soon sought Korean words out of necessity, ignoring the English-only policy altogether. As noted above, Ted taught young learners many of whom had never studied English before. Thus, Ted was reliant on very simple English and non-verbal gestures that would falter at times to communicate with his students. In turn, he learned Korean words from his colleagues and friends to use in his classes.

You pick up the basic words [from friends and colleagues], and then you can sort of throw them in and, probably some of the time, I wasn't saying the correct word in the correct moment, but it just gets better as you go along. You start off poorly and then, you sort of pick up more and more and more. (TEDFQ)

Ted's comments reveal that at the onset of his Korean learning and EFL teaching experiences he was not afraid to use Korean to teach. Rather, he would attempt to use the language in a haphazard manner, which, as he notes, increased over time along with his Korean proficiency. In light of the institute's de jure English-only policy, it was never enforced, at least toward Ted. He felt that at this particular stage, since he was still a relatively beginner Korean learner, he may not have spoken enough Korean to warrant anyone telling him to stop (TEDFQ).

After Ted completed his first year of teaching, he moved to a different academic institute that taught multiple subjects including English. The institute, much like the first, provided the course materials and had a de jure English-only MOI policy. The institute differed as Ted did not have a co-teacher and he was therefore responsible for all teaching duties. At this institute, Ted continued to learn and use Korean when he taught, once again ignoring the English-only MOI policy. "There was a blanket English-only [MOI] rule, for all teachers, but, I mean, I was teaching kindergarten students and beginner students so it was often [necessary to use Korean] to get your message across" (TEDFQ). Ted's comment reflects the classroom-based realities of teaching beginner English learners where Korean plays an important role to enable communication between the students and teacher. Additionally, much like the first institute, his employers, outside of teachers' meetings, did not enforce the English-only MOI policy. Thus, Ted's cross-linguistic teaching practices were able to develop uninterrupted. Ted's experience at



this institute, however, was short-lived as the institute neglected to complete Ted's immigration paperwork on time, and after working for three months he was ordered to leave the country.

After a brief time away, Ted returned to Korea and moved to a different institute where he had a positive experience teaching. While this institute also had a *de jure* English-only MOI policy, the teachers had a greater amount of freedom surrounding their classroom practices. The school had only been open for slightly more than a year, and they were in the process of developing their curriculum. In Ted's case, he had to develop his own lesson plans and course materials which he enjoyed along with the increased autonomy and responsibility. Another significant difference with Ted's experiences at this institute was that his Korean had improved, and he was able to use Korean for more classroom functions than before.

Getting into the third school, I started using it functionally. So, yeah it wasn't really until the third school that I started using it as a tool to teach ... It was for instruction and rules basically. It was mainly to just keep the class flowing, like those times when you have to explain a rule or you have to explain how the classroom works or tell the students what they have to do. So, I used Korean for that. (TEDFQ)

Ted's comments reveal how his increasing Korean proficiency developed into a cross-linguistic practice where he would use Korean to supplement his otherwise English instructions and directions. He further notes that this use of Korean helped to "keep the class flowing". This notion of keeping the flow going, echoing what was discussed in Macaro (2001), is an important aspect of Ted's classroom practices and also reveals the multifunctional use of Korean as discussed in greater detail in Ted's microgenetic analysis. Lastly, Ted, was able to build on his use of Korean in light of an English-only MOI policy that was unenforced.

There are a number of ELT ideologies circulating in the three English language institutes. The first institute reflects an ELT ideology where languages are best taught bilingually by native Korean-speaking teachers. However, for speaking practice, those tasks are best modelled and led by a monolingual NEST. The second and third institutes, based on their hiring practices and English-only MOI policies, reflect the monolingual principle (Howatt, 1984) where English is best taught monolingually by a NEST. However, there also appears to be an unofficial language policy.

Ted stated that there were explicitly stated de jure English-only MOI policies; however, they were never enforced, at least toward Ted. One possible explanation is that the institutes' management was aware that Ted taught true beginner or very low proficiency students and they in turn chose to overlook Ted's use of Korean. In this case, Ted's cross-linguistic teaching practices were tacitly endorsed which reflects an ideology that English is best taught cross-linguistically, at least to beginner students. An alternative explanation is that the institutes were unaware of Ted's teaching practices which led to the English-only policies not being enforced. In this case, management's lack of awareness of Ted's use of Korean or their intentional decision to not enforce the English-only policy may have led to de facto MOI in support of cross-linguistic teaching practices that enabled Ted's use of Korean.

As for Ted, he appears to hold an ideology that English is best taught cross-linguistically. Especially when teaching lower proficiency students, the use of his learners' L1 is a common-sense way to teach. It also appears that Ted is passively resistant to English-only MOI policies as he does not seem to be influenced by them in any manner as he simply chooses to ignore them.

Moreover, this ability or agency to ignore the English-only policies appears to have been enabled by the institutes' lack of enforcement.

### **6.1.2 TEFL Certification**

After Ted had spent more than three years teaching at language institutes, he decided that he wanted to teach at a D University. He was recommended to the director by a friend, interviewed and was offered a position at the university on the condition that he obtained a TEFL certificate. Near the end of Ted's final contract at the third language institute, he enrolled in a 60-hour online TEFL course. The TEFL course was the least expensive option that upon completion would make him eligible to work at D University. Based on Ted's recollections of the course, it appeared to have focused more on grammar than ELT pedagogy, or that was all that he was able to remember.

I don't think it helped me in anyway in terms of my teaching approach or methodology. Just good for basically refreshing the rules of grammar and that kind of thing ... I didn't realize all the specific grammar. I didn't realize that I was doing this wrong or it was this and not that. It was definitely good to refresh. (TEDBK)

His comments reflect that the course did not influence his pedagogical approach; however, it did serve to help him 'refresh' some of his English grammar. From Ted's perspective, not much may be gleaned ideologically about the TEFL program surrounding learners' L1s since Ted does not recall or was not taught ELT pedagogy. The significance of the training is that while it did not serve to memorably change his approach to teaching, the certificate he earned gave him the qualification that he needed to teach at D University.

### **6.1.3 Early Teaching at D University – Tensions using Korean**

After starting at D University, Ted continued to learn Korean and used it more and more as a part of his teaching practice. His increasing use of Korean led to an instance where students in one of his higher proficiency classes rejected its use.

I've had students come up to me before and tell me to stop using so much Korean in the classroom, which took me a little bit by surprise, but the student who actually said it to me was a higher-level [proficiency] student and she actually had pretty good English. So, I think she was not happy with the amount of Korean I was using, because I got up to a point where at one point where I was using a lot of Korean in the classroom, and that kind of made me sort of scale it back a little. (TEDSR11)

In Ted's case, there appears to have been a discrepancy between how much Korean he perceived his students wanted and what his students, likely a small number, actually desired. As he notes, one of the higher proficiency students in his classes complained about his use of Korean. This in turn led to him reflecting and subsequently reducing the amount of Korean that he used in his higher proficiency sections. This experience is significant since it reflects the amount of power that a student or a group of students can have on a teachers' practice. The complaints from the students not only mediated Ted's use of Korean with his higher proficiency students in one specific class; they also mediated his beliefs toward how much Korean he should use in all of his higher proficiency classes up to and including the present stage of research.

### **6.1.4 Korean Language Learning**

Ted initially set out to learn Korean for use in his EFL classes in Korea. Korean was also the first additional language that Ted attempted to learn. His L1, English, served an important

mediating role throughout his learning experiences. Ted, much like Tom, did not take any formal Korean classes and instead used a number of informal self-directed approaches to learn the language.

The most immediate way for Ted to learn new vocabulary was to ask his students. For example, while he was teaching a class he would ask his students for a Korean translation of English metalanguage. He would then write the new word(s) down on his hand and look at it throughout the day with the intent of memorizing it. While this approach helped him learn new Korean words, it was not without problems. Accuracy was not an issue; rather the translations would at times be childlike forms of the Korean words that adult Korean speakers would find either strange or incomprehensible (TEDBK). In this case, it is not the cross-linguistic practice that was problematic but rather the age and maturity level of Ted's young learners. At other times, Ted would ask the Korean teachers at the institutes for Korean translations of English words that he planned on using in class. These words too, he would write down on his hands to study throughout the day. At the end of the day he would then copy the words down into a notebook to review and study at a later date.

After learning initial teaching vocabulary, Ted started using a Korean language textbook and rote-learning to increase his vocabulary and grammatical knowledge. The textbook was an introductory Korean book published by a top Korean university. The text had translations; however, it did not have detailed explanations for the grammar. In order to learn the grammar, Ted elicited the help of Korean-speaking friends who could explain it to him in English. Ted also used rote-learning methods where he would write, translate, and memorize new Korean words that he learned in his classes, the community, from friends, or the textbook. He also spent

a significant amount of time speaking Korean with his English-speaking friends who were also studying Korean.

Ted found speaking Korean with his friends to be very fruitful since not only did they practice speaking Korean with each other; they also discussed their Korean learning experiences. These interactions were all cross-linguistic where Ted and his friends used English to talk about the Korean they had learned. By sharing what they learned, the peer group was able to increase their collective vocabulary, grammar, and pragmatic knowledge of the language. The only problem with this approach was they were all beginner Korean language learners.

It could be harmful because you're not Korean. So, you're not sure if what you're saying or what you're talking about with your friend is exactly correct ... It was good in a lot of situations, but then there was a few times where I found out that what other people were telling me was not the correct usage for that situation. So [it was] good and bad. (TEDBK)

Ted's comments reflect a potential drawback from learning Korean from beginner non-native Korean-speaking language learners since there is a possibility they may unknowingly pass on incorrect information to each other. However, based on the classroom observations, these limited occurrences did not appear to negatively affect his use of Korean in the classroom.

## **6.2 Ted - Microgenetic Analysis**

The analysis below reveals how Ted continues to teach EFL cross-linguistically at D University. Ted follows an ideology that views the use of Korean as a beneficial classroom tool serving important pedagogical and managerial functions. The analysis further reveals how Korean plays an important role in Ted's negotiation of his identity as a teacher/entertainer.

Moreover, Ted's use of Korean, in contrast to the other participants, is a relatively tension-free practice where Ted continues to ignore any notion of English-only MOI policies.

The two sections that I observed were human biology and English education majors. According to Ted, the human biology major students are enthusiastic, have a lot of energy, and are willing to learn. He also finds that the students reflect a range of English language proficiencies from rudimentary to high beginner (TEDSRI). Based on my observations, this group of students' overall English language proficiency is higher than Tom and Ella's lower proficiency students. Also, the students' motivation appears to be much higher than Tom and Ella's students. Thus, either due to the students' higher English language proficiency or their willingness to learn, most of the students follow Ted's lessons and appear to understand Ted's classroom talk with Korean support.

The English education majors are all students who scored over 700 on the TOEIC (see section 3.1.1.1.1). Ted reports that they are all interested in learning and likely due to their major, they all see a role for English in their future (TEDSRII). Based on my observations, the students are able to understand Ted's classroom talk without the need for Korean support.

### **6.2.1 Ted's Beliefs, Perceptions and Classroom Korean Practices**

Ted reports that he differentiates the amount of Korean that he uses in his two sections

I think with the lower-level [proficiency] ... I would use a lot more Korean and the advanced class try not to use any Korean, because, you know, obviously, they want the English and they want to, it's better for them to hear the English (TEDBK)

Ted's comments reveal his perception of what his students need, in particular the higher proficiency students where he claims they 'obviously' want English and that it is better for them to hear more English than his lower proficiency students. As discussed above, Ted's beliefs of how much Korean he should use with his higher proficiency students appear to have been influenced by an early teaching experience at D University where a higher proficiency student complained about, what she felt was, Ted's excessive use of Korean (see section 6.1.3). This experience in turn contributed to his beliefs, which reflect a proficiency-based approach to using Korean in the classroom where at a certain stage the students no longer need as much Korean support. He does, however, qualify his view considering the current teaching context at D University.

For the higher [level] classes I try to limit as much Korean as possible. Obviously, I think immersion [English-only] is the best way to learn English. So, the less Korean you're speaking with the more advanced students the better, [but] in a university environment where there's a lot of relevant and important information, I think it pays to use Korean (TEDSR11)

Ted again notes his preference for maximizing the amount of English in his higher proficiency sections; however, he qualifies that view stating a need to use Korean to help transmit relevant and important information. In this case, Ted's reference to relevant and important information refers to administrative information such as exam details and regulations. Thus, based on Ted's beliefs and perceptions, Korean appears to be necessary to mediate the course content for his lower proficiency students but not for his higher proficiency students. However, for both groups of students, Korean is appropriate for classroom management functions. The Korean functional analysis for Ted supports what he perceives he does to an extent, as shown in Table 05 below.



Table 05. Korean Functional Analysis for Ted's Lower and Higher Proficiency Systems

	<b>Lower</b>	<b>High</b>
<b>Curriculum Access</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>57</b>
Topic Introduction	21	13
Explain	27	16
Emphasis	16	8
Examples	3	3
Elicitation	29	9
Feedback	15	7
Vocabulary translation	4	1
<b>Classroom Management</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>9</b>
Task directions	9	3
Homework	1	0
Assignment/Quiz/Exam information	14	3
Class scheduling	3	3
Procedures, Rules	5	0
Praise	0	0
<b>Interpersonal Relations</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
Joking/Playful	3	2
Chatting	1	3
Negotiating emergent bilingual/entertainer identity		

It is clear in Table 05, that Ted uses Korean more with his lower proficiency students than his higher proficiency students, n=115 and n=57 respectively. The number of functions that he uses with his higher proficiency students (n=57) does not appear to support a maximal English approach (Howatt, 1984; Phillipson, 1992). There also is a large difference surrounding classroom management functions between the lower and higher proficiency sections. Since Ted

states that he did not differentiate the amount of Korean that he used in this category, it is possible that the difference may be connected to the students' English language proficiency. Ted may not have needed to use as much Korean with his higher proficiency students since they were able to understand most of his English instructions whereas the lower proficiency students may have needed more Korean support. As for interpersonal relations functions, Ted rarely uses Korean in either section. One exception is Ted's use of Korean when negotiating his teacher identity as an emergent bilingual/entertainer (see 6.2.1.3.1 below). Much like in the case with Tom, anytime Ted uses Korean for curriculum access and classroom management functions, he is negotiating, to varying extents, his emergent bilingual identity. Thus, calculating the frequency of this occurrence is likely to be superfluous and unnecessary. Ted's beliefs and perceptions of Korean supported by classroom observations are discussed below.

**6.2.1.1 Students learn requisite vocabulary and grammar structures.** Korean serves a number of interrelated functions to mediate students' learning of the requisite vocabulary and grammar structures.

**6.2.1.1.1 Korean to mediate the teaching of course content.** Ted uses Korean for a number of purposes surrounding the teaching of course content. The most prevalent functions are to use Korean to introduce lesson topics, outline grammatical structures, and teach vocabulary. To introduce lesson topics, Ted commonly elicits a Korean translation for a key English word relevant to the topic at hand, as he explains:

What I'll do is I'll say 'OK, tell me what this word is'. Say we had ... directions, I'll say 'what is direction in Korean' and you know one student will say *banghyang* [direction]

... The students that don't know that will immediately go 'OK I know what we're studying'. (TEDBK)

Ted approaches topic introductions by eliciting a key word in Korean. In this way, all of the students who did not know the English would then know the day's topic. Excerpt 09 is an example of how Ted does this in his lower proficiency section. It should also be noted that Ted does the same elicitation with his higher proficiency section as well.

Excerpt 09 Ted LC71

- 01 Ted: OK guys, so, guys, he is cleaning [Ted points to ppt slide]  
02 Ted: So in this chapter we're going to talk about household chores  
03 Ted: OK, because what is household chores in 한국말 [hangukmal; Korean]  
04 Ss: 집안일 [*jibanil*; household chores]  
05 Ted: 집 [*jib*; house],  
06 Ss: 안일 [*anil*; housework]  
07 Ted: 집안일 [*jibanil*; household chores], 집안일 [*jibanil*; household chores],  
08 Ted: OK guys, so tell me, tell me some chores,

Excerpt 09 is a multimodal and multilingual topic introduction. In line 01, Ted points to a PowerPoint slide from the textbook where there is an image of a man cleaning his house, and Ted then states in English that he is cleaning. He then introduces the topic in English in line 02. Then in line 03, he elicits the Korean word for household chores to which a few students reply in line 04. Ted partially repeats the Korean response in line 05 and after the students help him in line 06, he then repeats the Korean word for household chores in line 07. Then in line 08, he moves on with his lesson in English eliciting examples of household chores.

By using English to elicit a Korean translation, Ted's students are first presented with the new English vocabulary. Then through the elicited translation, Ted is able to confirm that one or

more students understand the topic. Through the student's translation and Ted's repetition of the Korean word, any student who did not understand the English would learn what they are going to study. Furthermore, by ensuring that all of the students understand the topic introduction, all of his students will have the opportunity to activate their background knowledge in preparation for the lesson.

Ted also uses Korean to ensure that all of his students understand the requisite grammar. His pedagogical approach is quite consistent and routine, based on the textbook's grammar and vocabulary and his own explanations (TEDBK). Ted usually devotes a fair amount of class time to teaching a grammar structure by either writing it on the board or through a PowerPoint slide, which he annotates using English and Korean metalanguage, as may be seen in Excerpt 10 below:

Excerpt 10 Ted LC82

- 00 [Ted is referring to a PowerPoint slide with the structure written in English]  
01 Ted: Yeah, Right, OK. so he has and then 명사 [*myeongsa*; noun], noun.  
02 Ted: He has glasses. He has an earring. Yeah, ah, he has black hair,  
03 Ted: Guys so we can add 형용사 [*hyeongyongsa*; adjective] and 명사  
[*myeongsa*; noun]  
04 Ted: And this one is just for appearance, 외모 [*woimo*; appearance].  
05 Ted: So he has black hair. He has straight hair.

In line 01, Ted points to the structure on the PowerPoint slide 'he has \_\_\_\_\_ (noun)' and he then reads the structure but uses Korean metalanguage for 'noun'. He then gives some English examples using the structure in line 02. In line 03, he moves to the next line on the PowerPoint slide 'he has \_\_\_\_\_ (adjective noun)' and uses the Korean metalanguage for 'adjective' and 'noun' to describe the expanded structure. He then tells the students in English and Korean

that this structure only applies when talking about appearance. He concludes by providing examples using the expanded structure in line 05.

According to Ted, his use of Korean metalanguage is to ensure that the students understand the grammatical structure.

When I give the structure for the grammar, I'll use verb, noun, adjective. I put them all in Korean, and often I'll say *dongsa* [verb] verb. You know, the Korean and the English, but I just find that when you're giving them the grammar, giving the structure, it helps them to have the structure in Korean. So, they know that this is where this word should go. This is where this word should go and this is where this word should go. (TEDBK)

Therefore, the use of Korean metalanguage to annotate the English grammatical structure on the PowerPoint slide ensures that all of the students have the opportunity to learn the grammar structures for each of the requisite chapters. Typically, after Ted goes over the grammar for each chapter, he then explains the vocabulary.

Ted also uses Korean when teaching new vocabulary. As long as he knows the Korean word, he provides a direct translation, and he will also use Korean to help explain new vocabulary. Thus, students are able to quickly understand the new vocabulary and they can spend more time using the new vocabulary rather than Ted "floundering around there for ages" (TEDSRI) trying to explain around the word in English. In cases where he does not know the Korean equivalent, he will ask the class for a Korean translation and much like with topic introductions (see Excerpt 09), a student will provide the answer. Typically, other students will then corroborate the student's Korean answer and if Ted is confident that they are correct, he will

repeat the word in Korean to the class (TEDBK). An example of this may be seen in Excerpt 11 with his lower proficiency students.

Excerpt 11 Ted LC91

- 01 Ted: 'H', See a play,  
02 Ted: Yah, Guys, what's play in 한국말 [*hangugmal*; Korean]?  
03 Ss: 연극[*yeongeug*; a play]  
04 Ted: 연구? [*yeongu*; research\*]  
05 Ss: 연극[*yeongeug*; a play]  
06 Ted: 연... [*yeon*]  
07 Ss: 극[*geug*]  
08 Ted: 연극, [*yeongeug*; a play]  
09 Ted: OK, guys, invitations. Now, let's just go back,

In Excerpt 11, Ted asks for a Korean translation for 'a play' while taking up a textbook activity in line 01. A number of students provide the correct answer in Korean. Ted then attempts to repeat the answer in line 04 although he is initially unsuccessfully, saying instead the Korean word for 'research'. In lines 05 to 06, the students help him with his pronunciation and then in line 08, he says it correctly. This is an instance where Ted was familiar with the Korean word although he was not entirely certain of its pronunciation, which may have led to a certain amount of 'floundering' on his side of things; regardless, all of the students would have understood the new vocabulary by the time he was finished.

**6.2.1.1.2 Korean for focus and flow.** Ted tends to use a fair amount of Korean in cases where his students already know the English word, in particular with his higher proficiency students. He does this in order to maintain or regain student focus and to keep the flow of the classroom going. For example, his use of the word *hangugmal* [Korean language] when he requests a Korean translation of English vocabulary (see Excerpts 09 and 11 above). He

attributes this use of *hangugmal* to an established routine that serves as expedient way to get his students to think about the vocabulary at hand.

I generally always say *hangugmal* [Korean]. I should say ‘Korean’ since they know ‘Korean’ but I think it’s because I’ve gotten into a routine. I get into the habit ... there's certain words that I will always use Korean with, purely because I think it's just quicker and as soon as the students, they know the cue and they know as soon as they hear that word. They switch into the thinking that this what I need to be thinking about and a lot of my classes are quite routine. (TEDSRI)

Ted’s perception of how he uses Korean routinely as part of a habit does not appear to have a negative effect on students who already know the English word ‘Korean’. Rather, as Ted points out, it serves as a routine question that helps to focus students’ attention on the vocabulary that they need to learn. He also comments that his routine use of Korean serves to keep his classes moving quickly, “I use the same sentence [*hangugmal*] for that all the time, so you know it's ... like alright here is what I want. Tell me what it is quickly, so we can get it and keep moving” (TEDSR II). Ted will also use non-routine or non-habitual Korean words that the students already know in English such as in Excerpt 12.

#### Excerpt 12 Ted LHC81

- 01 Ted: OK. Guys what is the title of chapter eight. People.
- 02 Ted: OK. What's people in 한국말 [*hangugmal*; Korean]?
- 03 Ss: 사람 [*saram*; people]
- 04 Ted: 사람 [*saram*; people]

Excerpt 12 is from Ted’s higher proficiency section and is a topic introduction for the textbook chapter on *People* focusing on appearance and characteristics. In line 02, he requests a Korean translation for the word ‘people’ using *hangugmal*. His use of *hangugmal* is routine; however,

what is not routine is his request for a Korean translation of the word ‘people’ that all the students in his higher proficiency section will already know. In this case a high number of students respond with the Korean word *saram* [people] in line 03 and then Ted repeats it in line 04. On the surface this appears as a superfluous course content use of Korean since the students already know the English word ‘people’. However, to Ted, this use of Korean does not serve a curriculum access function but rather is intended to get the students engaged with the lesson, as he notes:

Not out of any belief that they didn't know what that word [people] was. I think it's just a flow thing. I'm just trying to get them into the flow of how I'm going to do the lesson... So, I'm just trying to get the class rolling, trying to get it going. And if I can get some quick feedback from them, I find it sort of gets the class moving and gets the momentum going. (TEDSR11)

By eliciting a known item, it gives any student who was listening an opportunity to respond and participate. Thus, more students may become engaged in the lesson and be able to further follow along and participate. This increased engagement and participation then ‘gets the class moving’. Ted also achieves this through presenting grammar structures using Korean metalanguage.

In Ted's higher proficiency section, he frequently uses Korean metalanguage when going over the grammatical structures in the same way that he does in the lower proficiency section. I asked Ted about using the Korean word for ‘adjective’ in the sentence “he is *hyeongyongsa* [adjective]” (TEDH81) and again his response brought up the notion of flow in the classroom by helping student focus on the lesson.



Just to get it going faster and because again like... We've been through all the vocab. It's getting late into the class. The students are losing their focus. It's, they're switching off a little bit. So, just to get the class going and keep it moving, [I] quickly use the Korean, so that they know immediately what we're talking about, and then I reinforce that by using an adjective [in English] that they would all know just to you know explain it and reiterate the fact that they need to use an adjective. (TEDSR11)

Ted's comments reveal that his use of Korean metalanguage serves as a tool to keep students focused on the lesson, especially after they have been working for an extended period of time, which in turn helps to maintain the flow of the classroom. Additionally, his reported use of Korean is serving a curriculum access function. In this case, by using Korean metalanguage all of his students will be able to understand that they have to use an adjective and where it goes in the sentence. Perhaps the only difference between Ted's higher and lower proficiency sections is that when he uses Korean metalanguage with his lower proficiency students, the use of Korean may reduce his students' cognitive load to a certain extent thereby allowing students more time to focus on the sentence structure than they would otherwise have in an all-English description (Cummins, 2007; Macaro, 2005, 2009). Additionally, much like the higher proficiency students, lower proficiency students who have lost their focus will also have a chance to regain it through Korean metalanguage.

Ted's habitual use of Korean and his use of Korean for English words that his students already know serves as a way to increase students' focus and engagement which helps to mediate his students' learning of the course vocabulary and grammar. Furthermore, Ted's perceptions of his use of Korean reflects the multifunctionality of a single Korean utterance where it may serve

as a tool to help lower proficiency students understand new linguistic content while also serving to engage or reengage students who may have lost focus.

**6.2.1.2 Students engage with communicative activities.** Ted also uses Korean to mediate the setting up of classroom activities, be it either whole class, pair, or group work instructions. The role of Korean, however, is more for emphasis rather than entirely instructive as may be seen in Excerpt 13 below.

Excerpt 13 (EPL92)

- 01 Ted: I want you to talk to your team, and I want you to plan an event for tonight.  
02 Ted: OK, guys it can be anything.  
03 Ted: 아무거나 [*amugeona*; anything] , a party, a barbeque,  
04 Ted: going to a movie, anything guys, your choice,

In Excerpt 13, Ted is having students in his lower proficiency section work in groups planning an event based on a textbook activity. In this case, the instructions are entirely in English with the exception of the Korean word *amugeona* [anything]. Here Korean may help to ensure that all of the students understand what ‘anything’ is in Korean, but it also helps to emphasize the instruction that learners can plan about any topic they wish. Ted further uses Korean for pair work instructions as may be seen in Excerpt 14.

Excerpt 14 (EPL71)

- 01 Ted: guys, I want you with your partner, I'll give you one minute.  
02 Ted: I want you to think of five different household chores.  
03 Ted: 집안일 [*jibanil*, household chores], OK, two  
04 Ted: two minutes guys, go,

In Excerpt 14, Ted is setting up a pair work activity where students brainstorm different types of household chores. In this case, he provides the instructions in English in lines 01 and 02, and then in line 03, he uses Korean to emphasize the content of the instruction, namely that the students are to talk about household chores. Korean in this case may be a way to support learners who do not know the meaning of ‘household chores’ although that is unlikely, seeing as this task began shortly after Ted elicited the Korean for household chores as part of the topic introduction in Excerpt 09 above. Thus, Korean then appears to serve an emphatic function that helps get students on task and engaged in the activity.

**6.2.1.3 Emergent bilingual identity as pedagogical and motivational tool.** Ted’s use of Korean serves to negotiate his identity as an emergent bilingual and entertainer. He achieves this through the incorporation of marked Korean culture and through his own struggles using Korean in the classroom. As discussed below, this identity negotiation serves to disrupt the established classroom division of labour creating a fun atmosphere where students are more engaged and on task which serves to mediate students learning of the course content and increase student engagement and participation in the communicative activities.

***6.2.1.3.1 Deploying Korean culture to negotiate emergent bilingual/entertainer identity.***

A large part of Ted’s teaching practice is to create a relaxed atmosphere where students have fun learning EFL. One way that Ted achieves this is through his identity as an emergent bilingual/entertainer: “in the class my personality is a little bit more of an entertainer; ... you don’t want to come across as too strict or too relaxed but you want to come across as fun or I do anyway” (TEDBK). He further explains that his approach to teaching is in contrast to what he perceives a Korean professor would do.

I don't run my classroom like a Korean professor would run their classroom. Like, I've seen a few of the Korean professors and it's very strict. It's very by the book. It's very professional. I think our classroom, especially because it's a conversation course or it's supposed to be a conversation class, it's a little bit more relaxed. It's a little bit more casual and friendly. (TEDSRI)

Thus, Ted's approach to teaching appears to be an attempt at rejecting his perception of established norms in the division of labour in his notion of a stereotypical Korean university classroom. Based on his observations, the Korean professor stands at the front of the class and reads their notes or the textbook into a microphone while the students passively listen and take notes. In this scenario, the professor holds a great deal of power and what she says is to be taken unquestionably as fact with minimal interaction with students, thus reflecting a wide difference in power relations between professor and student. Ted eschews this practice and as emergent bilingual/entertainer he utilizes marked aspects of Korean culture to help achieve this.

Ted, while previously teaching at English language institutes, learned that certain Korean words such as *daemeoli* [bald] or *ssangkkeopul* [crease in the eye<sup>8</sup>] would result in the students laughing or giggling. The reason that *daemeoli* elicits such behaviour is not entirely clear to Ted except that his elementary school-aged students found it to be really funny (TEDSRI). Based on my experiences in Korea, it is possible that *daemeoli* indexes popular Korean comedy programs since the comedians will commonly don a bald cap during skits that typically results in laughter from the studio audience. *Ssangkkeopul* (also called double eyelid) surgery is a very popular form of cosmetic surgery in Korea where individuals without a visible crease in their upper

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<sup>8</sup> *Ssangkkeopul* is commonly translated as 'double eyelid'; what it refers to is the visible crease in some people's upper eyelid, most commonly seen in White individuals

eyelid have one artificially created through surgery. Given that the surgery is a significant part of Korean culture and many Korean university students have undergone the procedure, they may find Ted's referral to and knowledge of it as amusing and perhaps slightly embarrassing. An example of Ted's incorporation of *ssangkkeopul* in his higher proficiency section is in Excerpt 15

Excerpt 15 Ted HC92

- 01 Ted: S8, what are you going to do tomorrow?  
02 S8: Tomorrow I'm going to hospital  
03 Ted: Going to hospital? Really? Why?  
04 Ted: Why are you going to hospital?  
05 S8: Eye sick  
06 Ted: Eye sick? Are you getting 쌍꺼풀 수술 [*ssangkkeopul susul*; double eyelid surgery]?  
07 Ss: [many students laughing]  
08 S8: [laughing] no  
09 Ted: OK,

In Excerpt 15, Ted is at the front of the class with a microphone in hand. In a talk show host manner, he is eliciting answers from a communicative task where students had discussed future plans with their partners. In line 01, Ted asks S8, a quiet student, about her plans for the following day to which she replies that she is going to the hospital. In lines 03 and 04, sounding surprised, Ted asks why she has to go to the hospital <sup>9</sup>and the student replies that her eye is sick. Ted then jokingly asks in line 06 if she is going to have double eyelid surgery. In line 07, the majority of the students, including S8, laugh quite loudly at Ted's question. In line 08, the

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<sup>9</sup> This could have had a much worse outcome if the student had to go to the hospital for something life threatening; however, it all worked out fine.

student replies ‘no’ and in then line 09 Ted moves on. This particular interaction reveals how Ted is able to deploy a marked aspect of Korean contemporary culture.

Ted also creates spaces for his students to make jokes at his expense as may be seen Excerpt 16 below.

Excerpt 16 Ted LC81

01	Ted:	OK, perm. What else guys? Hair styles, my style, what is it?
02	S2 & S4:	ball
03	S6:	blad
04	Ted:	Guys, everybody, bald.
05	Ted:	Yeah, 대머리 [ <i>daemeoli</i> ; bald] right.
06	Ss:	[laughing]
07	Ted:	OK, bald, yep. What else guys? What other styles?

In Excerpt 16, Ted is eliciting different hairstyles for the textbook chapter on appearance. In line 01, he asks students about his style to which several students respond with words that are similar to ‘bald’ in lines 02 and 03. In line 04, Ted gives the students pronunciation feedback and then in line 05, he provides the Korean translation for bald, *daemeoli*. After which, most of the class is laughing and having a good time at Ted’s expense. In this case, Ted’s use of *daemeoli* serves two functions as Ted notes: “So just reinforcing what the word is. How it’s [bald] pronounced, and what it is in Korean; plus, for some reason, *daemeoli* gets a laugh every time as well” (TEDSRI). Thus, the use of *daemeoli* ensures that all of the students understand the word ‘bald’ and contributes to the fun atmosphere of the classroom.

Ted, by deploying aspects of Korean contemporary culture that are marked and humorous, supports his identity position as a fun and entertaining teacher. Considering the division of

labour in his classes, this humorous use of Korean to joke with his students and create opportunities for his students to poke fun at him serves to reduce the power differential between him and his students. As Ted remarks “There’s no wall between us. You know, it becomes more relatable as a teacher” (TEDBK). As a consequence of the realignment of power relations, Ted in turn finds that it increases student engagement with him.

The students are a lot at ease to ask me questions [about the class]. You know, they feel a lot more comfortable with me so that makes it easier to teach, because, you know, they're comfortable to ask questions and they're comfortable to come to me if they need to.  
(TEDBK)

Thus, according to Ted, his students are more likely to engage with him by asking questions either during or outside of class. Ted also uses his status as an emergent bilingual to encourage student engagement and support his teacher/entertainer identity.

**6.2.1.3.2 An emergent bilingual NEST.** Ted’s students know that he is a Korean language learner which he perceives “sort of endears them to me a little bit more and it makes it easier for them to, you know, pay attention to me and understand the process of learning as well” (TEDSRI). Examples of how his status as a language learner may increase student attention may be seen in Excerpts 09 and 11 above where Ted is trying to pronounce the Korean words for ‘household chores’ and ‘a play’ respectively. In each case, he initially struggles to pronounce the word, which then results in students helping him pronounce it correctly. In both cases, the students focus on him and the course content. This also occurs when Ted attempts to spell Korean words on the chalkboard as may be seen in Excerpt 17.

Excerpt 17 Ted LC71

- 01 Ted: guys, so what is present continuous in 한국말 [*hangugmal*; Korean]?  
02 S1: 현재진행형 [*hyeonjaejinhaenghyeong*; present continuous]  
03 Ted: 현재... [*hyeonjae*]  
04 S1: 진행 [*jinhaeng*]  
05 Ted: 진행 [*jinhaeng*]  
06 S1: 형 [*hyeong*]  
07 Ted: 형 [*hyeong*]  
08 [Ted then starts writing 현재진행형 on the board]  
09 Ted: 현, 제, 진, 행 [*hyeon, jae, jin, haeng*]  
10 Ted: 현 [*hyeon*]  
11 [students laughing]  
12 S1: 형 [*hyeong*]  
13 Ted: 형 [*hyeong*]  
14 Ted: [Ted has it correctly written on the board] right? yes?  
15 Ss: yes  
16 Ted: 아싸! [*assa*; yes!]  
17 [students laughing]

In Excerpt 17 above, Ted first elicits the Korean form of the present progressive tense in line 01. In line 02, a student gives him the answer. Then in lines 03 to 07, Ted pronounces the word with the help of the student. Then in lines 08 to 10, he attempts to write the answer on the board in Korean. He manages to spell the word correctly up until the last syllable at which point the students start to laugh in line 11. In line 12, the student repeats the last syllable in Korean and Ted corrects his mistake in line 13. In line 14, he seeks confirmation that he is correct which the students confirm in line 15. In line 16, he celebrates by shouting *assa* [yes!]. *Assa* is a Korean interjection that reflects Korean contemporary youth culture since it is typically used by Korean teenagers and young adults. It is likely for this reason that his students find the use of the word



amusing. By Ted struggling with pronunciation and spelling, the students focus on him and the course content. In this case, every student in the room will know that they are studying the present progressive tense; however, there is a great deal more going on in this interaction surrounding Ted's identity as an emergent bilingual/entertainer of which Ted is aware.

Sometimes I actually do spell it incorrectly and the students will pick up on that very quickly, but other times I'll spell it incorrectly on purpose. Because it draws the students' attention to [the word] for one and it's just a little bit of fun, as well you, the, oh, you know, we're learning. He's learning. Whereas it's kind of like that common bond between the teacher and student. (TEDSRI)

Ted's comments reveal a pedagogical approach and also show how Korean errors support his identity position as an emergent bilingual/entertainer which can shift the established roles and power relations in his classes. Ted is aware that Korean errors on his behalf led to increased student engagement and he will in turn make intentional Korean spelling mistakes. These errors in turn support Ted's entertainer/teacher identity where the students have fun correcting his mistakes. This also reflects a momentary shift in the division of labour where the students become experts and the teacher a novice, much like in the case of Tom.

**6.2.1.4 Students know important administrative information surrounding course assessments.** Ted, like Tom, uses Korean when he is providing information surrounding assessment materials. Excerpt 18 below from Ted's lower proficiency section shows how Ted uses Korean when giving the details for the standardized writing exam.

Excerpt 18 Ted LC82

- 01 Ted: Next Saturday, 십일일 [*sibilibil*; the eleventh], writing exam, guys where, where is it?
- 02 Ss: 자연과학대 [*jayeongwahag*; natural sciences college],
- 03 Ted: 자연과학대 [*jayeongwahag*; natural sciences college], what time?
- 04 Ss: ten thirty
- 05 Ted: yeah, ten thirty, ten thirty guys, so be fifteen minutes early,
- 06 Ted: 열시 십오분 [*yeolsi sibobun*; ten fifteen],
- 07 Ted: Guys, what's, what do you have to remember, five things, pencil, eraser, id card, 학번 [*hagbeon*; student number], and 수강 번호 [*sugang beonho*; course code],
- 08 Ted: OK, five things,

In line 01, Ted uses Korean to state the date of the exam and he asks the students for the exam location to which they answer in Korean in line 02. He repeats the Korean location in line 03 and then elicits the time of the exam. Then students answer in line 04 and he repeats the time in English in line 05 and tells them to arrive 15 minutes early. Then in line 06 he states the revised time in Korean. Then in line 07 he tells the students what they need to bring in English and uses Korean to tell the students they need to remember their student number and course code. It is crucial that the students know their course code so that they can confirm that they are in the correct exam location. As discussed above, the writing exam takes place on a Saturday with more than 5000 students writing in different locations across campus throughout the day, with different versions of the exam. Thus, it is important (from a teacher's administrative standpoint) that students sit the correct exam. In this way, the use of Korean serves to ensure that all of the students know the pertinent exam details so that they go to the right place, on time, and their exams are sent to the correct teacher for grading.

Ted further uses Korean in a similar manner for quizzes and in-class speaking exams where the use of Korean focuses on the content that will be covered as may be seen in Excerpt 19 below.

Excerpt 19 Ted LC82

- 01 Ted: Wednesday, we have quiz number three, OK, guys, quiz number three  
02 Ted: is chapters 8, 10, and 12,  
03 Ted: OK, 8, 외모 [*oemo*; appearance] and 성격 [*seonggyeog*; character],  
appearance and character,  
04 Ted: 10, is past tense, 과거 [*gwageo*; past tense], and  
05 Ted: 12 is future tense, 미래 [*milae*; future], OK, so quiz three, chapters 8,  
10, 12,

In Excerpt 19, Korean serves as a way to highlight what is going to be on the quiz. In lines 03 to 05, Ted states the chapters in English and corresponding topics in English and Korean. In this case, Korean appears to serve an emphatic function ensuring that the students know what will be on the quiz, and at the end of the instructions, the students regardless of their language proficiency will know what they need to study to write the quiz the following week.

### 6.2.2 Tensions and Contradictions

Ted is the participant who experiences the least amount of tensions surrounding his use of Korean in his classes. He appears to use Korean without feelings of guilt, weirdness, or concern over its appropriateness. The only potential contradiction is between Ted's perception of a possible English-only MOI rule at D University and his use of Korean.

I think there's an underlying idea not to use Korean in the classroom. I generally ignore that and I think, actually maybe it's something that's Korea wide in general. You know,

maybe it's just something that I picked up and in Korea in general because I don't know actually [that there is an English-only MOI].... I was talking to the director, he's always said he uses Korean in the classroom a little bit. So maybe he said that it's not a good idea. But, he does use it you know for, if it suits the purpose. (TEDBK)

Ted has consistently been teaching in contexts where the teachers have been told to teach English only through English, and his comments above reflect an awareness of the English-only ideology that circulates in ELT in general in Korea (see Chapter 4). Yet, his comments reflect confusion about the status of an English-only MOI at D University. He notes that the director uses Korean for certain functions but also that the director may have told him not to use Korean, which would contradict the director's reported use of Korean. However, as noted above, while Ted may be confused as to whether or not there is an English-only policy, this does not stop him from taking a relatively guilt-free approach to using Korean in his classes.

## **Chapter 7**

Ella is the participant with the least amount of teaching experience and she is a relative novice instructor at D University comparatively. Unlike Tom and Ted, Ella uses very little Korean in her classes even though her Korean proficiency is comparable to Tom's. The ontogenetic analysis reveals that Ella's teacher training, early teaching experiences and experiences as a language learner were primarily monolingual target-language only experiences that contributed to Ella's current beliefs and limited cross-linguistic practices in the microgenetic analysis.

### **7.1 Ella - Ontogenetic Analysis**

Ella, like Ted, is from New Zealand and was raised in a monolingual English-speaking home and community. She studied Maori while she was in elementary school; however, she does not remember much about the classes other than being able to sing a few Maori children's songs. After Ella completed high school in New Zealand, she moved to the United States and enrolled in an undergraduate degree in mass communications and broadcast media. After completing her BA, she completed a Master's degree in digital storytelling focusing on video production. Ella had initially hoped to run her own video production company in the United States; however, due to some unresolvable challenges, she moved back to New Zealand. Ella found that the employment prospects in her hometown were not very promising so she decided to work overseas. Korea, in her view, was a viable option since it was relatively close to New Zealand when compared to living in the United States, and she could visit home during vacations

if she wanted. Ella enrolled in an online TEFL course and applied to work at an English language institute in South Korea.

### **7.1.1 TEFL Certification**

Ella enrolled in an online TEFL course prior to moving to Korea. The TEFL course was designed to teach aspiring teachers how to teach EFL to children. Overall, according to Ella, the course was not very in-depth. Ella had to read the assigned articles and either create a lesson plan or answer questions based on the readings. The course took a communicative approach to teach children with a focus on tasks that would encourage children to speak in English. The course also advocated an English-only approach as Ella notes:

Just not using any of the native language, just using English and forcing the kids ... to speak in English, and because you're not going to respond in any other way, they'll learn quickly that they've got to speak to you in English. But they also said that, I think, that kids are faster at learning. So, they're a bit different than adults. (ELLABK)

Thus, from Ella's comments, the course advocated an English-only monolingual approach without any recourse to students' L1s. The online TEFL program reflected a monolingual English-only ideology with the goal creating a virtual English-only classroom similar to the home country of the native English-speaking instructor much like Macaro's (2000) virtual position. Shortly after Ella received her TEFL certificate, she accepted a teaching position at an English language institute in South Korea.

### 7.1.2 Early ELT Experience

Ella was hired at a small English language institute based on her status as a TEFL-certified NEST from New Zealand. As a new teacher, she did not receive any training other than shadowing the teacher she was replacing for a day. The following day, Ella started teaching on her own. Ella taught students of all ages ranging from kindergarten-aged to adult learners.

The institute followed a similar ideology surrounding learners' L1s as Ella's online TEFL course, namely, that classes are best taught monolingually in English. The institute had a de jure English-only MOI policy as Ella notes: "When I was in the *hagwon* [language institute], I was always told 'don't speak in Korean in class' like 'never speak Korean to the kids. If they speak to you [in Korean] don't respond'" (ELLASRII). Ella, who knew very little Korean at that time, in turn taught her classes monolingually, abiding by the English-only policy. After her first year of teaching, Ella accepted a teaching position at D University and began to learn Mandarin and Korean.

### 7.1.3 Language Learning in South Korea

Ella's language learning experience consisted of Mandarin and Korean language classes. The two classes reflected a mixture of language teaching ideologies where in some instances learners' L1s were viewed as a necessary learning tool while in other cases, monolingual teaching ideologies prevailed. Ella, as a student in these classes, prefers to be taught with minimal recourse to her L1, English, reflecting a near-monolingual teaching ideology.

#### **7.1.3.1 Mandarin language learning – Learning two languages simultaneously.**

Shortly after Ella started teaching at D University, she enrolled in an intensive Mandarin language program. The Mandarin course was aimed primarily at D University's domestic Korean students although anyone was welcome to enroll in the program. The classes, which were 50 minutes long, met four times a week, and were taught by native Mandarin-speaking instructors who also spoke Korean.

The beginner Mandarin course took a cross-linguistic approach to teaching. The language of instruction was Korean and the instructors based their classes on a bilingual Korean/Chinese language textbook. The textbook had Korean translations, and the teachers used Korean to translate spoken Mandarin. While the use of Korean stood to benefit the majority of the students in the program, for non-Korean speakers such as Ella, this was problematic.

The teacher spoke Korean to teach Chinese and she really didn't know English. She was a Chinese lady who could speak Korean fluently, but I could say something in English and she just wouldn't, like most people understand some English, she didn't understand anything [English]... and my textbook was in Chinese and Korean so that was a little bit difficult. (ELLABK)

While Ella appears to minimize the difficulty of the course stating it was 'a little bit difficult', it appears as though the course was quite challenging with Ella not knowing either of the two languages of the classroom. When teaching vocabulary, the teachers would say or write a word in Chinese and then provide a Korean translation so the majority of the students immediately understood the new word. In Ella's case, she would have to look up the Korean word in her Korean/English dictionary to learn the English meaning and then she would have to match the Chinese word with the English meaning. The only relief that Ella had from this process was



when the teacher used images to convey meaning which she could then match with the Chinese word.

Ella's situation was partially alleviated when she became friends with a Korean classmate who spoke some English. Her friend was able to translate some of the Korean for her, and the teacher would also have her friend translate. "So, when I really didn't get something, she [Ella's friend] would explain it [in English] or the teacher would say 'tell Ella this' and so we did it that way" (ELLABK). In this case, especially early on in the course, Ella's friend's English was a lifeline providing much needed translation support. Ella, however, found that there were limitations, particularly when her classmate would only provide an approximate translation rather than a verbatim translation.

One thing that wasn't helpful is when she translated the meaning but not the actual words... Sometimes the word order is different and if she just told me what it means in English, I couldn't match it up exactly with the words, and I wanted to know exactly what each word meant. So, that wasn't helpful when the meaning was translated not the words. (ELLABK)

Thus, Ella's need for an exact translation of each word became a point of frustration for her when her classmate could not provide it. Also, her classmate began to have difficulties keeping up with the Chinese part of the class while translating for Ella, which led to Ella telling her to only help her when she was able and to not worry about her otherwise (ELLAFQ).

Based on Ella's recollections, the Mandarin program follows an ideology that Mandarin, at least at the beginner level, is best taught cross-linguistically with ample Korean support. The recourse to the dominant Korean learners' L1, Korean, was beneficial to the Korean speakers but

not Ella. Rather, Ella had to struggle and learn the two languages simultaneously with minimal recourse to English. Ella's interview comments further tend to diminish the difficulty of monolingual instruction and instead problematize the use of her classmate as a translator. As such, Ella appears to hold a view that, for her, Chinese is best taught without recourse to her L1. Moreover, she appears to have enjoyed this experience as she repeated the course a second time before she started studying Korean (ELLABK).

**7.1.3.2 Korean language learning.** After studying Mandarin for two semesters, Ella decided to shift her efforts to Korean. She initially studied on her own and then undertook more formal studies. Throughout Ella's Korean language learning experiences, English took an important mediating role facilitating her acquisition of Korean, especially as a beginner learner. However, her reflections of English in the classroom tend to be more negative, rather than focusing on the benefits that English provided.

**7.1.3.2.1 Self-study through Rosetta Stone.** After Ella completed her Chinese classes, she turned to computer software to learn Korean, in this case *Rosetta Stone*. The software, *Rosetta Stone*, developed by a company of the same name, attempts to create a target-language immersion learning experience. The learning modules are based exclusively on the TL using aural and written texts in combination with images. In the case of Korean, Korean is the only language used from the beginning. Based on my own experience with the software, the initial lessons may be difficult for learners unfamiliar with the Korean alphabet; however, in Ella's case, she already knew how to read Korean and had a basic Korean proficiency.

It [Rosetta Stone software] would make a noise if you said it wrong. So just naturally, it taught you how to make sounds travel and that it wasn't just as it was written. So, I found

it useful for pronunciation and for memorizing vocabulary, cause I think I'm not good at memorizing stuff, but that was very good with helping to memorize vocabulary.

(ELLAFAQ)

Ella found *Rosetta Stone* to be an effective way to learn vocabulary and pronunciation. After using the software for over six months, she decided that she needed formal classroom-based instruction and enrolled in a three-week intensive Korean language program.

**7.1.3.2.2 Intensive Korean language learning.** Ella's first formal Korean language learning experience was a three-week intensive Korean language program at Y University. The program is offered three times a year and is intended for students who want to undertake a short, intensive, Korean program. The language program met for four hours a day, five times a week.

The students were placed in classes according to their assessed Korean language proficiency based on the results of the institution's placement test. In Ella's case, based on the placement test, she was placed in the beginner level. The students were also grouped according to one of three first or additional languages, Japanese, English, or Mandarin. In the event that a student was not a native speaker of one of the three language groups, they would join the one that they were most familiar with. Along with being placed in language specific groups, there were also bilingual textbooks reflecting those languages, namely: Korean-English, Korean-traditional Chinese, Korean-simplified Chinese, and Korean-Japanese. The classes were taught by native Korean speaking teachers and most of those teachers were able to speak either Japanese, English, or Mandarin.

Ella's class moved at a very quick pace and required learners to spend a great deal of time studying and memorizing course content outside of class. For example, new learners were

expected to be able to read Korean after the first day of instruction. Learners were also given a bilingual vocabulary list of over two hundred words that they were expected to memorize and were tested on in their classes.

Ella had two teachers, one who taught Korean grammar and vocabulary, listening, and speaking for three hours each day and the other taught reading for one hour each day. The reading instructor was a native Korean-speaking teacher, and she did not speak any languages other than Korean. The other teacher, in addition to being a native Korean-speaker, also spoke English fluently. The use of English appears to have been beneficial, as Ella notes:

If we didn't understand something we could ask her [grammar instructor] in English, and she could explain it because she was taking us as though we knew nothing in Korean. But, the reading teacher, she only spoke Korean to us and if we asked her [a question] in English, she'd just shake her head like she didn't understand. (ELLABK)

Ella's comments show how valuable bilingual teachers may be when teaching beginner students who may lack the linguistic resources to ask clarification questions or understand the answer to a question they may ask. However, when Ella took this course, she was highly motivated to learn Korean and already knew some basic Korean, which may have influenced her perception of the use of learners' L1s.

Ella felt that memorizing the Korean vocabulary before class and having a bilingual textbook was enough for her to understand what was going on in the classes.

Because with the vocabulary list, we already knew what the words were because we had been told to memorize these words... and I think because all the conversations we had,

you could look up the English, so there's Korean and English side by side [in the textbook], so you could see the meaning in English. (ELLABK)

Furthermore, when I asked Ella what she found worked best for her in the course, she referred to the reading teacher.

Well, I like the teacher who couldn't speak English, because it was too easy with the one who could speak English. Well, I like being challenged by her dropping [using] the words that I didn't know and me wanting to know what they meant. But the other students, they couldn't speak Korean, so when she was talking they got nothing from it, and if they, if I explained it to them they got it, but they didn't get it straight from listening [to the teacher]. I liked the reading best. (ELLABK)

Ella's comments reflect her first experience where her L1 was used explicitly and she did not like it. The English support that was provided in the non-reading classes was wasted on her since it made the class "too easy" and took away the learning challenge that she was seeking. Also, it appears that Ella's Korean proficiency was considerably higher than her classmates, since she was able to translate what the reading instructor was saying for her classmates. Thus, Ella may have been better served in a higher-level class. Her comments are significant in three respects: first, based on Ella's comments surrounding her classmates, learners' L1s appear to serve an important role for beginner students. For students who did not understand the classroom language or the written Korean text, English through Ella served to mediate their understanding of the course content. Second, too much of a learners' L1 may be frustrating to some students, especially for students placed in a level that may be too low for them; however, those students would likely be the minority in the class. Third, Ella acknowledges the benefits of bilingual written texts but views her teacher's use of English as a hindrance to her learning.

There appear to be two ideologies circulating in Ella's Korean learning experience. First, Y University recognizes the role of learners' L1s in beginner level courses thus reflecting an ideology that values the role of learners' L1s. Ella, on the other hand, based on her resistance to the amount of English being spoken in the classes, holds an ideology that Korean should be taught entirely in Korean with the role of English limited to written modes such as the textbook and vocabulary lists. Ella continues to hold this ideology based on her experiences studying at the Korean language program at D University.

**7.1.3.2.3 Korean language learning at D University.** Ella started learning Korean at the Korean language program at D University after the three-week program at Y University and continued to be enrolled during the data collection phase of this research. The Korean language program is aimed at international students, the majority of whom are Chinese and want to study at D University or other universities in Korea. The program is a four-semester course, based on a series of four Korean language textbooks published by Seoul National University. The textbooks start at a relatively beginner level and the level increases with each subsequent book. Both the beginner and intermediate books are bilingual, providing English translations of all texts. The third and final books in the series, however, are entirely in Korean. The decreasing use of English in the textbooks indicate an ideology toward Korean language teaching that the use of English is beneficial to learning in the early stages and as the students' Korean proficiency increases, English is no longer necessary or desirable.

The instructors in the Korean language program are all native Korean-speaking instructors who hold graduate degrees related to the teaching of Korean. In most of Ella's classes, the instructors do not or will not speak English. As Ella notes,

My Korean teachers, they never speak [English]. Well, sometimes they speak English for vocabulary, but even when it's obvious in the book, and sometimes they even write 'present' or 'future'. They might write it on the board, but they never speak it. (ELLASRI)

Regardless if the teachers are able to speak English or not, the classes are taught almost exclusively through Korean, which, at Ella's current Korean language proficiency, is what Ella prefers with the exception of simple grammar or vocabulary translations.

When we learn new vocabulary and at that time, if they [the instructors] know the English word, and it's taking a long time to explain it, they just give us the English word and that's helpful to me, and, also, with some grammar they can just say 'let's' and I know it, *hapshida* [let's do]. That's helpful. (ELLABK)

Thus, in limited circumstances, when students are struggling, the Korean teachers revert to providing an English translation. These limited circumstances appear to be the only instances when Ella appreciates English in her classes. In most other cases, the use of English by her Korean teachers who are not native English-speakers is problematic.

Ella does not appear to trust her Korean teacher's English skills; thus, when some teachers attempt to explain or translate items for Ella, she does not believe that they are correct. For example, Ella recalled an instance when she was struggling with the textbook's definition of the Korean word *ama*<sup>10</sup> [an adverb that indicates the speaker's statement is a guess]. Her confusion arose when the word *ama* in her textbook was translated as the words *probably* and

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<sup>10</sup> Korean does not use modals to indicate certainty like English. In English one may say, 'it will probably rain tomorrow' or 'maybe it will rain tomorrow' but a Korean speaker would say something similar: 'I guess it will rain tomorrow' or 'it looks like it will rain tomorrow'.

*maybe* that indicate different levels of certainty on the part of the speaker. The root of the problem is primarily with the textbook. *Ama* indicates a guess on the part of the speaker which *probably* and *maybe* reflect; however, *ama* does not indicate a level of certainty which the two English words do.

In my book the other day, I think it [*ama*] was wrong. There was *probably* and *maybe* and I said to the teacher ‘what percentage is *probably*?’ ... Because, like in English, *I’m maybe going to do*, that is 50 percent and *probably do*, 75 percent. So, I was wanting her to give me what is *ama* and she is like ‘It’s not. There’s no percent,’ and ‘It’s like you’re guessing that something will happen or supposing that something’s going to happen,’ and I’m like ‘Really? Because in English the two words in the book are different,’ and she’s like ‘Ah they’re the same in Korean,’ and in that case, I think knowing the English translation is confusing, and so I prefer her only to speak Korean if she is going to make a mistake in English. (ELLABK)

Ella asks her teacher about the level of certainty for the Korean word *ama*. Her teacher replies accurately that *ama* does not indicate a specific percentage of probability and only denotes that the speaker is making a guess. This response though did not satisfy Ella who then explained that in English ‘probably’ and ‘maybe’ indexed different levels of certainty to which the teacher responded that they were the same in Korean. Ella was still confused and felt that the problem was her teacher’s English skills, so she switched to Korean to ask again.

So, I said to her in Korean, ‘What percent is *ama*?’ and then she’s like ‘There’s no percent. It’s just, it’s something that is going to happen. *Chucheok* [guess].’ So that left me, the English, I was confused by it. (ELLABK)

The teacher responded with the same answer as before, but Ella was unwilling to accept the explanation. Ella, rather than trusting the teacher’s explanation, chose to fault the teacher’s



English skills for Ella not being able to understand the meaning of *ama*. This notion of trust also came up with a different instructor who provided English translations for Korean vocabulary “They [Korean instructors] talk round it [Korean vocabulary] usually, except for this teacher that I have this semester, and I don't trust her translation, so I still get out my dictionary” (ELLASRII). Thus, for Ella, unless she views the teacher as a highly proficient English speaker, she is likely to reject or not trust what the teacher says. In this light, Ella appears to have a negative bias toward her Korean teachers' use of English based on her teachers' status as a non-native speaker of English. This bias, in turn, prevents Ella from accepting help in her L1 when teachers are providing accurate explanations and translations in English.

Ella is also frustrated by teachers who use English when she does not need English support.

I think from my Korean classes, when my teacher says something in English and I've already got it in Korean, I think, 'why did she have to say that? I'm here to learn Korean, why does she keep speaking to me in English'. Like, I don't want her to speak to me in English because I've already got it. I don't want to be flipping back and forth. I want to [say] 'if I don't know what you're saying and I look confused, then tell it to me in English, but if I'm not confused, don't tell me in English because I've already got it'. (ELLASRI)

Ella's frustration with what she views as excessive English is the same as she had expressed surrounding the intensive Korean language program at Y University. Especially at her current Korean proficiency, recourse to her L1 appears to be viewed more as unnecessary and aggravating than beneficial.

Ella, therefore, holds a strong view toward how English should be used and who it should be used by, when she is being taught Korean, reflecting a maximum exposure ideology and a native speaker ideology (Howatt, 1984; Phillipson, 1992). Ella wants her Korean classes to be in Korean as much possible with recourse to English only in cases where she cannot work out the meaning through Korean alone. Moreover, English should only be used for vocabulary or grammar that can be translated nearly verbatim by Korean teachers who are highly proficient English speakers. Ella's views toward how she prefers to be taught are reflected in her English language teaching practices at D University, as discussed in the microgenetic analysis below.

## **7.2 Ella's Microgenetic Analysis**

The microgenetic analysis reveals that Ella's current belief and teaching practices mirror her Korean language learning preferences. While Ella views Korean as a valuable classroom tool, her use of spoken Korean is scarce and, in many cases, it is a tool of last resort. However, in lieu of spoken Korean, Ella creates and uses innovative cross-linguistic PowerPoint slides which accomplish many of the same functions as the other instructors do through spoken Korean. This use of cross-linguistic slides serves as a way for Ella to resolve some of the tensions and contradictions surrounding her use of Korean.

The two sections that I followed were automotive engineering and journalism majors. Ella finds that there is a clear difference between the two sections' English language proficiency and motivation levels.

The engineering boys generally, I think, aren't as motivated. Sometimes they're motivated. Sometimes they aren't. But with these guys [journalism majors] they're

consistently more motivated and I think the general level [English language proficiency] is higher. Like, in the engineering class, there are guys who will always do what I tell them to, but then there are others that will sleep if I don't walk around and tap them on the shoulder. (ELLASRII)

Ella's comments are similar to Tom's regarding his two sections with one group having a much lower English language proficiency and level of motivation than the other. In the case of Ella, her awareness of her students' lower proficiency leads to her adding Korean to some of her otherwise all-English PowerPoint slides as well as creating a cross-linguistic PowerPoint review activity.

### **7.2.1 Ella's Beliefs, Perceptions and Classroom Korean Practices**

One of the salient differences between Ella and the other instructors is that the other instructors tend to view the use of Korean as a positive feature of their teaching practices and teacher identities, whereas Ella's use of Korean is fraught with tension. Thus, Ella's comments surrounding the use of Korean focuses more on the reasons why she does not use Korean, and she tends not to reflect on her use of Korean in the classroom in relation to her teaching practice.

Although Ella is confident that "most of what we've [D University instructors] taught, I could have easily said it all in Korean" (ELLASRII); she tends not to use much spoken Korean in her classes. Given that she does not speak much Korean, she also feels that she uses a similar amount of Korean in both of her classes. The functional analysis, as may be seen in Table 06, however, reveals that Ella uses slightly more Korean in her lower proficiency activity system surrounding course content.

Table 06. Korean Functional Analysis for Ella's Lower and Higher Proficiency Sections

	<b>Low</b>	<b>Higher</b>
<b>Curriculum Access</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>33</b>
Topic Introduction	1	0
Explain	13	9
Emphasis	6	8
Examples	2	3
Elicitation	4	2
Feedback	17	9
Vocabulary translation	1	2
<b>Classroom Management</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>
Task directions	4	3
Homework	1	0
Assignment/Quiz/Exam information	1	1
Class scheduling	1	0
Procedures, Rules	1	2
Praise	0	0
<b>Interpersonal Relations</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
Joking/Playful	4	5
Chatting	0	0

As shown in Table 06, Ella does not use a great deal of Korean in her classes. There is a small difference between the amount of Korean used for curriculum access functions  $n=44$  and  $n=33$  between the lower and higher proficiency sections respectively. The difference between the two groups is primarily the result of Ella providing more Korean feedback and to a lesser extent using Korean to explain course content to her lower proficiency students. Ella also uses relatively little Korean for classroom management functions and the difference between the two groups is minor. Lastly, Ella uses a similar amount of Korean for interpersonal relations

functions; namely she uses Korean onomatopoeia in a lighthearted and playful manner to provide feedback to her students (see Excerpts 21 and 23 below). Although not reflected in Table 06, to avoid confusion, Korean onomatopoeia may also be classified as joking/playing function serving a further interpersonal relations function.

Although not visible in the functional analysis, which only analyzes spoken Korean, Ella notably uses cross-linguistic Korean/English PowerPoint slides, at times, in both classes. Ella also differentiates between the two sections based on her students' proficiency. For example, Ella provided her lower proficiency students an extensive review activity based on cross-linguistic slides that she did not use with the higher proficiency students. Ella's use of spoken Korean as well as the cross-linguistic PowerPoint slides are discussed below in relation to her beliefs and perceptions surrounding this practice.

**7.2.1.1 Students learn the requisite vocabulary and grammar structures.** As discussed above, Ella does not use a great deal of spoken Korean in her classes. Based on the functional analysis, Ella uses Korean primarily for curriculum access functions. Most frequently she uses Korean as a mediating tool when explaining course content and providing feedback. Moreover, Ella's use of Korean in many cases connects with Korean culture.

Excerpt 20 is an example of Ella using Korean to explain course content. In this case Ella is teaching the expression *It's OK, I guess* using a Korean example to help explain.

Excerpt 20 Ella LC82

- 01 Ella: He says, 'it's OK, I guess'. When we say I guess, when we say I guess, it  
means not really, not really,  
02 Ella: So do you like, OK, Chinese? Do you like studying Chinese?  
03 Ss: no, no, no  
04 Ella: OK, 한자 [*hanja*; Chinese characters], do you know 한자 [*hanja*; Chinese  
characters]?  
05 Ss: yes  
06 Ella: Can you write 한자 [*hanja*; Chinese characters]?  
07 Ss: yes  
08 Ella: Yes, is it easy?  
09 Ss: no, no  
10 Ella: No, OK, so I say to you, do you like writing 한자 [*hanja*; Chinese  
characters]?  
11 Ss: no  
12 Ella: And you say, it's OK I guess. It means no, I don't really like it. I say OK  
but not really.

In Excerpt 20, Ella uses the example of writing *hanja* [Chinese characters] as a way to explain the expression *it's OK, I guess* starting in line 04. From lines 04 to 09, she establishes that her students know *hanja* and can write it and also find it difficult to write. Through this example, the students are able to see how speakers can use *I guess* as a way to convey that the speaker does not like or agree with a preceding statement.

The use of *hanja* is significant for two reasons. First, *hanja* is something that most Korean university students can identify with as most have spent a significant amount of time memorizing and practicing writing the Chinese characters in high school. Second, since the students are familiar with *hanja*, they are then able to focus on the course content rather than having to struggle with the meaning of a potentially unknown example. Thus, *hanja*, which is a significant part of Korean culture, serves to help students understand an English expression.

Ella at times uses Korean onomatopoeia as a way to let students know if their answer is correct or not as may be seen in Excerpt 21 below.

Excerpt 21 Ella HC82

- 01 Ella: OK, what does he look like? Is this his personality or physical appearance?  
02 Ella: Who says personality? Personality?  
03 [some students raise their hands]  
04 Ella: who says physical appearance?  
05 [different students raise their hands]  
06 Ella: 땡땡땡! [*ding dong daeng*; correct] physical appearance

In Excerpt 21 above, Ella is attempting to determine if her students can differentiate between the question *What does he look like?* and *What is he like?* since students often get them confused. In this case, Ella asks if the question *What does he look like?* relates to physical appearance or personality. Some of the students think the question is about personality as indicated by a show of hands in line 03, and more of the class thinks the question is about physical appearance in line 05. Ella, in line 06, through the use of Korean onomatopoeia, in this case *ding dong daeng*, tells the students that physical appearance was the correct answer. In cases where students are incorrect, Ella, at times, uses Korean onomatopoeia *ttaeng*!

The use of Korean onomatopoeia connects the lesson to Korean culture, which the students are familiar with. The words *ding dong daeng* are representative of striking bars on a xylophone while the word *ddaeng* is representative of striking a gong with a mallet. The use of a xylophone and a gong are common on Korean televised singing contests. During such a competition, if the singer passes a singing challenge, typically singing a randomly selected song from beginning to end, the host will play *ding dong daeng* on the xylophone. If the contestant

makes a mistake, the host will strike a gong with a mallet. Likely rooted in these contemporary television shows, Korean teachers also commonly use Korean onomatopoeia in their classes.

The use of Korean onomatopoeia is connected to Ella's ontological development when she was teaching elementary school-aged children at the English language institute (see section 7.1.2). She first overheard the children using the expression and she then repeated it in class much to the students' amusement. One of Ella's Korean language instructors also used the expressions in her classes much to Ella's enjoyment (ELLASRI).

Ella started using Korean onomatopoeia in her own classes at D University and found the students responded positively, noting the markedness of a NEST deploying a Korean cultural reference, "cause usually they don't expect you to know what that sound means, and so it pulls them into the lesson more, they pay more attention and they possibly respect you more" (ELLASRII). The result of using *ding dong daeng*, based on Ella's experiences goes beyond providing feedback. The markedness of the expression increases students' attention to the teacher and thus the lesson. Ella also notes that it may serve as a way to earn students' respect. Although Ella did not elaborate on why she felt the students may respect her more, her use of Korean onomatopoeia and its direct connection to Korean culture may serve as a way for Ella to connect with her students and their ontogenetic development as students growing up in Korea.

Ella also uses Korean metalanguage in her classes. In one case, she used Korean metalanguage as way to explain a grammatical structure. For example, in Excerpt 22 below, Ella, as part of a topic introduction, explains how to make an excuse to decline an invitation.



Excerpt 22 Ella LC92

- 01 Ella: So this time, you're busy. You can't come,  
02 Ella: Do you want to have a party tonight? No, I'm sorry, I'm busy.  
03 Ella: What are you doing tonight?  
04 S2: Studying  
05 Ella: Studying. OK, I'm studying,  
06 Ella: So we use the verb, 동사 [*dongsa*; verb] plus ing. I am studying,

In Excerpt 22, Korean *dongsa* is a translation of the English word *verb*, which ensures that the students understand the key part of the structure and also it serves an emphatic function by highlighting the importance of verb plus *ing* in the structure.

**7.2.1.2 Students engage with structured/all communicative activities.** Ella

occasionally uses Korean to support communicative activities. Similar to how Ella used Korean onomatopoeia above, she uses *ding dong daeng* as part of communicative tasks, for example, to let students know if their answer is incorrect or correct as part of a review activity, as may be seen in Excerpt 23.

Excerpt 23 Ella LC91

- 01 Ella: OK. Person number one. What is it?  
02 Ella: OK, wait, one more.  
03 Ella: What is it?  
04 S1: See a play  
05 Ella: 땡 [*ttaeng*; incorrect]. Ah, good, 덩동댕 [*ding dong daeng*; correct].  
06 Ella: One point. Next one.  
07 S3: Play a ballgame.  
08 Ella: 땡 [*ttaeng*; incorrect].  
09 S5: Go to ballgame.  
10 Ella: Yes, go to a ball game.

Excerpt 23 captures instances of a whole-class activity where Ella's lower proficiency students have to name an activity on a PowerPoint slide using the vocabulary from the textbook. In lines

05 and 08, Ella uses Korean onomatopoeia to indicate if the students' answer is incorrect 'ddaeng' or correct 'ding dong daeng'.

Ella also uses Korean as part of task directions; however, this appears to only occur when students have misinterpreted the instructions as may be seen in Excerpt 24

Excerpt 24 Ella HC81

- 01 Ella: [Ella has confirmed students understand 'spouse']  
02 Ella: I want you to think of your ideal spouse. Talk to your partner. What does he look like? What is he like? Two things: personality and physical. Talk to your partner. Go.  
03 [students talk about the pictures in the textbook]  
04 [Ella realizes students are not on task]  
05 Ella: Oh. Stop for a minute. Not the pictures. You, 자기 생각 [jagi saengag; your thoughts]. Your own thinking. What do you think? Your ideal spouse.  
06 Ss: Ahh  
07 [students are back on task]

Excerpt 24 is from Ella's higher proficiency section and Ella has just finished a listening activity in the textbook where a woman and a man appear romantically interested in each other. Ella first ensures that the students understand the word 'spouse'. Then in lines 01 and 02, Ella proceeds to set up a short communicative activity where the students, using the personality and appearance vocabulary from the chapter, describe their ideal spouse. The students then begin the task; however, rather than describing their ideal spouse, they describe the characters in the textbook using the descriptions they heard in the listening activity. Ella quickly realizes the students are off track and stops the class in line 05. In line 05, she tells the student that they should not be talking about the characters in the book and that they should be focusing on themselves. She reinforces this by switching to Korean to tell them they need to say what they think and repeat it

again in English. She then tells them to talk about their own spouse based on their thinking. In line 06, the students show they understand and they go on to complete the task. This is a rare instance where Ella uses Korean as a cross-linguistic task instruction. In this case, Korean serves to emphasize that the students need to provide their own opinions, and Ella reinforces this with English instructions. Overall, the cross-linguistic instructions were effective as the students quickly got back on task and described their ideal spouses.

Ella's use of Korean *ding dong daeng* serves classroom management functions to make the game fun and motivating for her students, and it also help to keep the activity flowing smoothly since all of the students are familiar with the words. In the case of cross-linguistic instructions, Korean appears to play a role to help get the students back on task quickly and efficiently. While the cross-linguistic instructions appear to be a very effective practice, Ella's use of this function is a relatively rare occurrence.

**7.2.1.3 Course content and communicative activities** Through the classroom observations and as revealed in the Korean functional analysis, Ella uses very little spoken Korean in her classes; however, she at times uses cross-linguistic Korean/English PowerPoint slides. In particular Ella creates and uses these cross-linguistic slides to help teach the course vocabulary in her higher and lower proficiency classes. In other cases, Ella creates cross-linguistic slides for use in her lower proficiency classes to review course content and as a type of communicative activity. As such, Ella's use of cross-linguistic slides serves as a mediating tool that helps the teaching of course vocabulary and grammar and facilitates communicative activities. Ella's use of cross-linguistic PowerPoint slides is exemplified and discussed below.

**7.2.2.4.1 Korean and cross-linguistic PowerPoint slides.** One of the most salient uses of cross-linguistic slides is to teach vocabulary, which Ella does with both of her higher and lower proficiency sections, an example of which may be seen in Figure 11 below.

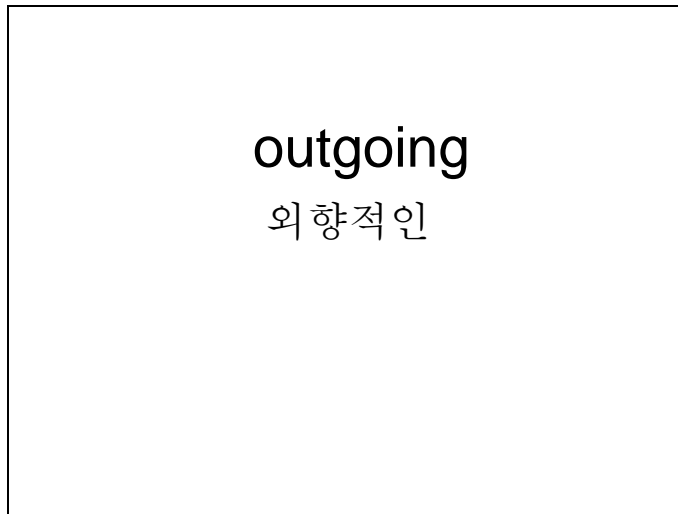


Figure 11. Korean to teach vocabulary through PowerPoint slides.

Figure 11 is an example of one of the slides used in the vocabulary task that shows the English vocabulary word and the Korean equivalent. An example of how this task is executed in class may be seen in Excerpt 25.

Excerpt 25 Ella HC81

- 01 [PowerPoint slide with word 성격 [*seonggyeog*; personality] in the centre]
- 02 Ella: I want you to take out your dictionary, 사전 [*sajeon*; dictionary].
- 03 [some students appear confused]
- 04 Ella: Take out your *handphone* [cellular phone]. I want you find out these words in Korean [points to vocabulary list in textbook]. Look them up. Write the Korean word. Now.
- 05 [students look up the personality vocabulary in their dictionaries or phone]
- 06 [approximately 3 minutes elapse]
- 07 Ella: Ten seconds. 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, 0, OK. Close your book. Close your book. Ok in this unit we're going to learn about your personality, words to describe personality.

- 08 [Ella changes slide: 친절한 [*chinjeolhan*; kind]]  
 09 Ella: What is this in English? [Ella points to slide]  
 10 Ss: Kind.  
 11 [Ella changes slide: 게으른 [*geeuleun*; lazy]]  
 12 Ss: Lazy.  
 13 [Ella changes slide to: 외향적인 [*oehyangjeogin*; outgoing] see Figure 11]  
 14 Ss: Outgoing.  
 15 Ella: Good.  
 16 [Ella changes slide to: 예의바른, 예의있는; [*yeuibaleun, yeuiissneun*; polite, polite]]  
 15 Ss: Polite.  
 16 Ella: Together. Polite.  
 17 Ss: Polite.

Excerpt 25 begins with Ella standing at the front of the class next to a projected slide which has the single word 성격 [*seonggyeog*; personality]. The slide serves as a Korean topic introduction ensuring that all of the students know that the day's topic is 'personality'. In line 01, Ella instructs the students to take out their dictionaries by providing a Korean translation for dictionary. Then, in line 04, after some of the students looked confused, she directs them to the dictionaries on their *handphone*<sup>11</sup>[cell phone] and tells the students to look up the vocabulary list in the textbook. After approximately three minutes, she tells the students to close their books. In line 07, Ella introduces the topic in English, in this case personality vocabulary, while also pointing at the slide with the Korean word for personality. She then proceeds to review the vocabulary with the students in lines 08 to 17. In this case, Ella has made a single slide for each word and written the Korean equivalent. The students look at the Korean translation and then shout out the English equivalent. Ella then clicks the mouse button and the correct English word

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<sup>11</sup> 'Handphone' is reflective of a variety of Korean English often referred to as Konglish

appears above the Korean translation. She then moves to the next slide and the routine repeats itself. In some cases, Ella praises the students in English such as in line 15 or at times she provides pronunciation feedback such as in line 16. After line 17 the activity continues for another nine words in the same manner. After Ella has gone through the vocabulary slides once, she then repeats the process but has the students open their textbooks, so they may revise their original translations as needed.

This cross-linguistic task is beneficial for students regardless of their English proficiency. Students first work independently translating the new vocabulary list. In the event the students already know the words, they can immediately write the translation whereas in cases where they do not know a word, they may resort to their bilingual dictionary. Then, the first time that Ella goes through the slides with her students, it serves as a review activity for what the students already know or what they have looked up. When Ella repeats the slide show after the students have opened up their books with their translations, the slides serve to review the vocabulary, and the students also have a chance to write or correct their translations of the new vocabulary. Thus, at the end of the activity, each student will have looked at the English words a number of times and have had an opportunity to create a bilingual vocabulary list that they can use to study for the quizzes and exams.

This activity reveals that Ella values the use of Korean to mediate the teaching of English vocabulary in both her higher and lower proficiency sections. It is noteworthy that not only does Ella provide Korean on the slides for her students, but she also creates a space for students to explicitly use Korean when initially looking up new vocabulary. This vocabulary task also appears to reflect Ella's prior Korean learning experiences where she learned Korean through

bilingual vocabulary lists such as in the three-week intensive Korean program at Y-University and through the vocabulary lists in her textbooks at D University.

It is also significant to note that the creation of the PowerPoint slides was assisted by one of Ella's Korean instructors.

With these words [vocabulary slides], I went to one of the Korean teachers who, she's like level 6 I think in our ELI [D University's English Language Institute] class, so her English is pretty good and I asked her for like the most commonly used Korean words for these (ELLASRI)

Thus, the vocabulary slides are partly an outcome of Ella's meeting with her Korean instructor, who provided Ella with what she felt were the most common Korean words. It is pertinent to note that Ella views this particular Korean instructor as a proficient speaker of English as she notes that the teacher was at level six, the highest level at the English language institute at D University. Therefore, Ella likely trusts the teacher and her ability to provide accurate translations. This in turn may lead to her having confidence to work with the slides without fear of making any mistakes.

As discussed above, Ella at times creates cross-linguistic PowerPoint slides specifically for her lower proficiency students. Figures 12 and 13 are part of a review activity that Ella created for her lower proficiency students.

Invitations 초대

Would you like to \_\_\_\_\_(time)?

Do you want to \_\_\_\_\_(time)?

Yes 😊

Sure! I'd love to.

Yes! That sounds great/fun!

No 😞

I'm sorry, but I can't. I'm (verb 동사) +ing...


Sorry, but I'm (verb 동사)ing...

Figure 12. Cross-linguistic PPT slide - Invitation and response structure.

The slide in Figure 12 is titled in both English, ‘Invitations’, and Korean ‘초대’ [*chodae*; invitation] which serves as a topic introduction ensuring that all of the students know the present topic. Under the title are the two invitation structures that the students need to learn, and underneath them are two possible positive responses and two negative responses. The negative responses indicate the required structure for the present continuous tense with Korean metalanguage 동사 [*dongsa*; verb]. Korean in this case serves to indicate where the verb will go in the sentence and that *ing* is to be joined to it. Thus, this one slide provides students with important language and the grammatical structures for the unit with Korean playing a supporting role. After Ella reviewed the slide using English, she then had the students do a whole class gap-fill activity using a number of different PowerPoint slides, an example slide may be seen in Figure 13.



01 A: Do \_\_\_\_\_ 토요일 밤에 ?

02 (생각: 토요일 밤에 bowling약속 있어서 camping 못 가요.)  
 B: I'm sorry, but I can't. I'm \_\_\_\_\_ (time)

03 A: What about \_\_\_\_\_? (이 문장 뜻은 “다음 주 토요일은 어때요?”)  
 04 다음 주 토요일


05  (시간이 있어서 camping 갈 수 있어요.)  
 06 B: That sounds great! I'm \_\_\_\_\_ then! (안 바빠요.)

Figure 13. Cross-linguistic PPT slide – Invitation and responses gap fill exercise.

The slide in Figure 13 has extensive Korean, which serves as prompts and explanations. In line 01, Korean is used to elicit a time phrase ‘토요일 밤에’ [*toyoil bame*; on Saturday night] for the blank above it. In line 02, the English/Korean sentence is background information that students need to fill in the preceding and following gaps ‘토요일 밤에 bowling 약속 있어서 camping 못 가요’ [*toyoil bame bowling-yagsog isseoseo camping mos gayo*]; I have plans to go bowling on Saturday night so I can’t go camping]. In line 03, Korean is used to explain the sentence which precedes it ‘이 문장 뜻은 “다음 주 토요일은 어때요?’ [*i munjang tteuseun “daeum ju toyoil-eun eottaeyo*; this sentence means “how about next Saturday”]. The Korean in line 04 elicits

what should go in the blank above it ‘다음 주 토요일’ [*daeum ju toyoil*; next Saturday]. Line 05 is background information to help students answer the following blank in this case ‘시간이 있어서 camping 갈 수 있어요’ [*sigani isseoseo camping gal su isseoyo*; I can go camping because I have time]. The Korean in line 06 then elicits the answer for the blank above it ‘안 바빠요’ [*an bappayo*; not busy]. Ella goes over the slide line by line with her students while they shout out the answers in English. Ella notes:

I used Korean because this way they [students] can practice the sentence without me feeding them the answer. [It’s] already there. They have to pull this vocabulary from the pictures<sup>12</sup> and they have to pull the time from the Korean so they can make the sentence and be guided without me giving the answer. (ELLASRI)

As Ella notes, the Korean in the slides provides the students with the necessary prompts and background material without her having to explain in English and give her students the very answers that she is trying to elicit. This activity with the accompanying slides is significant since it shows how Korean text on a PowerPoint slide can be used to mediate a communicative activity that helps students learn and/or review the course vocabulary, grammar, and creates opportunities for the students to practice speaking English.

In the above example, Ella created the slides on her own although much like the vocabulary slides (see Excerpt 25) her Korean teacher edited the slides.

I got my Korean teacher to check it. There were a couple times when I used ... *eul* [object marker] for *eun* [subject marker] and so she checked everything and she made

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<sup>12</sup> The pictures have been removed from the slides since the owner of the copyright is unknown.

corrections and she suggested better ways to say things ... So, you know *geuleom* [well] like *well*. She suggested using *well*. Like, *do you want to go to a ball game tomorrow? Sorry I'm busy I can't; well how about Saturday?* So, she added *geuleom toyoilay eodayyo* [well how about Saturday]. (ELLASRI)

Ella's teacher corrected minor mistakes in the slides and rephrased some of the slides so that the Korean was 'better', in essence, more like a native Korean-speaker would expect. Thus, Ella again ensured that the Korean was accurate and native-like which likely gave her confidence to use the slides with her students.

Based on the use of Korean slides, it is clear that Ella views cross-linguistic slides as a significant mediating tool in her classes. Functionally, the Korean on the slides serves many of the same functions as spoken Korean. For example, it serves curriculum access functions by explaining English sentences, introducing topics, providing examples and eliciting responses. Thus, it is an effective tool to mediate the teaching of English; yet, much like Ella's spoken Korean, it is not free from tensions as discussed in greater detail below (see section 7.2.3).

**7.2.1.4 Students know important administrative information surrounding course assessments.** Ella, like the other instructors uses Korean to provide information related to course assessments. During the lower proficiency section stimulated recall interview, while talking about Korean in her classes, I asked Ella if she provides the exam locations in Korean. She replied, "Yes I do. It's really important that they get it [exam location] right" (ELLASRI). Not only does Ella ensure her students know where to go for their exams, she will also provide dates in Korean for assessments such as quizzes as may be seen in Excerpt 26 below.

Excerpt 26 Ella LC91

- 01 Ella: OK, quiet please, so your quiz number three  
 02 Ella: will be next week, it won't be tomorrow, it will be next week,  
 03 Ella: 다음주, 다음주 월요일 [*daeumju, daeumju wolyoil*; next week, next  
 week Monday]  
 04 Ella: OK

Excerpt 26 is from Ella's lower proficiency section and she is rescheduling the final quiz for her students. In lines 01 and 02, she tells the students that the quiz will not be on the following day, instead it will be held the following week. Korean in line 03 then serves to provide the exact day that the quiz will be held in class. For Ella, much like Tom and Ted, Korean serves an important function, ensuring that her students know where to write their exams as well as important dates.

### 7.2.2 Tensions and Contradictions

I think maybe if it can help the classroom run smoothly, it's valuable. If you could speak Korean, if you are able, it could speed up the class or make it run smoother. I think it's worth having Korean, but sometimes I could say stuff and I don't. (ELLASRI)

Ella's comments reveal that she sees value in the use of Korean in the classroom and her use of Korean PowerPoint slides also reflects this view. However, she also acknowledges that she can use Korean in her classes but she chooses not to. These comments are indicative of the tensions and contradictions surrounding her use of Korean. Based on Ella's interview data, numerous tensions and contradictions surrounding the use of Korean as a mediating tool become apparent. Specifically, there are tensions surrounding an assumed English-only MOI policy and Korean; spoken Korean and her NEST identity; and her use of Korean and student learning.

### **7.2.2.1 Contradictions between English-only MOI policy and the use of Korean.**

Ella's perception of an English-only policy at D University is rooted in what she had been told by other teachers and by what she was told by the director. Shortly after Ella started teaching at D University, she had been told by a more experienced instructor that she would get into trouble if she spoke Korean in her classes. The instructor did not tell Ella who would approach her about speaking in Korean nor what the consequences would be if she were to speak Korean (ELLABK). However, reflecting the role of important others (Kennedy & Kennedy, 1996), this instructor's warnings in turn contributed to Ella avoiding the use of Korean in her classes.

At a later date, however, Ella observed one of the director's classes and she was surprised to see him using Korean when he was teaching. She then approached the director to determine how much Korean she was permitted to use in her classes.

I said to [the director], 'How much Korean should we use in the class?' and ... he said he tries not to say Korean words. They [students] can say [Korean] but he doesn't want to say it to them. (ELLABK)

The director's response, however, was indirect and did not address the question of whether or not Korean is an acceptable practice. This is further reflected in Ella's comments:

I'm not really sure [about using Korean] because [director] isn't against using Korean and I've heard him speaking Korean a couple of times to students. So, I know he's not against it, cause he uses it himself, but I'm not sure how much we're allowed to use and how it should be used. (ELLABK)

Ella's comments reveal that she assumes that instructors are only 'allowed' to use a limited amount of Korean and it should be used in a certain manner; however, she does not know how

much or in what way she should use Korean. Thus, Ella's use of Korean serves as source of tension since she does not know if she is using too much Korean or if she is using it in the 'right' way. This in turn, helps to explain her limited use of spoken Korean where she uses Korean as a tool of last resort.

Given that there are no explicit English-only MOI policies at D University, Ella's comments hint at how such a rule is able to circulate and be reproduced when the institution does not address the role of Korean directly. In this case, when Ella asked the director about the use of the L1, the director rather than explicitly stating the institution's policies and whether or not Korean was permitted or forbidden, said what he preferred for his own teaching practices. Thus, there was, in a sense, an MOI policy vacuum such that Ella still did not know if she could use the L1. Ella, in turn, likely filled this policy vacuum based on her prior language teaching and learning experiences that consistently reflected monolingual TL-only ideologies. In this light, it is reasonable to assume that English-only would be the normative expectation for Ella until clearly told otherwise.

#### **7.2.2.2 Tensions between the use of flawed Korean and Ella's expert teacher identity.**

One of the most significant differences between Ella and the other instructors is that she views making Korean mistakes as a problem in contrast to the other instructors who view Korean errors as a positive part of their teacher identities. In Ella's case, the imperfect use of Korean is not a positive aspect of her teacher identity, as may be seen in Excerpt 27.

Excerpt 27 Ella SRI

JM: So how does that [saying the wrong Korean word] reflect on you as a teacher?

When you make a mistake like that.

Ella: As long as you're humble, I reckon that's OK, but it could be a blow to your self-esteem, I think, but if you're willing to joke about it I think it's alright

JM So you mean if the students are laughing because you made a mistake that it can make you...

Ella: Look stupid in front of the entire class, but I was just talking one on one with the student, but yeah that's why I don't use it a lot because I'm scared I'll make a mistake in front of the whole class ... that's why I don't use it a lot

In Excerpt 27, Ella had just recalled mistakenly saying the Korean equivalent of 'your head is gone' instead of 'bald' to a student. In this case, the student corrected her and they both laughed about it. While Ella is fine with making mistakes one-on-one, making mistakes in front of the whole class is a completely different situation.

Ella's fear of making mistakes further contributes to her minimizing the amount of Korean that she uses in her classes. As discussed above, Ella created customized cross-linguistic PowerPoint slides for her lower proficiency students. While there were many opportunities for Ella to read the Korean on the slides, she only read one word in Korean and spoke English at all other times. I asked Ella about this during the first stimulated recall interview.

I know because they can see it, so I feel stupid saying it. Yeah, I feel like if it's obvious and it's right there, if they [Korean students] can say it better than me and I'm going to screw it up when I say it. Why should I do it when it's right there, and I think they're going to get it faster just by reading it than by me saying it because it's very obvious.  
(ELLASRI)

Ella's comments again reveal her fear of looking 'stupid' in front of her students. She also views her Korean pronunciation as deficient compared to her students who are native speakers of

Korean. This perspective also echoes her bias toward her Korean instructors who speak English where she only trusts the English translations from her Korean teachers who are highly proficient English speakers. Thus, Ella does not trust herself to speak Korean in her classes much like she does not trust non-native English speakers to speak English. Similar to the proficiency thresholds espoused by Macaro (2005) and Macaro and Lee (2013), for Ella, teachers who wish to use their learners' L1 in language classes must be at a sufficiently high level of proficiency, and teachers at the same level as Ella's Korean proficiency do not meet this criterion. From an identity standpoint, being a fallible emergent bilingual teacher does not form a positive part of Ella's teacher identity.

#### **7.2.2.3 Tensions between the use of incorrect Korean and risk of confusing students.**

In addition to Korean errors threatening Ella's identity as an instructor, Ella also views her potential use of inaccurate or incorrect Korean as "dangerous" since it may confuse students and negatively affect their learning. As Ella argues "I think it can be dangerous to use Korean. If the meaning is slightly different and with the meaning being slightly different, it confuses the students" (ELLASRI). Ella further comments in a later interview:

I could have said it in Korean, but sometimes I mess up Korean. So, I'm concerned that if I say it in Korean, I'm going to mess up something small but it's going to make a big difference to the meaning and so I don't feel confident explaining it in Korean.  
(ELLASRII)

Ella reveals that she is very concerned that incorrect Korean can lead to confusion on the part of students; however, this is impossible to ascertain since Ella did not make any errors in the classes



that I observed. Ella did, however, recall instances where she made errors speaking with one of her students:

Last lesson this girl came up to me and she was asking if she could leave early. I said ‘*dochaghaeyo*’ [arrive] and I was thinking it meant 'leave' but it meant 'arrive'. Like I was trying to say ‘When are you going to leave?’, but I said When are you going to arrive?’ and then she responds in Korean, like, ‘When am I arrive at my house?’ and then I’m like oh no sorry. I meant depart and so that’s a case ... if I say something, I can screw up the conversation by giving the opposite meaning. (ELLABK)

The above instance is a case where Ella used an incorrect word; however, she was able to quickly correct herself once the student showed that she was confused. The same type of interaction also occurred when Ella said “your head is gone” instead of “bald” to a student. In both cases, the students were able to recognize that something was incorrect and the correct meaning was jointly constructed. It is likely that a similar process would occur while teaching in front of the class, like in the cases of Tom and Ted; however, for Ella, this fear of making mistakes leads to a reduction in the use of spoken Korean.

Ella’s fears of making Korean mistakes as well as the influence of an English-only policy has a number of effects in her classes. Ella limits the amount of Korean that she speaks leading her to taking a maximal English approach where she avoids speaking Korean as much as possible. However, Ella appears to partly resolve these tensions and contradictions through the use of cross-linguistic PowerPoint slides that are proofread by native Korean-speaking instructors. The use of slides appears to be a way that Ella can incorporate Korean without the fear of making mistakes that might confuse students and threaten her identity as an expert NEST teacher.

## **Chapter 8 Discussion**

This chapter schematically represents and discusses the participants' activity system to better conceptualize and understand Tom, Ted, and Ella's use of Korean as a mediating tool in the activity of teaching EFL in South Korea. The chapter begins by providing a discussion of the NEST activity system. This is followed by a discussion of the contradictions and tensions within the activity system and related emotions and teacher agency.

### **8.1 NESTs Using Korean to Teach EFL in South Korea: A NEST Activity System**

The participants' activity system is situated as being part of the broader cultural-historic development of ELT in South Korea. Taking such a perspective then situates the participants as ontogenetic subjects whose beliefs and teacher identities in relation to the use of Korean are mediated through their prior language learning, teacher training and teaching experiences. The use of the L1 is then mediated not only by the teachers' beliefs and their negotiation of teacher identity, but also by other components in the activity system (e.g. rules, community, division of labour). A schematic of the activity system based on Engeström (1987, 1999, 2001) may be seen in Figure 14.

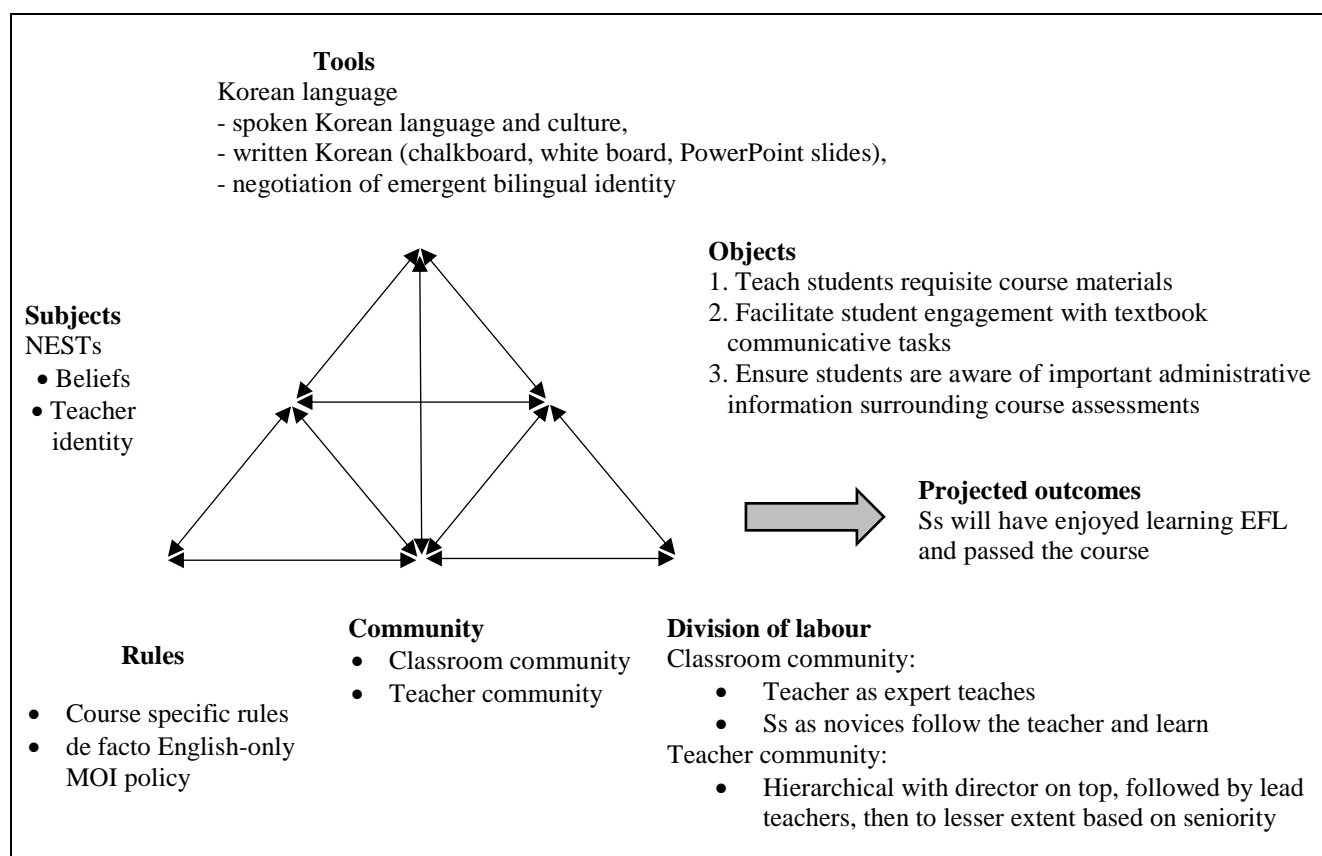


Figure 14. NEST activity system

The components of the activity system in relation to the participants' use of Korean are discussed in the sections below.

### 8.1.1 Objects and Projected Future Outcomes

The understanding of the NEST activity system is based on Engeström (1987, 1990, 1999). The activity system is object-oriented where object “refers to the ‘raw material’ or ‘problem space’ at which the activity is directed and which is molded and transformed into outcomes” (Engeström, 1993, p. 67). By analyzing the participants' rationale for using Korean in the background interviews, their explanations and elaborations of their use of Korean in the stimulated recall interviews and follow-up interviews as well as my classroom observations, I

found that the participants use varying amounts and modalities of Korean to mediate three common objects in the activity system. Specifically, the first object is that the participants use Korean to mediate their teaching of the requisite course materials. Korean is used to ensure that the students learn the requisite vocabulary and grammatical structures and, relatedly, that the students enjoy the experience. The second object is that Korean is used to facilitate student engagement with textbook activities and communicative tasks, maximizing students' time engaging with and practicing speaking English. The third object is based on the instructors making sure that their students understand and know the important administrative information related to course assessment (e.g. assignment instructions and exam locations and dates). The three objects are all directed toward a projected future outcome where their students will have enjoyed learning EFL and passed the course.

### **8.1.2 NEST as Ontogenetic Subject: L1 Beliefs and Teacher Identity**

The participants in this study reflect diverse educational backgrounds, language learning and teaching experiences as well as varying Korean language proficiencies. Based on the findings, these experiences serve to mediate the participants' beliefs and identities as NESTs.

Tom and Ted's teaching experiences as EFL teachers appear to have the most profound impact on their beliefs toward the use of the L1. In particular, it is their interactions with students (community) in prior activity systems that have played significant mediating roles on their beliefs. Tom initially held English-only beliefs that could be traced to his experiences in his MA TESL program, teaching practicum, and novice teaching experiences that normalized an English-only approach. Yet, after Tom began learning Korean and gradually incorporating it into

his classes, he found that his students appreciated and benefitted from its use. These positive experiences led to Tom shifting his beliefs from a maximal to an optimal or open-ended position.

Ted differs from Tom in the sense that he initially held open-ended/optimal beliefs but these beliefs were subsequently mediated by a negative experience with higher proficiency students who complained about his use of Korean (see 6.1.3). Ted's beliefs then shifted to reflect a maximal position for higher proficiency students and he maintains an open-ended/optimal belief for lower proficiency students.

Ella differs from Ted and Tom in that her Korean proficiency is relatively high and she can hold conversations in Korean with other Korean speakers; yet, she is, in most cases, unwilling to speak it in her classes. Ella's beliefs appear to be mediated by her experiences as language learner (see 7.1.3.2.3). She became frustrated and at times confused with her Korean language teachers' use of English. These experiences, in addition to an apparent bias against non-native English speakers, led to her trusting written translations over her teachers' spoken English. These preferences and biases appear to mediate her beliefs as an English language teacher. She believes that her use of spoken Korean may confuse or frustrate her students and in turn she reflects a maximal position and limits her use of spoken Korean. Yet, reflecting her language learning preference for written L1 texts, Ella believes that Korean should be incorporated through cross-linguistic PowerPoint slides that ideally have been proofread by one of her Korean language teachers, which reflects an optimal position for this modality of Korean.

Tom, Ted and Ella's beliefs in turn mediate their deployment of Korean. Although, as the findings show, their beliefs alone do not dictate their use of Korean, their identities as NESTs further mediate and are mediated by their use of Korean in the classroom.

For Tom and Ted, the use of Korean, in addition to serving classroom-based functions, is a form of identity negotiation. The participants, through the use of, at times, flawed Korean, negotiate their identities as emergent bilingual NESTs. For Tom and Ted, this identity positioning is a positive practice. As such the emergent bilingual NEST identity negotiation serves to mediate their use of Korean in the classroom, in that they are more likely to use Korean.

For Tom, this identity negotiation is in line with his optimal beliefs toward the use of Korean; however, for Ted, it appears that this identity negotiation contrasts with his beliefs toward higher proficiency students. As discussed above, Ted holds a maximal belief toward the use of English as MOI with higher proficiency students. Yet, as the findings show, he continues to use Korean in his higher proficiency section. This continued use of Korean is likely a result of Ted's emergent bilingual/entertainer identity negotiation. If he were to teach to his beliefs, he would not use Korean with his higher proficiency section, which would then prevent him from taking on his desired identity position. In this light, Ted's identity negotiation appears to override his beliefs for this group of students.

Ella contrasts with Tom and Ted as Korean is not a valued part of her teacher identity due to the possibility of her speaking inaccurate Korean. Ella rather views herself as an expert NEST, and Korean that is incorrect or mispronounced is a threat to her identity. In this light, Ella's teacher identity mediates her use of spoken Korean in a manner consistent with her beliefs in that she rarely speaks Korean in class. Moreover, Ella's optimal beliefs toward the use of cross-linguistic PowerPoint slides is consistent with her teacher identity. Since Ella ensures that the Korean content is perfect and refrains from reading the slides in class, she is unlikely to make a Korean language mistake that could threaten her identity.

In addition to the participants' holding beliefs that mediate their use of Korean, their identities as NESTs further mediate and are mediated by their use of Korean in the classroom. Both Tom and Ted position themselves as emergent bilingual NESTs who in turn are unafraid to speak and write Korean in their classes. This use of Korean, given their status as emergent bilinguals, is at times flawed. However, rather than viewing these errors as deficient, the teachers use them as a mediating tool in the classroom. Moreover, Ted's entertainer identity is further supported through his use of Korean. Thus, for both Tom and Ted, the emergent bilingual NEST identity position with the use of Korean, flawed or otherwise, is a positive practice that they enjoy, and as such they continue to find ways to incorporate Korean into their classes. In contrast, given that Ella is afraid of 'looking stupid' or confusing her students by speaking inaccurate Korean, an emergent bilingual identity consisting of Korean language errors is not desirable and is a potential threat to her teacher identity. Thus, her teacher identity mediates her use of Korean by constraining it.

### **8.1.3 Korean as a mediating tool**

The participants' beliefs and identities accompany the teachers into the classroom to mediate, to varying extents, their use of Korean. The participants all used Korean in a variety of modalities as tools directed at the objects in the activity system. Tom and Ted used spoken and written Korean on the chalkboards and whiteboards as well as cross-linguistic PowerPoint slides. In contrast to Tom and Ted, Ella used very limited amounts of spoken Korean; however, she compensated for her limited use of spoken Korean through the use of cross-linguistic PowerPoint slides.

The functions of Korean in the classroom, drawing on Ferguson (2003), are oriented toward one or more of the objects in the activity system as described in section 8.1.1 and detailed in Figure 14. Korean for curriculum access mediates the first object in the activity system by helping students understand and learn the course content. The participants' use of Korean for interpersonal relations mediates the first and second objects in the activity system by contributing to an English teaching environment where students are able to learn and practice speaking English in a fun and comfortable atmosphere. The different functions surrounding Korean for classroom management mediate the first object when teachers praise their students and when they use Korean to ensure the smooth running of the classroom by explaining and enforcing classroom rules and procedures. The classroom management function also mediates the second object to help students understand how to complete the textbook communicative tasks. Lastly, the classroom management function ensures that students know the important details and requirements surrounding course assessment tasks.

The participants' incorporation of Korean in different modalities for curriculum access and classroom management functions is consistent with other classroom-based studies (e.g. Ferguson, 2003; Hall & Cook, 2012; Lin, 2008, 2013; Littlewood & Yu, 2011; M. Turnbull & Arnett, 2002). Moreover, these functions are also consistent with the research on how ethnic Korean EFL teachers, who share the same L1 and culture as their students, use Korean in their classes (D. Kang, 2008; Liu et al., 2004; McGaughey, 2010). Although the participants use much less Korean for interpersonal relations in comparison to the other functions, their use of Korean to joke or chat with their students is also consistent with previous research (Hall & Cook, 2012; Lin, 2008, 2013; Littlewood & Yu, 2011; M. Turnbull & Arnett, 2002). Additionally, Tom and Ted use Korean as a means to negotiate their identity positions as emergent bilingual



NESTs. This identity negotiation, additionally, serves to show solidarity and empathy with their students much like the previous research (Canagarajah, 1995; Forman, 2010; Lin, 1996; Samar & Moradkhani, 2014). However, in contrast to teachers who share a common L1 with their students, the show of solidarity was not based on a shared culture, but rather on the teacher and students' shared identities as emergent bilinguals learning a foreign language, much like the university instructors in Polio and Duff (1994).

**8.1.3.1 Multifunctionality of Korean by NESTs.** Where this study differs from the published research is that it highlights how the participants' use of their learners' L1 may be multifunctional where, at times, it may serve curriculum access, classroom management and interpersonal relations functions or a combination thereof. While this multifunctional use of the L1 is not limited to this group of NESTs, as shown elsewhere (e.g. Camilleri, 1996; Lin, 1996; Simon, 2001), the analysis shows that a range of functions are open to NESTs who bring Korean into their classes in South Korea on the basis that they are emergent bilinguals and their incorporation of Korean in the classroom is a marked practice.

**8.1.3.1.1 Cross-linguistic practices and the incorporation of Korean culture: A marked practice.** The use of Korean by the participants in many cases is a marked practice, especially when compared to ethnic Korean EFL instructors. If one considers a Korean EFL teachers' classroom in Korea, if they were to use Korean metalanguage in their classes, the students are unlikely to be surprised by their Korean teachers' ability to say or write a word like *hyeongyongsa* [adjective], nor would the students be surprised if the Korean teacher used a Korean word like *daemeoli* [bald] or Korean onomatopoeia like *ding dong daeng* to indicate that a student is correct. Yet, for the NEST participants to incorporate this language, especially

language connected to Korean pop-culture and Korean student culture, based on the students' reactions in the classroom and the instructors' perceptions of their students, it appears that this practice is unexpected and marked. The result is that the students focus more on the instructor, and the students, at times, laugh and appear to become more interested in the lesson. This increased attention contributes to the multifunctionality of Korean where it serves its obvious function such as curriculum access and an additional classroom management function as students pay more attention to or become more interested in the topic. Furthermore, if participants incorporate aspects of Korean culture that are humorous to the students, the incorporation of Korean is likely to serve an interpersonal relations function as a form of joking, positively contributing to the affective climate of the classroom.

***8.1.3.1.2 Korean and the negotiation of emergent bilingual NEST identity.*** Tom and Ted's negotiation of their emergent bilingual NEST identities further contributes to the multifunctionality of Korean in the classroom. As discussed above, Tom and Ted's use of flawed or marked Korean serves a curriculum access function when they are helping the students understand the course content. At the same time, through this use of Korean, the instructors are negotiating their emergent bilingual identities, reflecting an interpersonal relations function. While the instructor is in the midst of identity negotiation, their students become increasingly engaged and participate in the lesson. Thus, this identity negotiation further serves a mediating role through a classroom management function. In addition to negotiating their identities, Tom and Ted are able to practice and learn Korean vocabulary while also being able to express solidarity and empathy with their students, serving additional interpersonal relations functions that are consistent with research on native speaking teachers of LOTE (e.g. S. Kim & Elder, 2008; Moore, 2002; Polio & Duff, 1994).

Moreover, Ted, at times, through the use of intentionally flawed Korean, uses his emergent bilingual identity position as an explicit pedagogical tool (Morgan, 2004). He is aware that his students will notice the errors, and he finds that their overall attention to the specific item and the lesson increases. Thus, in this case, Ted's negotiation of his emergent bilingual NEST identity through intentionally introducing Korean language errors mediates the activity teaching through classroom management functions, specifically to maintain his students' attention and increase student motivation.

#### **8.1.4 Rules**

The activity system is influenced by a number of assumed and formal rules that mediate teachers' use of Korean. There is an assumption by Tom and Ella of an English-only MOI policy and there are institutional rules surrounding course content and evaluation (see section 3.2.1.1).

The research on MOI policies in English language and LOTE classes (see section 2.9) tends to focus on de jure policies that are officially published or spoken texts generated by a government body or someone in authority, and the intention of the policy is clear. An example of such a policy may be state-produced English-only MOI policies aimed at Korean EFL teachers in Korea that in many cases serves as a source of tension or conflict (Choi & Andon, 2013; S. Y. Kim, 2002; Liu et al., 2004). This type of policy was also present in the English language institutes where Ted and Ella taught prior to teaching at D University. In contrast, the assumed English-only MOI policy at D University differs as it exists in the absence of an explicit de jure policy. Rather the genesis and enactment of this policy is very much local (Ramanathan & Morgan, 2007) where the policy is bottom-up, in that its origination comes from the

community of users, in this case the instructors at D University. Moreover, connected to it being community-derived, it is a de facto policy in that it arises out of teachers' practices rather than being an intentionally planned policy.

In addition to the de facto English-only MOI policy, there are also numerous institutional rules surrounding course content and evaluation (see section 3.2.1.1) that connect to the participants' use of Korean. In particular, the participants' students are required to pass in-class quizzes and assignments as well as standardized midterm and final exams. The rules surrounding the administration of these assessments lead to the participant's third object. The participants recognize that it is crucial for their students to know how to successfully complete the quizzes and assignments and know where and when to write their quizzes and exams. In this sense, the rule mediates the participants' use of Korean in that all of the participants use spoken Korean when going over these administrative details. This use of Korean toward the third object appears to supersede the instructors' maximal English beliefs such as those held by Ted for his higher proficiency students as well as Ella and her use of spoken Korean and the constraints of her teacher identity.

### **8.1.5 Communities**

The findings indicate that the participants belong to two communities that potentially mediate their use of Korean, namely the classroom community and the community of teachers. The classroom community consists of the instructor and their students. The students, according to the participants, reflect varying English language proficiencies with some majors such as English education having a higher English proficiency as a whole when compared to other majors such as automotive engineering majors.

The participants' perceptions of their students' needs mediate their use of Korean as may be seen in the findings where the participants use more Korean with their lower proficiency students in comparison to their higher proficiency classes. Moreover, the instructors' perception of their students' preferences further mediates the use of the L1. This is the case with both Ted and Ella who constrain their use of the L1 based on what they assume their students want. It is important to note that it is the instructors' assumptions of what they think their students want as neither Ted nor Ella actually asked their present students if they desired L1 support.

Interestingly, Ella during the stimulated recall interview mentioned that if her students wanted her to speak more Korean in the class, she would do so (ELLASRII). However, she did not actually ask her students if they wanted Korean or not. Based on the findings, it is likely that Ella was reluctant to actually open the door to Korean with her students as its use could threaten her identity as a NEST and violate the assumed English-only MOI policy.

The second relevant community to this activity system is the English language instructors' community that consists of all of the NEST instructors at D University including the participants' lead instructors, their colleagues and the director. Different individuals in this community are able to mediate the participants' use of Korean. The participants' colleagues, such as more senior teachers, can play the role of important other and through this position mediate the instructor's use of Korean. This occurred with Tom and his lead instructor who Tom felt would never report him to the director for his use of Korean. In this light, Tom was able to use Korean when being observed without fear of getting into trouble. In contrast, Ella's colleague told her that she would get into trouble for speaking Korean in her classes, thus constraining her use of Korean. Moreover, Ella's colleague's claims contributed to the reproduction of the de facto English-only policy and the inherent tensions and accompanying negative emotions. Lastly, the

director plays a crucial mediating role relating to the participants' use of Korean and the continued circulation of the de facto English-only MOI policy. Since he has never explicitly stated that the instructors can use Korean in their classes, the de facto English-only MOI policy continues to circulate unabated.

#### **8.1.6 Division of labor**

Within the classroom community, the division of labor is hierarchical where the instructor is the expert and teaches the course material and evaluates the students. The students, in turn, learn what the instructor teaches, complete the pedagogical tasks and complete the assessment materials. However, as the analysis reveals, this division of labor is not always fixed and may temporarily shift in relation to Tom and Ted's use of Korean. Tom and Ted's cross-linguistic practices and their emergent bilingual NEST identity negotiations can lead to a shift to the expected or normative division of labour in their classes. Through the use of inaccurately written or spoken Korean, Tom and Ted momentarily become Korean language learners. Their students take on the role of Korean language experts as they offer advice as well as correct and coach the instructors. The consequence of this momentary shifting of the division of labour and power relations is that it has the potential to reduce the perceived affective gap between the instructor and students. The instructors are able to show that they are foreign language learners much like their students. Moreover, while Medgyes (1992) may argue that "[o]nly non-NESTs can serve as imitable models of the successful learner of English" (p. 346), Tom and Ted through their negotiation of their emergent bilingual NEST identities may serve as an equally viable language learning model for their students. Based on their emergent bilingual NEST identities, they are likely to be viewed as experts in their L1 and as fallible foreign language learners in

their additional language. From a translanguaging perspective, both the participants and their students may be viewed as emergent bilinguals who are moving along a bilingual continuum and increasingly being able to translanguage appropriately in social situations, in this case the classroom (García, 2009a).

The division of labour in the community of teachers is also hierarchical. The director, in addition to being an instructor, wields a great deal of power. As director, he reflects the views of the university and is responsible for hiring, contract renewals and to a limited extent determines instructors' raises. As discussed, lead instructors, given that they are supposed to report their observations of their group of instructors to the director, are in a position of power over those whom they observe. Lead instructors who are typically more senior, and other senior instructors are also likely to have an influence over novice instructors by providing advice or warnings such as in the case of Ella.

## **8.2 Contradictions and Tensions in Activity**

The use of Korean by NESTs serves numerous pedagogical and affective functions that appear to improve the learning experience for their Korean adult learners in the activity of teaching EFL. As the findings show, Tom and Ted embrace this practice as beneficial to their students and as part of their emergent bilingual NEST identities. However, the use of Korean can be a practice that contradicts and creates tensions within the activity system. These tensions serve to both constrain the participants' use of Korean as well as lead to agentic actions.

The tensions and contradictions in the NEST activity system are within the activity system and are in relation to the subject and the individual components, namely tools, rules and community. These tensions are indicated as dashed lines in Figure 15 below.

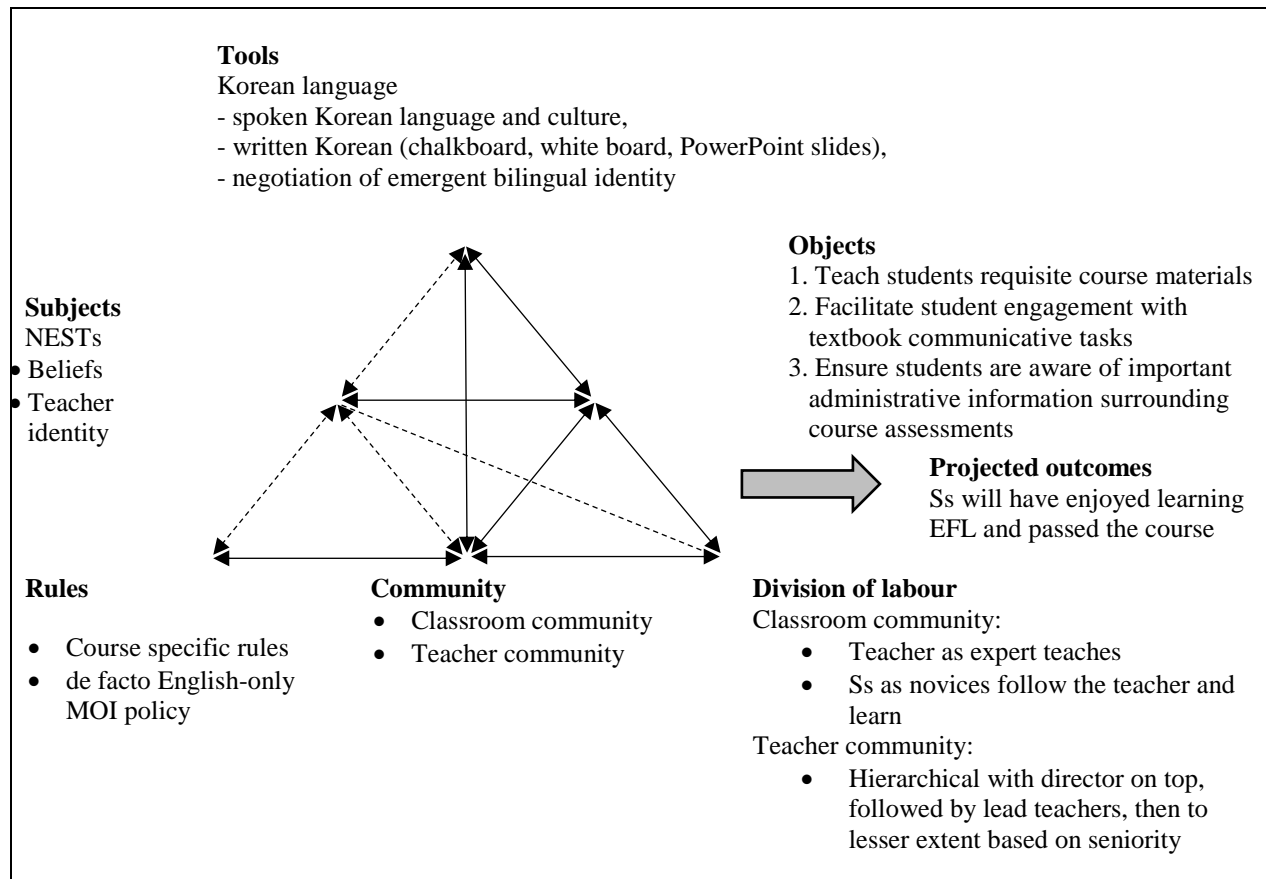


Figure 15. Tensions in NEST activity system

Based on the findings and as represented by the dashed lines in Figure 15, there appear to be several points of conflict or tensions between the components in the activity system. Specifically, there are tensions between subject (teacher ID) and tool (Korean); between the subject, the tool (Korean) and a rule (English-only); between the subject, the community (teacher community) and the tool; and between subject, the use of Korean (tool) and the division of labour (classroom community). These tensions in relations to teacher emotion and agency are discussed below.



The use of Korean (tool) appears to contradict at times with Ted's stated beliefs and with Ella's teacher identity as a NEST (subject). The contradiction is most obvious with Ted's use of Korean and his stated belief that he should teach his higher proficiency students monolingually in English. However, it should be noted that for Ted, based on the findings, this contradiction is not a source of tension for him. Furthermore, the use of Korean with these students is in line with his emergent bilingual/entertainer NEST identity, which appears to supersede his idealized beliefs. In contrast, for Ella, the use of Korean is a threat to her expert NEST identity as, for her, she runs the risk of looking 'stupid' in front of her students if she were to make a mistake much like a language learner. In this light, there is also tension between Ella's teacher identity and the established division of labour in the classroom where making mistakes are not part of the established hierarchy in the classroom with Ella as the infallible expert. Ella, in connection with her teacher identity, also fears that if she were to deploy inaccurate Korean, she could potentially confuse her students which is also a threat to the established division of labour.

There are also tensions between the use of Korean and Tom and Ella's assumption of an English-only MOI rule. Relatedly, there are also assumed contradictions between the subjects, the teacher community and the use of Korean. In particular, Tom and Ella, and Ted to a lesser extent, assume that the director (community) does not want the instructors (subjects) to use Korean (tool) in the classroom.

The contradictions and tensions within the activity system consequently elicit negative emotions but also lead to agentive actions on the part of Tom and Ella. Tom's use of Korean has an emotional cost in that he at times feels 'weird' and that he is doing something wrong, consistent with the emotion of guilt as discussed in Copland and Neokleous (2010) and Macaro,

(2000). Tom also fears that he is breaking the English-only MOI. However, in his case, this emotional discomfort does not stop him from using Korean in the classroom. So long as Tom is not being observed by the director or someone who may report his use of Korean to the director, he views the classroom as a safe place to use Korean without the fear of negative consequences. Moreover, Tom, likely due to being the most senior instructor in this study, knows when and with whom he can safely use Korean. He knows that his lead instructor uses Korean in his classes and he is confident that the lead instructor will not reveal his cross-linguistic practices to the director. Also, Tom stated that in the case that he is being observed by the director or someone who may report his use of Korean to the director, he will instead conduct his classes in English without recourse to Korean.

Ella experiences multiple forms of emotional discomfort as she is afraid of looking unprofessional and in the worst case stupid. She is also afraid that she might get into trouble, and she is afraid that her students could become confused and misunderstand what she is teaching. From an agentic standpoint, the tensions and contradictions serve to constrain Ella's agency surrounding spoken Korean; however, Ella still takes agentic actions through her use of cross-linguistic PowerPoint slides. As the findings show, by switching modalities, Ella is able to achieve many of the curriculum access and classroom management functions. Moreover, Korean deployed in this modality allows her to use Korean in a manner consistent with her beliefs that does not threaten her expert NEST identity or risk confusing her students.

Ted stands out from Tom and Ella. As the findings reveals, he appears immune to outside influences on his teaching with the exception of his former students. He is consistently dismissive of administrators or employers' attempts to mandate his language of instruction. His

practice of learning and using Korean in his classes is in direct contravention of de jure English-only MOI policies at the three language institutes where he taught prior to D University.

However, in contrast to Ted and Ella, he does not assume that there is an English-only MOI at D University. Moreover, he does not express any notions of guilt or wrongdoing for using Korean in any context.

## **Chapter 9 Conclusion: Implications, Limitations, and Future Research**

The findings from this study lead to a number of implications that are specific to D University and similar EFL higher education settings where NESTs are the instructors. It should be noted that these implications are premised on the existing research that argues for the use of learners' L1s in language teaching as a way to support language learning and acquisition (e.g. Cook, 2001; Corcoran, 2015; Cummins, 2007, 2008; García & Kleyn, 2016; García & Lin, 2017a; Littlewood & Yu, 2011; M. Turnbull, 2001, 2006). The implications are first discussed in the following five sections followed by a discussion of the limitations of this research and possibilities for future research.

### **9.1 Implications for ELT Practitioners at D University and Beyond**

I would argue that a major implication from this study is that the L1 is a classroom tool that teachers, regardless of their proficiency in their students' L1s, can and should seek ways to include in their classes. As argued above, teachers include the L1 in different modalities to accommodate their L1 proficiency and classroom needs. Regardless of the modality, students receive L1 support that has the potential to save time and frustration, and as a result, relatively beginner language learners may be able to spend more time practicing and using English in the classroom.

The findings also imply that teachers wanting to use the L1 should be cognizant of their students. Lower proficiency adult EFL students in Korea are likely to benefit the most from the use of Korean through the curriculum access, classroom management and interpersonal relations functions of Korean. However, with higher proficiency students, instructors may want to be

mindful of their use of Korean to avoid frustrating their students by redundantly using the L1 for curriculum access functions. Rather, instructors with higher proficiency students may want to use Korean for classroom management such as to motivate and keep students focused or as a form of emergent bilingual identity negotiation as was the case with Ted and Tom. Additionally, if teachers are concerned that they are using too much or not enough of the L1, they could directly ask their students what they prefer or could even conduct an anonymous survey of their students.

Lastly, a caveat for teachers is that these recommendations are based on the assumption that they are permitted to use the L1 in their classes. In contexts like South Korea where employers often have firm English-only MOI policies, breaking these policies could have negative consequences for teachers. In this light, teachers will have to be cautious in their use of the L1. Teachers could surreptitiously bring the L1 into their classrooms, but this carries risks as their students could complain to the managers if they do not like the use of the L1, or if the rooms have CCTV teachers may be ‘caught in the act’. Ideally teachers, perhaps more senior teachers, in these contexts could speak with managers with an aim to have them rescind these policies. They could, for example, present their managers with the findings from this dissertation as support in addition to empirical data supporting the use of L1 and language learning (e.g. Cummins, 2007, 2008; Lee & Macaro, 2013; Tian & Macaro, 2012).

## **9.2 Implications for Administrators and Curriculum Developers in ELT**

The benefits of the teachers' use of Korean and the inherent tensions surrounding its use lead to several administrative implications at D University and similar educational contexts in South Korea.

Specific to D University, assuming the director is fine with his instructors using Korean in the classroom, he needs to address the de facto English-only MOI policy and instructors' perceptions that he does not want them using Korean in the classroom. This could be quickly and easily achieved by announcing that his instructors are free to use Korean in the classroom as needed. Ideally, this would be done in a formal setting such as a staff meeting. This would then put an end to the de facto policy and the associated tensions and negative emotions.

Going forward, administrators or managers could acknowledge the benefits of the use of the L1 by facilitating a meeting, workshop or at D University small group discussions with lead instructors where instructors could discuss contextually appropriate ways to incorporate the L1 in their classes. This discussion could focus on how instructors of varied Korean language proficiencies could incorporate Korean as part of their teaching practices. Based on the findings from this study, the discussion could be led through examples of how the L1 may be incorporated as part of a spoken and written cross-linguistic practice. The discussion could also focus on options for instructors who may be reluctant to speak Korean or if their Korean language proficiency is limited to incorporate Korean through different modalities such as through PowerPoint slides or handouts. Ideally, once instructors learn that the L1 is a potential

resource that is valued by administrators, practice-sharing could occur informally between instructors.

Curriculum developers and syllabus designers also have the potential to play a significant role in facilitating instructors' use of the L1 in their classes, especially if those instructors have limited proficiencies in their learners' L1. As revealed in this study, the participants used Korean most frequently for curriculum access functions, in particular, functions surrounding course vocabulary and grammar. While developing the curriculum, planners could consider the vocabulary and grammar learning aims of the program and how that may best be supported through the use of the L1. Then curriculum planners could provide instructors with L1 translations and explanations that the instructors could then decide to incorporate in their classes as needed.

### **9.3 Implications for Teacher Education Programs**

This study has implications for teacher education programs. Some teacher education programs, as in the case of the participants' MA TESL and TEFL certification programs, by avoiding discussion of learners' L1s or promoting an English-only approach, are reproducing empirically unsupported language teaching ideologies. A first step for these teacher education programs would be to reflect and identify aspects in their programs that could be updated to reflect empirically supported teaching practices in relation to the use of learners' L1s. For example, these programs could update their course reading to include this dissertation in addition to other publications (e.g. Corcoran, 2015; Cummins, 2001; Cummins & Early, 2011; Cummins,

Hu, Markus, & Kristiina Montero, 2015; García & Kleyn, 2016; García & Lin, 2017a; Swain, Kirkpatrick, & Cummins, 2011). The programs could then include a unit on pedagogical approaches where teachers discuss and explore ways to incorporate the L1 in their contexts or future teaching contexts. Teacher education programs that are targeted for specific contexts where teacher trainees' future language learners reflect a common L1, for example a TEFL course based in Korea or a community-based TESL program in the United States, could discuss how a specific L1 can be used as well as teacher identity implications in that context. Moreover, the discussion could focus on how teachers who do not share an L1 with their students can include it. This discussion could include examples of the bilingual identity text work by Cummins and his colleagues in CLD schools (e.g. Cummins & Early, 2011; Cummins, Hu, Markus, & Kristiina Montero, 2015).

By teacher education programs productively discussing the use of the L1, teachers, regardless of their proficiency in their learners' L1s, could see the value and importance of including it in their practices. Teachers ideally would leave these programs having a firm idea on how to include the L1 in their practices, in rejection of monolingual ELT ideologies. Moreover, the incorporation of the L1 in teacher education programs would make the programs more consistent with the findings from empirical research and classroom-based realities. This could also have an influence, if only minor, on policy makers who presently seek to ban the L1.

#### **9.4 Implications for Researchers of Language Teachers and their Practices**

The use of Vygotsky's genetic analysis and activity theory as the superordinate theoretical framework and the incorporation of complementary theoretical lenses resulted in a



powerful transdisciplinary framework (c.f. The Douglas Fir Group, 2016). This was achieved through the incorporation of the concepts of translanguaging and the emergent bilingual (García, 2009a, 2009b, 2017; García & Lin, 2017a, 2017b) to account for the teacher-subjects. Moreover, language teacher identity research (Morgan, 2004; Varghese et al., 2005) and more recent research on emotion in activity (Golombek, 2015; Golombek & Doran, 2014; Golombek & Johnson, 2004; K. Johnson & Worden, 2014) were extended to the framework. In this light, the theoretical framework met S. Borg's (2006) call for a unifying framework and built upon Cross's (2010) theoretical discussion through the use of the sociocultural framework in an empirical study of language teacher cognition and practice. By historically and socially contextualizing teachers and their cross-linguistic practices within broader societal discourses and micro-level influences and interactions, the framework in this study illuminated the interconnections between teacher cognition, practice, identity and emotions in the activity of teaching. For researchers, especially those who have enough time and resources, this theoretical framework can contribute to an in-depth and rich understanding of language teachers and their practices.

In addition to the implications from the theoretical framework, the findings from this dissertation add to the body of research surrounding teachers' use of their learners' L1s in ELT (e.g. Ferguson, 2003; Hall & Cook, 2012; Lin, 2008, 2013; Littlewood & Yu, 2011; M. Turnbull & Arnett, 2002). Specifically, based on my review of the research, this dissertation is one of the first studies investigating NESTs' use of Korean in ELT. Moreover, with few exceptions (de Oliveira et al., 2016; Forman, 2007) this is one of very few studies that has investigated NESTs' use of their learners' L1 in an English language teaching context. The findings show that NESTs are equally capable of using their learners' L1s in the classroom much like their non-native TL

teachers. Where NESTs differ from their non-native TL-speaking counterparts is through the multifunctionality of their cross-linguistic practices. This is due to the NESTs and their learners having a shared identity based on their statuses as emergent bilinguals rather than on the basis of a shared L1 and culture. When the participants use Korean for curriculum access, they are also negotiating their emergent bilingual identities (interpersonal function). Moreover, in line with the negotiation of their emergent bilingual identity, if the use of the L1 is flawed and the students in turn correct and help the instructor to learn the word or phrase, this could result in a classroom management function as students become engaged or reengage in the lesson. This multifunctionality contrasts with teachers who share common L1 and culture with their students since they are unlikely to make the same linguistic errors in their L1 and their knowledge and deployment of their shared culture with their students is unlikely to be marked.

Relatedly, this dissertation contributes to the research on translanguaging and the emergent bilingual. Only recently has the notion of emergent bilingual been considered for learners in an EFL context (for discussion see B. Turnbull, 2016 and Garcia, 2017). This study extends the notion of the emergent bilingual to the understanding of NESTs teaching EFL in South Korea. Furthermore, it serves to challenge stereotypical views of NESTs as being monolingual speakers of English incapable of effectively using their learners' L1s in ELT (c.f. J. H. Lee & Macaro, 2013; Macaro, 2005) to instead viewing teachers as successful language learners increasingly being able to deploy their expanding linguistic repertoires in the activity of teaching EFL. Moreover, the teachers are then viewed as sharing a common identity with their students as fellow emergent bilinguals who are expert speakers of their L1s and fallible learners

in their additional languages. As such, NESTs, as emergent bilinguals, are then viewed as more realistic language learning models for their students.

This study also has implications for NEST researchers interested in conducting collaborative action research (AR) (Burns, 2003, 2010). In the case of a teacher attempting to implement a pedagogical innovation, the level of detail and historicity of a complete Vygotskian genetic analysis as done in this study may be excessive. However, some parts of the theoretical framework may be helpful. For example, if teachers wanted to incorporate their learners' L1s into their classes, they could first consider a specific language functions such as vocabulary instruction. Teachers could then attempt to incorporate the L1 through different modalities such as speaking, PowerPoint slides, or board work. Simultaneously, the teachers may consider writing a reflective journal surrounding their use of the L1 (for example, see Edstrom 2006). Throughout this process, the teachers could map out the activity system for this new innovation in the context of the classroom. Afterwards, the participating teachers could review and share their journals with each other and evaluate the effectiveness of incorporating the L1 while considering the classroom activity system with an aim of identifying tensions or contradictions. Assuming there were tensions, identifying them through the activity system framework may help to address the source of the tensions and identify possible adjustments that may be made in future implementations of the L1 teaching practices. In turn, this may help teachers reach or at least move closer to the ultimate goal of the action research, that is, the most effective teaching practices for their learners (see Burns, 2010 for conducting educational action research).

Lastly, potentially highlighting a tension in activity theory research, this study viewed the participants' negotiation of their emergent bilingual identities as a tool (artifact) that mediates

object-oriented activity. This conceptualization of the negotiation of identity as a tool, however, may appear contrary to the view that identity is an action in that it “is continuously produced and reproduced in practical activity” (Roth & Lee, 2007, p. 215). It is not my intent to reject the view that identity may be viewed as an action; rather, I would argue that identity negotiation, as exemplified through Tom and Ted, may also be viewed also as a tool (artifact), especially when it is explicitly deployed as a pedagogical tool that mediates the first and second objects in their activity system (see 8.1.1). Moreover, viewing teachers’ emergent bilingual identity negotiation as a tool is a potential transdisciplinary bridge between activity theory and post-structural identity theory research that views language teacher identity as a pedagogical tool (Morgan, 2004). Yet, as Roth and Lee (2007) argue:

Most important, CHAT [cultural historic activity theory] cannot be viewed as a master theory or quick fix, for true to its origins, it is subject to inner contradictions, which compel researchers to update, transform, and renew constantly it so that it becomes a reflection of its object. (p. 218)

In this light, the future theorization of the negotiation of identity as a tool and the role of SCT and activity theory as a transdisciplinary framework is certainly worthy of further research and discussion.

### **9.5 Implications for the Korean Government and Ministry of Education**

There are two implications from this study for the Korean government and Ministry of Education. First, the visa requirements surrounding the hiring of NESTs needs to be updated. Empirically unsupported ELT ideologies have led to hiring criteria based on accent and

citizenship rather than qualifications and expertise. The government needs to make their requirements more selective based on teacher qualifications such as a TESL/TEFL certification and ideally some teaching experience. Additionally, based on this study, the government ought to privilege qualified EFL teachers who speak some Korean that they can deploy in their classes. Hiring NESTs without any qualifications, experience, or Korean language skills is not only a disservice to Korean students that only serves to benefit NESTs, much like it benefited me when I first moved to Korea, it also serves to reproduce the ideological tenets of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992).

Lastly, it would do ethnic Korean EFL teachers a great service if the Korean government policy makers reconsidered their drive for English-only classes. There is a certain amount of irony in that the government is mandating that Korean EFL teachers abandon the use of their L1, so that they are more like NESTs; yet the same NESTs that they are to emulate are finding that Korean is an effective teaching tool and in turn, the NESTs are using the L1 much like the ethnic Korean EFL teachers did. It is my hope that this dissertation can serve as a lens for these policy makers to revisit their English-only assumptions in light of the effectiveness of the L1 in ELT in Korea.

## **9.6 Limitations of the Study and Avenues for Future Research**

The findings from this study may not so readily apply to contexts with CLD students such as an ESL class as part of the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) program in Canada or in classes with younger language learners. In a class with multiple L1s, teachers' potential use of multiple L1s and their identity negotiations surrounding this use are

likely to vary highly from this study. Further discussion of this context is beyond the scope of this study and is a potential area for future research.

The findings of this study surrounding the negotiation of teachers' emergent bilingual identity may not as easily extend to language learning contexts with young children, for example, early French immersion classes in Toronto. While current research is reflecting a shift to use English to focus learners' attention on the similarities and differences between English and French and to reinforce language learning strategies (Cummins, 2014; Lyster, Quiroga, & Ballinger, 2013), adult emergent bilingual teacher identity negotiation is likely to be viewed differently from a child's perspective. For example, the participants in this study deployed a significant amount of Korean culture that their adult students knew well. Children in French immersion classes are unlikely to identify with their adult teachers' references to pop culture that they are yet to experience or even hear about. Moreover, children in French immersion classes may not relate to their adult teachers' language learning experiences as adult learners would. As such it is unclear whether or not these identity negotiations could serve as a pedagogical tool or if they would merely be a distraction in the classroom that takes away from the immersion experience.

Another potential limitation is with the findings surrounding teachers' emergent bilingual NEST identity negotiations. In a different cultural and linguistic context, even where students may share a common L1 and culture, the affordances of this identity negotiation may differ. My concerns are surrounding teachers' use of a flawed L1. In Korea, the students responded positively but in other contexts, these linguistic errors could be viewed negatively. Alternatively,

students could also respond similarly as in the Korean context. This uncertainty points to an area of future research to see if these findings are consistent in other contexts.

The focus of this study has been limited to the instructors' point of view, which is its own limitation. Future studies looking at NESTs' use of Korean in the classroom would benefit from capturing the student perspective. The participants in this study felt that the use of Korean led to their students understanding more and doing better on their quizzes and assignments. Future research could investigate student performance and aim to draw connections with teachers' use of the L1, ideally identifying correlations between performance and specific L1 functions. Researchers may also want to explore student motivation in relations to NESTs' use of the Korean language and culture and their emergent bilingual identity negotiation.

A follow-up study investigating teachers' cross-linguistic practices that considers both the teachers' and students' perspectives would also offer a fuller picture. Researchers could conduct a genetic analysis of the teachers and groups of students and then establish an activity system for each group. Such an analysis would have the potential to provide a rich, in-depth understanding of teachers' and students' beliefs and highlight the potential tensions and contradictions surrounding cross-linguistic practices.

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## **Appendices**

### **Appendix A: Background Interview Schedules**

The following questions served to guide the background interviews. Each interview, however, varied as I would adjust my line of questioning based on the participants' responses.

#### **Language learning and use**

1. Can you tell me about the languages spoken in your home?
2. What languages can you speak or read?
  - Can talk about how you learned this language?
  - Can you describe the language classes?
    - Who taught the classes?
    - What was the language of instruction?
    - What did you think about the language of instruction? Beneficial or otherwise? Why?
  - Is there anything that you remember being really good for language learning? Why?
  - Is there anything that you remember being really bad for language learning? Why?
  - Did you have any informal language learning experiences? Can you talk about those and describe what worked and what didn't?
  - What was the role of your L1 these experiences?
3. Do use a lot of the Korean that you learned in daily life in Korea? Can you give some examples?
4. Does your current level of Korean allow you to do all that you want to do in the classroom? Please explain.

#### **Education background**

1. What did you study in university?
2. Can you describe your language teacher education experiences and credentials?
  - What level of students was the program aimed at, if applicable.
  - What pedagogical approach did the program teach?
  - Did you have a teaching practicum?
  - What as the role of learners' L1s in the program and practicum?
  - Did you find what you learned in this program applied to your teaching practicum?
3. Considering the Korean context, how compatible was your teacher training with what you do in the classroom?

#### **Teaching in South Korea**

1. Why did you come to South Korea to teach?
2. Where did you teach prior to teaching at D University?
  - Can you describe this experience?
    - Age and proficiency of students
    - Type of classes taught
    - English-only policies
    - How did you use Korean in the classroom? If at all.
    - What did you like about the experience? Why?
    - What didn't you like? Why?
    - How long did you teach at the institute and why did you leave?
3. Why did you start teaching at D University?
4. What do you like about teaching at D University?
5. What do you not like about teaching at D University?
6. What are the institutional guidelines on teaching English Conversation I?
7. How do you teach *English Conversation I*?
  - Role of teacher and pedagogical approach?
  - Teacher talk time?
  - Role of the L1?
  - Role of textbook?
  - What is the role of the teacher? Teacher talk time?
  - Assessment?
  - What are the differences between higher and lower proficiency classes?
    - What are some of the difficulties that you encounter with lower proficiency students? How do you resolve them?
    - What are some of the difficulties that you encounter with higher proficiency students? How do you resolve them?
  - How do you use Korean in your classes?
  - Do you differentiate the amount or use of Korean between higher and lower proficiency students?
  - Do you try to incorporate student culture into your classes? How do you do this?



## **Appendix B: Stimulated Recall Interview Schedule**

The following questions were used as a guide to the stimulated recall interviews. There I asked each participant several questions prior to showing them the video recorded lesson:

1. Can you please describe this group of students?
  - a. Major
  - b. Overall language proficiency
  - c. Motivation
2. Can you describe the lesson for me?
  - a. Overview and aims of the lesson
  - b. Relative importance of this class on exam, quizzes or assignments
3. Do you feel that you were under any pressure to cover the material for the final exam?
4. What do you think students think of you if you make mistakes in Korean? What sort of a teaching model does that make you?

For the remainder of the interview, the participant annotated the video of their class by discussing how and why they used Korean at different points in the recording. I would in turn follow up their comments by seeking clarification and asking additional questions.