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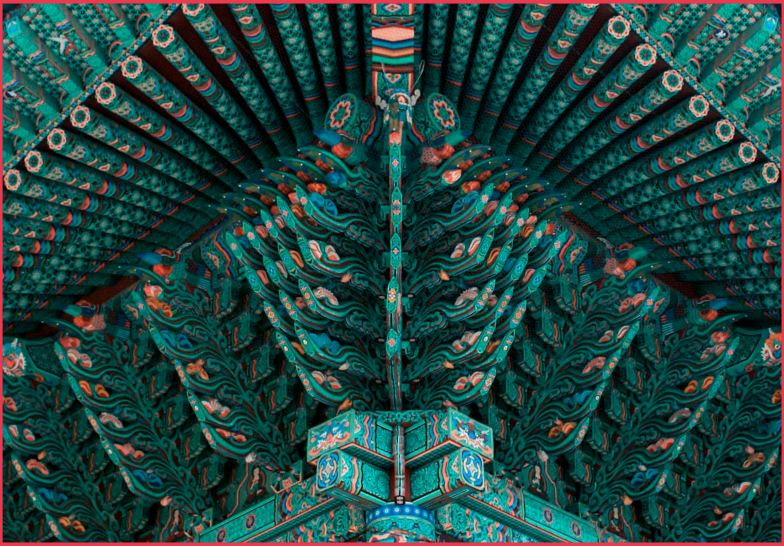

Morpho-Syntactic Patterns in Spoken Korean English

Sofia Rüdiger

John Benjamins Publishing Company

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by Sofia Rüdiger

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Abbreviations

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BELF	Business English as a Lingua Franca
BNC	British National Corpus
CLAWS	Constituent Likelihood Automatic Word-tagging System
CMC	computer-mediated communication
COCA	Corpus of Contemporary American English
EFL	English as a foreign language
EIF	Extra- and Intra-Territorial Forces (Model)
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ENL	English as a native language
EPIK	English Program in Korea
ESL	English as a second language
eWAVE	The Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English
ICE	International Corpus of English
KAIST	Korean Advanced Institute of Science and Technology
KATUSA	Korean Augmentation to the United States Army
L1	first language
L2	second language
MCT	Ministry of Culture and Tourism
OBJ	object
PL	plural
POS	part of speech
PST	past tense
SB	Santa Barbara (Corpus of Spoken American English)
SLA	second language acquisition
SBJ	subject
SPOKE	Spoken Corpus of Korean English
TOP	topic marker
WE	World Englishes

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Transliteration

Korean language examples are always given in Korean script (*Hangeul*) first. This is followed by a transliteration, a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss (if necessary), and a translation. Transliteration in this monograph follows the MCT (*Ministry of Culture and Tourism*) system (sometimes also referred to as the 'Revised Romanization of Korean').[1]

(1)	맥주가	맛있었어요.	← original example in Hangeul
	maek-jju-ga	ma-si-sseo-sseo-yo.	← transliteration according to MCT
	beer-SBJ	delicious-PST-formal style	← morpheme-by-morpheme gloss[2]
	The beer	*was delicious.*	← translation

Shorter stretches of wording in Korean (consisting usually of only one word or one morpheme) are occasionally also given in the running text. In those cases, the Hangeul is followed by a transliteration and then the translation.

---

[1] See Taylor and Taylor (2014: 207–208) for more information on the MCT-romanization system of Korean.

[2] See the list at the beginning of this monograph for the abbreviations used in the gloss. If necessary, relevant morpheme glosses are highlighted in the respective example via font style. Glossing follows the *Leipzig Glossing Rules* <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

English is now the language of those who use it. (Kachru 1985: 20)

The realities of English use and users around the world have changed considerably over the last two hundred years: Whereas it was once easily possible to categorize individuals into either native speakers or learners of English, this has been complicated, or even made impossible, by global developments such as colonial expansion, migration, tourism, pop culture, and the Internet. As Laitinen (2011 n.p.) suggests, there are people with an in-between status, "a growing number of people, in Europe and in many other parts of the world, [who] are non-native speakers of English but are no longer learners in a school setting nor do they use an institutionalized second-language variety of English". This invites the question if and how the forms of English as used by those speakers can be distinguished linguistically.

At its outset, research in the field of World Englishes (WE) focused on (so-called) native speakers as well as speakers from (post)colonial contexts. Only very recently has the paradigm started to include other varieties of English which were previously treated as deficient speech forms used by learners of English and, therefore, in need of correction. Despite this beginning paradigm shift, the form of English as used by South Korean speakers is still poorly understood and under-examined. This lack of attention is surprising as the function and status of English within South Korean society are not only well-documented but rather unique in a global perspective. Knowing about the form of English in a society where English has immense influence on daily life and thought, despite a lack of official status, will provide important insight into the global variation of English which is not only of relevance to linguists but also policy makers. Most importantly, the study of the forms of English in South Korea (henceforth Korea) has a shaping influence on the discursive space which quite naturally surrounds non-native and non-(post)colonial varieties of English and provides such labels as 'illegitimate' and 'incorrect'. This study consequently addresses the aforementioned gap in linguistic research by identifying and analyzing the morpho-syntactic patterns of English as spoken by South Koreans.

1.1 Aims and objectives of the study

The aim of this study is to give a descriptive account of the morpho-syntactic form of English as used by Korean speakers. The Korean English repertoire has so far only sporadically and unsystematically been approached from a World Englishes perspective and fundamental research on this variety of English is direly needed to situate it within the World Englishes framework at large. This study aims at providing this fundamental research in the area of morpho-syntax by adopting a systematic corpus-based method of investigation.

In order to catalogue the Korean English repertoire, I compiled a corpus of spoken Korean English (labeled the SPOKE corpus) which encompasses casual conversations between Koreans and the (non-Korean) researcher. The unmarked language of choice for intra-Korean communication is Korean. English, however, is the natural choice in communication with foreigners. The setting used for this study (i.e., English as a Lingua Franca) thus ensured a natural and informal context for English use in the otherwise culturally and linguistically rather homogenous Korean society. After recording the conversations, the complete audio material was transcribed orthographically and organized into the SPOKE corpus. The corpus was then both manually and automatically tagged and coded for the morpho-syntactic patterns and areas under investigation. The subsequent analysis of the observed characteristics considered the results in light of previous research in other variational contexts with particular reference to possible substrate language influences from the Korean language. Processes known to apply to English in a Lingua Franca communicative setting and cognitive processes pertaining to second/foreign language acquisition were also considered in discussing the potential explanatory approaches to each of the observed patterns. Ultimately, this study presents a detailed mapping of selected morpho-syntactic characteristics in the spoken Korean English repertoire. Each morpho-syntactic pattern is not only exemplified with material from the SPOKE corpus but has also been quantitatively evaluated for its pervasiveness within the language system under consideration.

1.2 Theoretical and methodological framework

English, the “hypercentral language that holds the entire world language system together” (de Swaan 2001: 17), is itself a complex of different varieties, dialects, and accents. This variation of English has been described both as “a purists’ and pedagogues’ nightmare and a variationists’ blessing” (Kachru 1988: 207). As such, the ‘English language complex’ (see Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008), has been approached from and is included as topic of interest by a number of frameworks and perspectives: World Englishes and variational linguistics, applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, language contact and change, English as a Lingua Franca studies, historical linguistics, language acquisition and more specifically the field of English language teaching and learning, as well as literary and cultural studies.

The present research is situated within the World Englishes and variational linguistics framework. This means that linguistic variation is considered an essential and vital part of the English language complex. One of the most important outcomes of variety development is linguistic innovation on all structural levels of language, which is one of the key aspects considered by research undertaken within the field. In other words, one of the core areas of WE is concerned with investigating how a variety sounds, which words are used with which meaning by its speakers, how grammatical and lexical morphemes are employed, and which pragmatic norms are followed in the speech community. The identified characteristics, often termed innovations, can then be compiled into a feature catalogue of the respective variety. Schneider (2004: 227) describes how linguistic studies often trace those innovations at a very late developmental stage, even though

> [f]or our understanding of the principles that underlie language variation, language contact and language change it would be of great interest to detect and trace such structural innovations as early as possible, though in practice this turns out to be extremely difficult. Usually, innovations in WEs attract linguists' attention only once they have reached the level of language awareness and, hence, a certain degree of stability, spread and prominence.

By examining a variety of English which is still at the dawn of its structural development, embodied by the English variety spoken in Korea, this study heeds Schneider's call for early baseline investigations of varieties of English.

The term *World Englishes* itself embraces the plurality of the forms and functions manifested by the English language as evidenced by the pluralization of the noun *English* to *Englishes*. Nevertheless, not all Englishes are created equal and much of World Englishes theorizing has culminated in models or categorization systems of varieties of English which impose a hierarchical structure on the English language complex. The most profound and drastic distinction has so far been the native/non-native speaker divide which, in the end, propagates notions of 'legitimacy versus illegitimacy' and 'correct versus incorrect English'. This divide is closely interwoven with issues of labeling: Should a variety be called 'X English' or 'English in X' (where X could stand for any conceivable national context)? The native/non-native speaker dichotomy has been at the forefront of WE controversy. As mentioned in the very beginning of this introduction, the days where the distinction between native and non-native speakers of English was straightforward are long gone. Nevertheless, the dichotomy had been, and in parts still is, adamantly held on to by some of the more conservative members of the research community and large parts of the general public. Kachru's seminal studies on English in India led to one of the most important paradigm changes in World English studies by placing (post)colonial varieties of English on the map of variational linguistics. Kachru also introduced the circles model of varieties of English which differentiated between *Inner Circle*, *Outer Circle*, and *Expanding Circle* speakers of English. The Inner Circle is comprised of the traditional 'standard' English speaking national contexts, that is, the so-considered native speakers of English (e.g., in England, the United States, or Australia), whereas the Outer Circle countries are countries with a postcolonial background where English functions as official or semi-official institutionalized language (e.g., India, Singapore, or Hong Kong). As Song points out, the Kachruvian paradigm has "squarely placed Outer Circle varieties […] on a par with Inner Circle varieties", thus approving them as "*legitimate* varieties of English, with distinct characteristics and with growing numbers of native speakers" (2016: 56, emphasis added).

What had initially been neglected in WE, however, was the Expanding Circle in Kachru's model, that is, the national contexts without (post)colonial background where English is usually acquired through the education system (e.g., Germany, France, China, or South Korea) and does not have official function. Expanding Circle speakers were for a long time considered the prime example for non-native English speech. In recent years, this perspective has started to change and there is a rising tendency to consider Expanding Circle Englishes as Englishes in their own right instead of illegitimate or simply incorrect forms due to incomplete language acquisition by learners. Nevertheless, native speakerism prevails and the ownership of English is at times fiercely contested and coveted. For example, Song (2016: 56) points out that the ownership of English nowadays lies with both Inner and Outer Circle English speakers (which he refers to as 'legitimate', see previous quote). This legitimization of Outer Circle Englishes (commonly also referred to as New Englishes) can be made visible by labeling them akin to Inner Circle Englishes as *X English* (e.g., Indian English, Hong Kong English, Singapore(an) English). However, Song reserves this right to be labeled *X English* to the Inner and Outer Circle varieties and denies this right to Expanding Circle Englishes (often also referred to as Learner Englishes), which he suggests should be labeled *English in X* (e.g., English in Japan, English in China, English in the Netherlands). This consequently entails that Expanding Circle Englishes are non-legitimate (i.e., illegitimate) varieties of English, unequal to both Inner and Outer Circle Englishes and, ultimately, not sharing in in the ownership of the English language.

It is unclear, however, why Expanding Circle Englishes or Learner Englishes should not be allowed to partake in the ownership of English and consequently should be designated as illegitimate varieties. As Kachru pointed out back in the

1980s "calling these varieties 'deficient Englishes'" is "adding insult to injury" (1982: 50) and it is high time to repeat the epigraph to this chapter: "English is now the language of those who use it" (Kachru 1985: 20). Labeling and naming practices are, however, important to consider as they not only shape the linguistic and lay discourse but also influence language attitudes (see Mühleisen 2002: 69ff on naming practices in the study of creoles). In recognition of this, I will interchangeably employ the terms 'Korean(ized) English', 'Korean English', 'Korean English repertoire', 'English in Korea', and 'English as used/spoken by Koreans' to designate the (spoken) variety of English found in South Korea and investigated in this study.

As has become clear in the previous paragraphs, the differentiation between New and Learner Englishes is not exactly straightforward. This is problematized further by being predicated mainly on questions of norm-orientation and language attitudes (Gut 2011: 121). Accordingly, as Gut concedes, the differentiation between (illegitimate) errors in Learner Englishes and (legitimate) innovations in New Englishes hinges on extra-linguistic and non-linguistic aspects (2011: 120). In the end, what might appear as a "straightforward task" of linguistic description turns out to be riddled with questions and issues of "[p]olitics, history and culture" (Mair 2016: 23). However, for the first characterizations of a variety a baseline catalogue of variants is needed upon which further research can build. In general, three criteria are recognized as relevant for the description of language varieties: attitudes, function, and form. Empirical work can address either a single aspect, a combination of any two aspects, or seek to encompass all three areas of description (as done, e.g., by Edwards 2016 for English in the Netherlands). If only form is investigated, the next question is whether to survey a number of features or focus on a single construction in great detail (see, e.g., Zipp 2014's fine-grained study on the use of prepositions in Fiji English). The empirical study at hand, of English language use in the South Korean setting, focuses exclusively on form and leaves attitudes towards and function(s) of English in Korea to be described in brief in the literature section. More specifically, it provides an analysis of the form of a range of morpho-syntactic features. As Korea's "emerging multilingualism" (Song 2015: 489) has so far not been approached from a perspective of systematic description of linguistic form, I have opted to describe a range of potential patterns instead of focusing on a single area. The fields investigated thus include the marking of plurality on nouns, the use of pronouns, articles, and prepositions, as well as verbal phenomena. This represents fundamental research of the form of English in a context which has, to the best of my knowledge, not been described before.

Besides mainly drawing on literature from the World Englishes paradigm, I also use studies from applied linguistics to introduce the contact situation in Korea. In the empirical chapters, I, furthermore, access literature from the field of English as a Lingua Franca as the data on which this study is based can also be classified as communication between speakers who do not share a common language. Additionally, literature and insight from the area of second language acquisition (SLA) are included, as not only a number of studies with Korean participants were previously conducted in this field but also due to the existence of general cognitive processes which influence the use of a foreign language. The data of the study at hand stems from the SPOKE corpus and corpus linguistic methodology has been adopted to catalogue and document the morpho-syntactic patterns found in Korean English speech. The SPOKE corpus consists of audio recordings and transcripts of casual conversations between the researcher and 115 educated Koreans aged between 18 and 44. Altogether, the corpus comprises 60 hours of audio material (circa 300,000 words) uttered by the Korean speakers. I approach this material from a holistic perspective and consider all Korean participants ratified Korean English speakers.

1.3 Outline

This monograph begins with a detailed overview of the language contact situation in South Korea. Understanding the language contact situation is an essential step in depicting variety development and I consequently portray the status and position of English within the Korean society in detail. Since World War II, the American influence on the peninsula is undeniable: A brief period of American interim government marked the beginning of a firm military and economic cooperation between the two countries. Even at present, American soldiers are still stationed in South Korea to provide support in securing the border to the North. I subsequently trace how this historically given condition combines with a culturally-conditioned fervor for education to create a unique position for English within the society, despite the lack of status as official language. This chapter also assesses the visibility of English within the traditionally monolingual country by surveying the uses of English in the media, at the workplace, and in the linguistic landscape as reported in previous studies. Furthermore, the place of English in the education system and particularly the immense private language education sector is portrayed along with an overview of language politics and language attitudes. As it turns out, Korean attitudes towards English are deeply conflicted and range from self-deprecation to necessitation. The chapter concludes with a short overview of the most important characteristics of the Korean language which plays an essential role as the substrate language of the contact situation.

Chapter 3 places English in Korea into the World Englishes framework and launches with a short overview of previous research on Korean English forms, which, I argue, in addition to being sparse is based mainly on sporadic and unsystematic observations. I continue the chapter by discussing the distinction between considering Koreans as users or learners of English, and the corresponding labeling of their language variants as *errors* or *innovations*. The linguistic forms which can be found in Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes often overlap as similar processes lead to their existence in the first place. A quick summary of these processes is included in the chapter and I advocate for using the *Feature Ptool Approach* (Mufwene 2001; Percillier 2016) to sketch the Korean English repertoire. In Chapter 3.2, I examine the state-of-the-art *Extra- and Intra-Territorial Forces (EIF) Model* by Buschfeld & Kautzsch (2017), which transposes Schneider's groundbreaking Dynamic Model (2003, 2007) to include the realities of English use in the Expanding Circle. In this section, I illustrate the extra- and intra-territorial forces as they apply to the Korean context and based on this propose to place South Korea into the stabilization phase of the EIF Model. Last but not least, I introduce the *plus-/minus-/swap-framework* which is used throughout the empirical chapters to provide more neutral terms of description than previously used in much of the WE literature.

Chapter 4 subsumes the methodological part of the monograph and starts out by restating the research aims and objectives as outlined in the introduction and reformulating them as research questions. Section 4.3 introduces the data collection method which was developed for compiling the SPOKE corpus: the *cuppa coffee approach*. The cuppa coffee approach (Rüdiger 2016) is based on actively framing the interview setting as a casual conversation over a cup of coffee which exploits culturally anchored concepts of hospitality and the coffee drinking ritual. This approach was crucial to situate the conversations outside of a language learning and teaching context and made it possible to collect conversational and informal material. In the remainder of the chapter, I describe the result of the data collection process, the SPOKE corpus, in detail. This is followed by comprehensive information on the demographic characteristics of the participants, including details on sex, age, profession/major, self-evaluated English proficiency, experiences abroad, and length of English study. Three other corpora are more or less consistently used as points of reference throughout this study and are correspondingly introduced in Section 4.4.

Chapter 5 incorporates the empirical studies of the five morpho-syntactic areas investigated: (1) countability and plural marking on the noun, (2) pronouns, (3) articles, (4) prepositions, and (5) verbs. Each empirical subsection presents a short overview of the use of the respective item in English and in Korean, followed by a depiction of the methodological and analytical process including the tagging and coding procedure employed in each investigation. The results as identified in the English spoken by Koreans are then outlined and illustrated with examples from the SPOKE corpus. Subsection-final discussion chapters summarize the results and evaluate the systematicity of the observed variation as well as possible influences of Korean as the substrate language in combination with an assessment of the feature as found in other varieties of English. To this end, the WE literature and the *Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English* (Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013; henceforth eWAVE) are consulted. Furthermore, processes resulting from foreign language acquisition and the English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) communicative setting are also considered. The final result in each case is a composite picture of possible explanations for the morpho-syntactic pattern under observation.

The discussion in Chapter 6 combines the results from the empirical studies with previous WE theorizing in order to portray the spoken Korean English repertoire. I present a sketch of the Korean English feature pool and argue that Korean speakers of English have several variants of each feature at their disposal. Even though conventional variants from American (and British) English are selected more frequently than the non-conventional variants identified in this study, the respective non-conventional patterns are unmistakably part of the spoken Korean English repertoire and need to be reported as such. I also use the evidence from the corpus study to update the application of the EIF Model to the Korean context, which was initially presented in Chapter 3. The next section highlights the implications of the study for the WE community in general and policy makers and educators in the Korean context in particular, with special reference to the notion of 'unequal Englishes' and the utility of the results and the SPOKE corpus for future acceptability studies of Korean(ized) English.

The conclusion (Chapter 7) sums up the results and accomplishments of the study. In short, I collected and transcribed audio material which was compiled into a corpus of English as spoken by Koreans. The corpus was subsequently annotated and analyzed for a range of morpho-syntactic patterns which attested to a range of variation within the spoken Korean English repertoire. These results are the first systematic corpus-based findings of their kind for the Korean English context and help understand the variation found in Expanding Circle contexts.

CHAPTER 2

The language contact situation in Korea

In detailing the language contact situation in Korea, this chapter examines the functions of English in the Korean society. Several factors, such as the historical background, education fever, media uptake, and language attitudes, interweave with each other and as a result give English a unique position in Korean society. The chapter concludes with an overview of the most important characteristics of the Korean language itself. Some background knowledge in this field is crucial in the later analysis of morpho-syntactic patterns and helps to understand some of the fundamental differences in Korean and English linguistic structures.

2.1 English in Korea

Koreans usually do not speak English to each other – a situation which is gradually and on a small scale changing, as, for example, couples decide to converse in English and university clubs enforce English-only rules. Despite Korea's traditional "linguistic homogeneity" (Cotton 1996: 78), English is ever-present in Korean life and the consequences of knowing or not knowing English are far-reaching. As Lee (2014b: 187) succinctly points out "both the advantage of knowing and using English and the disadvantage of not knowing and using English in contemporary Korea now affect one's employability and academic success as well as the mundane activity of TV viewing". English has become so pervasive in Korean society that daily life without proficiency in English can be perceived as burdensome (Lee, Jamie S. 2016) and lack of English proficiency is at times interpreted as reflecting poorly on the individual, similar to "being illiterate or being an ignoramus" (Lee, Jamie S. 2016: 334).

All in all, Koreans' English proficiency should not be underestimated, however. In the EF English Proficiency Index, which indexes English proficiency for 72 countries, South Korea can be found in the middle field on rank 27 with an attestation of high proficiency (EF Education First 2016). Within Asia, South Korea is even placed in the top 5 (of 19 countries surveyed), scoring higher than, for example, Hong Kong. The ideological status of English in the country is remarkable and South Korea's "international orientation and embracing of English are perhaps more advanced than in China or Japan" (Schneider 2014b: 21). This chapter closely examines the most important factors which influence the presence of English in Korea.

2.1.1 Socio-historical background

It was only very late that Korean society came into contact with English and the Western world in general. Due to a history of invasion by Mongolian and Chinese tribes, the Korean kingdom had persisted in isolation for many years. This and the geographical isolation of the peninsula had earned it the name of *hermit kingdom* (Cotton 1996: 84). The first contact situations between Koreans and Americans starting from 1866 onwards were of hostile nature and were resolved only in 1882 by the signing of the *Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation* (McTague 1990: 22–23). This was also the starting point of American missionary efforts which "were as much directed at improving education and health care as at spreading the gospel of the New Testament" (McTague 1990: 23). In 1883, the first English school in Korea, named *Dongmoonhak*, was established with the purpose to train interpreters (Nahm 1993: 152).

Apart from the first contact with the Americans which established the presence of English in Korea in the first place, several historical occurrences and episodes can be related as having an impact on modern Korean language policies and attitudes. The Japanese occupation (1910–1945) was a particularly tragic chapter in Korean history. During this period, the Japanese put great effort into eradicating Korean identity, often targeting the level of language. The implemented measures included "making Japanese the sole official language, liquidating the Korean language by prohibiting all publications in Korean, forcing all Koreans to adopt Japanese names, and using Japanese as the sole medium of instruction" (Yim 2007: 42). Consequently, resistance to the Japanese occupiers was often expressed via using the Korean language and even nowadays the Korean language is particularly closely related to Korean identity (see also Section 2.1.8 below on language attitudes in Korea).

After World War II, the southern part of the peninsula was governed by the *United States Army Military Government in Korea* (USAMGIK) for three years (1945–1948). During the Korean War (1950–1953), large numbers of U.S. armed forces were placed into Korea and at its end 328,000 American soldiers were present in the country (Hayes 2012: 139). Even today, U.S. forces are still stationed in South Korea in order to "maintain the terms of the 1953 armistice and to protect South Korea from attack" (Hayes 2012: 139). This number has continuously decreased over the years, however, and now remains constant at around 28,500 (see Figure 2.1).

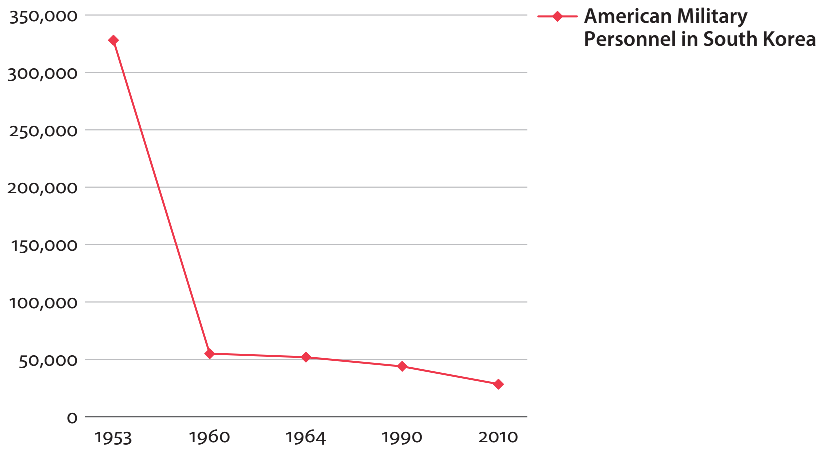

Figure 2.1 American army military personnel stationed in South Korea (adapted from Hayes 2012)

Worth mentioning regarding the American army presence in Korea is also the KATUSA program which constitutes a small but important factor in the language contact situation. The *Korean Augmentation to the United States Army* program (short KATUSA) places a number of conscripts of the obligatory Korean military service directly into the American army bases on the peninsula. Qualified conscripts can apply for one of these, much coveted, KATUSA spots which are then allocated by a lottery-like procedure. Being placed in KATUSA means to share barracks and serve duty together with the American soldiers for nearly two years and thus provides an extremely close contact situation. The number of men conscripted to KATUSA varies from year to year and is, in general, on the decline. Nevertheless, this provides yet another contact point between Korean and American English culture and language. The table below gives the number of KATUSA draftees from 1950 to 2004 (more recent numbers are unfortunately unavailable but the program continues to be implemented).

During the American participation in the Korean War (1950–1953) on the side of South Korea, a pidgin form of communication, called Korean Bamboo English, developed. This unstable and jargon-like pidgin has been described as a

Table 2.1 Number of Korean conscripts to the KATUSA, 1950–2004 (adapted from Kwak 2006: 89)

Year	**1950**	**1951**	**1952**	**1953**	**1954–61**	**1962–70**
# of Conscripts	26,021	14,728	16,520	23,922	10,472	11,029
Year	**1971–85**	**1986–91**	**1992**	**1993–98**	**1999**	**2004**
# of Conscripts	7,240	6,140	5,136	4,886	4,887	3,368

"makeshift language" (McArthur 1998: 166) which was used for oral communication between American soldiers, the Korean population, and local army personnel (Algeo 1960: 117). The Korean Bamboo English pidgin is, among other features, characterized by lexical reduplication and word final [i]. Algeo (1960:–121) gives the examples *washee-washee* ('to launder' or 'laundry'), *punchee-punchee* ('to fight' or 'fight'), *samee-samee* ('identical') and elucidates that "[t]he American soldier brought with him to Korea an abiding conviction that to make an English word comprehensible to a native, it is necessary only to make it end in [-i] and say it twice". In addition to lexical processes, Korean Bamboo English showed signs of pidginization through the development of a "fixed syntax" (Algeo 1960: 122), as in the following examples:

(1) *Switchee-switchee hava-yes.* ('I can change your money.')

(2) *You number one washee-washee catchee; number one presento hava-yes.* ('If you do my washing satisfactorily, I'll pay you well.')

(3) *Watashi's ipsumida with aboji's SOP's.* ('I'm fed up with the first sergeant's regulations.') (Examples from Algeo 1960: 122)

Only few descriptions exist of this pidginized version of English (Algeo 1960), but it seems to be similar to other "bamboo style[s] of English" (Duke 1970), which developed in many countries where American soldiers were in contact with a generally non-English speaking population (e.g., in Japan; see Norman 1955). After the end of the Korean War and the withdrawal of most American troops, Korean Bamboo English faded into oblivion again.

Due to the aforementioned American presence in South Korea, the United States are frequently seen as the "unquestioned leader" (Grant & Lee 2009: 53) of the Western countries and Koreans associated with the West (especially the United States) are often regarded as having a high status per assumed high education. Association with the United States and the West can be expressed via a number of means, such as the possession of and/or display of fondness for different cultural artifacts connected to the West (e.g., clothing but also tastes in music, movies, television series, etc.). Another very effective way of displaying affiliation is, of course, the domain of language. Using English or simply attesting to one's own English proficiency (by, for example, using many English loanwords when speaking Korean), awards the individual higher status, but can conversely also be interpreted as bragging and 'showing off' (Rüdiger 2018). Furthermore, the close connection between English proficiency and economic capital has led to a cycle of English as mechanism for socioeconomic advancement. As Grant and Lee (2009: 55) illustrate, better English education leads to more lucrative careers, which leads to more economic power and higher socioeconomic status, which in turn leads again to better English education since more money can buy 'better' or more English education. Hence, English functions as "mechanism of elimination" (Song 2012: 17) and has a clear gate-keeping purpose within the society. Attitudes towards the United States should not be mistaken as uniformly favorable within the Korean society, however, as they are extremely complex, graded, and conflicting and range from the extremely positive to the utterly negative: "Like and dislike, respect and disrespect, love and hatred, and worship and contempt coexist in South Koreans' perception of the United States" (Moon 2005: 144).[1]

The present notion of English in Korea is tightly connected to globalization. During Kim Young-sam's presidency (1993–1998), a policy of modernization and globalization was launched, going from keywords such as 'New Korea' to 'internationalization' and 'globalization' (see Grant & Lee 2009: 52). Globalization in the Korean context "is understood as a way to achieve economic power […] to be recognized as a legitimate member of the community of superpowers that can influence world economy and politics" (Grant & Lee 2009: 52). A key factor in globalization is education, which is one of the domains of political and social focus in Korea. Yim (2007: 38) observes that "[o]ne of the major challenges Korea faces is how to equip students with the skills that will enable them to compete internationally". English proficiency is, not surprisingly, considered one of these skills.

A further aspect illustrating the "Americanization of Korean culture" (Cotton 1996: 92) is the large number of Korean migrants residing in the United States. According to the South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade ca. 2,239,000[2] people belonged to the Korean diaspora in the United States in 2015 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2016). As Cotton (1996: 92) notes "[s]uch a large expatriate population exerts a tangible cultural influence in Korea itself". Despite the simultaneous existence of Anti-American sentiments (see, e.g., Shin 1996), the historical, political, and cultural connections to the United States, therefore, remain "unshakable" (Park & Lo 2012: 156). These ties consequently solidify in the sentiment that "the ideal speaker of English is […] a white, educated speaker of mainstream American English" (Park 2015: 62) which is reflected, for example, in teacher selection.

2.1.2 The Korean education system

Korean children typically go through kindergarten (pre-school education), elementary school (primary education), middle school, and high school (secondary education), before entering the tertiary education sector (i.e., college and university). According to data from the Korean Ministry of Education, the school system has a high permeability in the direction of higher education as most Korean pupils advance from high school to tertiary education (79% in 2010; Ministry of Education – Republic of Korea n.d.).

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[1] For a range of studies and perspectives on Korean attitudes towards the United States the reader is here referred to the papers in Steinberg (2005).

[2] Numbers rounded to closest 1,000.

English in pre-primary, primary, and secondary school education
English has not always been at the core of language education in Korea. Before the late nineteenth century, Chinese was "the focus of mainstream education" (Shim & Baik 2004b: 173), followed by more emphasis on Korean language education in the subsequent years. These efforts were put to a halt, however, during the Japanese occupation where Japanese became the official language of instruction and Korean language education was stopped completely (Shim & Baik 2004b: 174). English ceased being taught in the last years of the Japanese rule during the war with the United States as well, since "English was considered an enemy language and teaching it in schools was virtually forbidden" (Shim & Baik 2004b: 174). Ever since liberation from the Japanese in 1945, English has been the first foreign language taught in Korean schools and has subsequently developed to the "second major language for most Koreans, next only to the national language, Korean" (Shim & Baik 2004a: 250). Whereas it was previously merely a middle and high school subject, English education has become mandatory from third grade elementary school in 1997 (Jung & Norton 2002: 247; see also Garton 2014 on elementary English education in Korea). However, private English language education often starts even earlier in Korean children's life (if their parents can afford it). Parents regularly send their children to English-language kindergartens or enroll them into additional English classes in Korean-language kindergartens (see also Chapter 2.1.9 on 'English Fever'). Shim (quoted in Shim & Baik 2004a: 250) estimates that more than 90% of Korean elementary students receive English education before starting elementary school.

Since the "nation's English ability is considered to be an important factor in Korea's international competitiveness" (Takeshita 2010: 268), English education is an important point of concern in politics in general. In the 1990s, Kim Young-sam, who was president of South Korea from 1993–1998, promoted a paradigm change in English teaching from a primarily grammar-translation oriented method to a more communicative approach (Shin 2007: 77). This ultimately led to the launch of EPIK (*English Program in Korea*), which had as goal the improvement of the quality of English teaching in Korea, especially via the employment of English 'native speakers' in secondary schools. According to the official EPIK website, a total of 3,477 native speaker English teachers had been successfully placed in Korea by the end of 2012 (EPIK website n.d.). The effectiveness of the EPIK program is by no means uncontroversial, however, as can be seen, for example, in Shin's (2007) study, which finds that Korean English teachers value other qualifications, such as pedagogical competence, professional identity, and local knowledge above mere oral proficiency in the target language. Furthermore, most students in the study actually preferred local teachers over native speaker teachers, positing that being good at English does not necessarily equal being good at teaching (Shin 2007: 80). Additional critical remarks regarding the EPIK program can be found in Jeon (2010), who interviewed several EPIK teachers and summarized the problems and challenges they faced. She concludes that native English teachers are valued for their entertaining qualities and voices the suspicion that "hiring native English speakers serves as a political tool for (re)gaining the trust of parents who sent their children abroad or to private English language institutes" (Jeon 2010: 175).

Following a Korean Ministry of Education policy, English has been designated the exclusive language of instruction in English school classes (Kang 2012: 30). This 'teaching English in English' policy has officially been implemented in Korea from 2001 onwards (Choi 2015: 202). The actual implementation of this policy, however, varies considerably between teachers and schools and has not always been received positively, especially by some Korean teachers of English (see Choi 2015).

English in university education

English-medium lectures and courses at university level have been a relatively new trend at Korean universities, but according to Kang (2012: 30), Korean "[u]niversity administrators have encouraged or mandated their faculty to use English exclusively" across all subject fields. The on-going change to English-medium instruction at Korean universities is supposed to help improve English proficiency of students and make the universities more competitive, nationally as well as internationally. Nevertheless, the actual benefits of English-only instruction are debated heatedly, not only in the Korean context (for an overview see Kang 2012: 30–32, who also provides a summary of the benefits of using the native language for instruction). Jinhyun Cho summarizes press responses regarding the switch to English as the language of instruction at university level and asserts that "Korean students [are] hit hard by English-medium lectures" (2012: 18). Even though the notion of English-medium lectures is generally appreciated because of the perceived advantages of internationalization and advancement in university rankings, main points of criticism include the perceived lack of capability of university staff to teach in English (leading to lower quality of classes), robbing the students of their voice (who have no say when it comes to the adoption of English as a medium for lectures), and missing support for students with low English proficiency (solidifying social differences, with poorer students having less access to additional English instruction) (Cho, Jinhyun 2012). Rather than switching to

English as medium of instruction right away, Kang (2012: 33) suggests a gradual change from Korean language instruction to English language instruction during the academic life span of students, in order to avoid overstressing the students and to ensure learning of subject material. Yim (2007: 40) also reports that graduate students at Korean universities, across all academic disciplines, are increasingly encouraged to write their thesis in English in order to ease international publication. Additionally, many graduate students need to provide an adequate English test score in order to be allowed to graduate.

Altogether, these trends towards more English use in Korean schools and universities attest to an expansion of the function of English within the educational sector and a general growth of the prestigious notion of English within Korean society. This is also reflected in the domain of private English education which is depicted in the next section.

Private English education

Park and Abelmann (2004: 649) claim that the private English education sector in Korea is one of the biggest in the world. After-school English education (and after-school education generally) is usually diligently managed by the mother in the family (see Park & Abelmann 2004 for three in-depth case studies) and is very pervasive in Korean society, as can be seen in a study by Park (reported in Park & Abelmann 2004: 669). Among the 753 third and sixth graders surveyed, 79% were taking part in at least one form of private after-school English education.

One of the most popular choices for after-school English education are so-called *hagwons*. Hagwons are private academies for diverse subjects like mathematics, science, Korean language, arts, and, of course, also English. It is not rare for Korean schoolchildren to go to several different hagwons every week and spend several hours each day in these institutes. There are also English hagwons which specifically cater to university students and the working population. The price for hagwon attendance depends on the quality and size of the institute, the program attended, and the availability of native English instructors. A special position in this system of native English teachers is held by Korean-American returnees who are often valued for their linguistic proficiency, but who themselves face manifold challenges such as discrimination and feelings of "fatigue and economic precariousness" (Cho, John 2012: 220).

Another option for additional English education are English villages. English villages are supposed to simulate the experience of living in a Western town and are to this effect staffed with English native speakers. In these villages, students can immerse themselves in an English-speaking environment: They can go shopping, visit the bank, post office, infirmary, or police station, and participate in various athletic, cultural, and leisure activities. English villages were thought up in order to provide access to communication with native English speakers, without the financial strain of study abroad. *Gyeonggi English Village* (located in Paju City in Gyeonggi province), for example, advertises with the slogan “Speaking English! Think in English! Have Fun in English! The First Step toward the world!” (Gyeonggi English Village n.d.). According to their website, *Gyeonggi English Village* offers one-day, one-week, and one-month programs, catering to kindergarten, elementary, middle, and high school students, as well as whole families. Furthermore, special programs are available for job interview training, business training, government employee training, and elementary school teacher training.

For those able to afford it, study abroad is always a viable option to further their English studies. Traditionally, the time abroad was preferably spent in Inner Circle countries (mainly the United States and, to a lesser degree, Britain), but more recently destinations have been extended to include Outer Circle countries such as South Africa (see Coetzee-Van Rooy 2008 for an exploratory study) and Singapore. Some families send their children abroad alone, but there are also others opting for a model commonly known as ‘wild geese’ family. In a ‘wild geese’ family, the mother and child/children stay abroad while the father stays in Korea to work and earn money, flying to meet his family once in a while, hence the name ‘wild geese’ family (see, e.g., Lee, Hakyoon 2010 and Jeong et al. 2014 for qualitative descriptions of the phenomenon; see also a number of newspaper articles on this issue such as Onishi 2008; Goh-Grapes 2009; Reed 2015). The ‘wild geese’ family option is of course economically very strenuous and can also take a big psychological toll on marriage and family life (Takeshita 2010: 274).

2.1.3 English at the workplace and in business relations

It is not uncommon for Korean companies to ask their employees or prospective employees to provide English test results in order to “determine employability but also benefits awarded and future promotion” (Yim 2007: 41). English is thus a necessary “survival skill” (Yim 2007: 41) on the modern Korean job market, although the need for actual English skills at work is usually limited. Depending on the field of work, English proficiency is frequently more a form of distinction than a requirement for being able to carry out one’s profession. So far it is unclear how much and how often English is used in Korean workplaces, but McTague (1990: 181) asserts that most application of English takes place on the management level. Furthermore, it seems like the use of English at the workplace depends on the individual context and rests, for example, on the number of international, English-speaking co-workers and the level of internationalization of the respective company.

The use of English as a Lingua Franca with business partners from Western countries can be seen as the default and is, as such, non-surprising as this merely reflects the linguistic situation in many business settings around the world (cf. Business English as a Lingua Franca, BELF). Which language is chosen for communication in professional contexts with Asian partners (particularly from China and Japan) is a different question and cannot be answered without further research into language choices in business settings in Korea. It is noteworthy, however, that South Korea is part of the ASEAN+3 organization. Originally founded in 1967, ASEAN, the *Association of Southeast Asian Nations*, comprises ten member states: Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, and Cambodia (Overview ASEAN n.d.). The aims of the organization are very diverse, spanning from political and economic cooperation to collaboration in the fields of education, research, and culture (Overview ASEAN n.d.). Further goals are the promotion of peace within the region and the formation of stable trade ties. Important from a linguistic point of view is the decision to appoint English the sole working language of ASEAN (see Association of Southeast Asian Nations 2008: 29; for a monograph-length treatise of English as a Lingua Franca in the ASEAN context, see Kirkpatrick 2010). At a later time, ASEAN+3 was formed to include China, Japan, and South Korea into the association (ASEAN+3 n.d.). As Schneider (2014a: 251) points out, membership in ASEAN means that "it is absolutely clear that this situation generates and further increases a huge demand for English – both in formal schooling and in a process of grassroots diffusion" despite the mainly instrumental reasons to acquire English within the original national contexts.

2.1.4 English in the media and pop culture

Besides official and additional schooling, Koreans have numerous further contact possibilities with the English language through local media, such as newspapers, movies, TV shows, and popular music. A high density of English occurrences, usually in the form of loanwords, can also be found in advertising. The following sections provide a short overview of these contact situations and related research.

Newspapers

Besides the option to buy international versions of English-medium newspapers (e.g., the *New York Times*), Korean readers can also choose from a variety of local productions in English, for example, *The Korea Herald*, *Korea Times*, or *JoongAng Daily*. Several Korean newspapers, such as *The Chosun Ilbo* and *The Dong-A Ilbo*, maintain English online versions. *Ajou Kyengcay* publishes in Chinese, English, and Japanese and *Jeju Weekly* in Chinese and English (Song 2012: 25). So far, Korean English-medium newspapers have not been widely used for linguistic research (in English at least). Jung and Min (1999) are an exception as they employ a corpus based on 126 articles from *The Korea Herald* to investigate selected lexico-grammatical patterns (see Chapter 3.1 on previous research of localized English forms in the Korean context). From a language ideology point of view, Korean medium-newspapers have been shown to circulate notions of successful English learners as rationalization for "the privileges of Korean elites" (Park 2010a: 189).

Advertising

Mixing English and local language(s) in advertising in general has been identified as a common strategy, often connected to the evocation of modernity and a global identity (see, e.g., Bhatia 2001). Lee (2006b) demonstrates that this language mixing strategy is also very pervasive in Korean TV commercials: More than 80% of the 720 surveyed TV adds used a mix of English and Korean and, in most cases, English functioned as index of a modern and globalized identity (Lee 2006b: 88). Park (2012) provides an in-depth study of the reception of one TV commercial, where viewers of the respective commercial actively discussed the English performance (in this case the pronunciation) of the Korean actress. Altogether, investigations of the actual quantity and quality of English occurrences in Korean print and television commercials are rather rare.

Music

According to Lee (2004: 429), English emerged as part of the lyrics of Korean pop music (often referred to as K-pop) as late as the 1990s and was largely absent from the Korean music sphere before that era. Nowadays, it seems hard to find K-pop lyrics not including any English (noted by Lawrence 2010), which is supported by Lee's (2004: 433) observation that English use in K-pop "is the public discursive space in which English use is most prevalent". As Lee (2006a) argues, linguistic *crossing* to English (or *styling the other*; i.e., the use of a language which is not one's own for certain stylistic effects) is a prominent strategy in Korean and Japanese pop music. English mixing in K-pop songs is a very deliberate move by the artists and/or record companies and as stated by Lee (2004: 434) "is consciously and purposefully written and rehearsed before its release to the general public". English mixing in Korean lyrics serves several functions, such as predicating sexuality, conflicting identities, and resistance (Lee 2004: 436–443). Additionally, English is regarded as neutral, enabling linguistic access across Asia and making K-pop "less nationally marked and more regionally accepted" (Lee 2004: 447). It should be noted that the English influences in Korean music can be diverse in nature, as can be seen, for example, in the occurrence of African American Vernacular English in Korean Hip Hop, especially in the fields of lexis and pronunciation (see Lee 2011). Korean

Hip Hop provides space for more than just 'standard' English, allowing "several Englishes – African American English, Standard English, Koreanized English – [to] co-exist side by side" (Lee 2007: 60).

Movies and television

Besides its presence in advertising, English is evident in Korean movies and TV shows in two ways: 1) loanwords and code-switches, and 2) as a general subject of discussion. As Baratta (2014: 54) argues, switching from Korean to English in Korean TV shows indexes, in addition to modern identities, the social hierarchies of the characters in a way that reflects "the power and dominance that the English language has in Korean society". Lee (2014a) investigates personal narratives by Korean celebrities, talk show guests, and fictional TV drama characters which broach the subject of English. She groups her results into two broad categories, language anxiety and language-related ageism, and shows how anecdotes connected to English are often exploited for humorous purposes. As traumatic as some of the experiences recounted in Lee's data might be, speakers successfully present them as funny episodes and additionally use them to relate to the assumed shared experiences of the viewers in order to bond with them (Lee 2014a: 34). Furthermore, older generations are often portrayed as being unable to speak English and are therefore pushed into a position of "sociolinguistic 'underdogs'" (Lee 2014a: 47). An increased presence of English (in the sense of loanwords and code-switches) in Korean television might also exclude older viewers from understanding TV programs. According to Park (2003), Koreans as a general group are frequently presented in TV sitcoms as having low English proficiency. This adds to the ideology of self-deprecation (i.e., Koreans as being unable to learn English successfully; see section on language attitudes).

In Korean cinemas, English movies are usually shown in the original version with Korean subtitles. This means that most movie-goers are exposed to spoken English on a more-or-less regular basis. Examining the distribution of the most successful Korean and English movies in 2013, however, one can see that local productions (which are accordingly screened in Korean and not in English) actually attracted the majority of the Korean cinema audience. As can be seen in Table 2.2, only six English-medium movies (marked in bold in the table) made it into the Top 20 of the most watched movies in 2013. It seems that Korean cinema is dominated by Korean productions, but that English movies still hold a considerable market share and therefore provide a contact point to the English language for the general Korean population.[3]

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[3] According to the data in Korean Film Council (2013: 22), the market share of local productions in Korea is on the rise and came to 60% in 2013 (cf. the market share of Korean productions

Table 2.2 Top 20 movies in Korea in 2013 (adapted from Korean Film Council 2013: 27–28)

#	Movie Title	Language	Admissions (2013)
1	Miracle in Cell No. 7	Korean	12,810,515
2	Snowpiercer	Korean	9,341,572
3	The Face Reader	Korean	9,134,386
4	**Iron Man 3**	**English**	**9,001,309**
5	The Berlin File	Korean	7,166,268
6	Secretly Greatly	Korean	6,959,083
7	The Attorney	Korean	5,686,852
8	Hide and Seek	Korean	5,604,104
9	**World War Z**	**English**	**5,604,104**
10	New World	Korean	5,579,675
11	The Terror, LIVE	Korean	5,579,586
12	Cold Eyes	Korean	5,506,770
13	Man on the Edge	Korean	5,506,770
14	Spy: Undercover Operation	Korean	5,237,519
15	**Gravity**	**English**	**4,682,418**
16	The Tower	Korean	3,893,216
17	The Flu	Korean	3,435,596
18	**Thor: Dark World**	**English**	**3,194,698**
19	**Red 2**	**English**	**3,166,425**
20	**Friend: The Great Legacy**	**English**	**3,118,847**

English as such is deeply entrenched in Korean life and this is, of course, also reflected in Korean movies. One can, for example, find characters attending English tutoring classes or taking English exams. One Korean movie even has English as main storyline: "Please Teach Me English" (Korean original title: *Yeongeo Wanjeon Jeongbok*, released in 2004 and directed by Kim Sung Su), deals directly with the attitudes and emotional ressponse towards the English language by Korean people. Packed in a comic love story one can find a "realistic portrayal of a wide range of emotions that are often believed to be evoked by the English language: fear, desperation and frustration, along with a sense of achievement and empowerment" (Lee 2012: 129). The movie deals with several themes which are conspicuous in Korean society nowadays: English proficiency as highly desirable goal for every

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in 2008 which was then only at 42%).

Korean citizen, the power of English native speakers, the infamous TOEIC and TOEFL tests, and the (sometimes adventurous) techniques for studying English.

Radio and broadcasting

The Arirang TV/radio network as well as two other regional radio stations broadcast in English (Song 2012: 26). Arirang was launched in 1997 and aims at a local as well as global audience (i.e., not only targeting Koreans). One of the proclaimed goals is the promotion of Korean culture and the domestic programming is described as "multicultural channel [:] Korean Information + Tradition & Modern Cultural promotion + Multicultural Understanding" (About Arirang – Channel Profile n.d.). There is also an American Forces Network Korea radio station in operation in Korea since 1950 (Song 2012: 26).

2.1.5 The linguistic landscape

The use of English on signage in Korea is ubiquitous, or, as one of Jamie S. Lee's participants in a language attitudes survey put it more bluntly: "everywhere you go, you see English" (2016: 332). Lawrence (2012) finds that depending on location (i.e., various areas of Seoul and other Korean cities) and category (i.e., main streets, alleys, inside shops, and mobile vendors), a substantial number of signs indeed employ English. Altogether, the share of English-language signs in relation to all signs investigated ranges between 0 and 95% (Lawrence 2012). In means of public transportation, Lawrence (2012: 86) identifies a 30% English ratio for signs in subways, a 20% English ratio in taxis, a 15% English ratio on road signs, and a 5% English ratio in buses. Interestingly, (illegal) graffiti under bridges is written in Korean for longer messages, but tagged names use English instead (Lawrence 2012: 85). In a follow-up study, Tan and Tan discuss the function of English on signs in Korea and find that the main purpose of using English is not informative but rather to index "symbolic and market value" (2015: 77). Due to either the absence of important information on the English signs or the presence of a Korean translation, they conclude that English is used on Korean signs to "signify a higher social standing and modernity" (Tan & Tan 2015: 77). This symbolic prestige is not only indexed by the establishments using the signs but also their customers who "perpetuate this 'elevation' by purchasing from and being seen in such shops" (Tan & Tan 2015: 77).

2.1.6 Personal contacts

Apart from traveling to other countries themselves, Korean citizens also have the possibility to come into direct contact with English-speaking foreigners (of various varieties of English) within their own national borders. Even though Korean society can still be characterized by its homogeneity and continues to be referred to as monocultural (see, e.g., Park 2010b; Kim & Kim 2012; Brown & Koo 2015), the number of service and personal encounters between Koreans and non-Koreans is increasing. According to Song (2012: 10) an estimated one million foreign nationals are residing in South Korea (vis-à-vis a population of under 51 million). Non-Koreans have numerous reasons to visit or stay on the peninsula: working, studying, business trips, sightseeing, personal relationships, etc. These stays (of variable duration), of course, comprise optimal contact possibilities between Korean and English as well as other languages.

2.1.7 Language politics in Korea

English language politics in Korea do not only concern issues regarding the role of English in the education system. From time to time, a discussion concerning the general status of English in Korea comes up, which is then picked up by politicians, citizens, and the media. This discussion involves the suggestion to make English one of the official or even the sole official language of Korea. This public discourse regarding English as an official language in Korea started mainly with the publication of the book *Ethnic Languages in the Age of a Global Language*[4] by Bok in 1998 (Yoo 2005: 7). In Bok's opinion, smaller national (ethnic) languages are bound to die out due to the influence of English. Therefore, he recommends the Korean government to establish English as co-official language, phasing Korean out gradually until English remains as sole official language of South Korea (Yoo 2005: 7). When his book was taken up by a Korean newspaper, this controversial proposal led to "heated debates on the issue of EOL [English as Official Language] among intellectual communities in the media and publications" (Yoo 2005: 7). The whole discussion died down for some time, until Japan announced similar proposals which re-kindled the controversy in Korea. In general, it can be observed that the opinions in Korea have split into two camps: "a globalization camp versus a nationalism camp" (Yoo 2005: 9). Regardless of the outcome and direction of the discussion, the official English debate illustrates the importance and status of English within the Korean society (Song 2012: 14).

2.1.8 Attitudes towards English

In general, Korea has often been described as displaying "linguistic homogeneity" (Cotton 1996: 78) and "strong monolingualism" (Park 2010b: 63), which in association with a "wider cultural homogeneity are considered a source of great national pride" (Park 2010b: 63). Korea's linguistic nationalism can be summarized under the notion that

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[4] Published in Korean, the original title of Bok's book is *Gugjeeo Sidaeui Minjogeo*.

> the Korean language, as a language that is (believed to be) spoken by all Koreans and only by Koreans, is often taken to symbolize the pure essence of a people, bringing all Koreans under the wings of a highly naturalized Korean nationhood. (Park 2010b: 63)

In other words, "[w]hoever speaks Korean is a Korean" (Coulmas 1999: 408). It is, therefore, not surprising that the influences of the American culture and language and the rising importance of English in education and the Korean society in general, constitute a source of irritation within the system (cf. the ideology of *externalization* by Park 2009b described below).[5] First of all, however, English as such is a "class marker" in Korean society and indicates "educational opportunity, […] experience of travel or study abroad and […] contact with foreigners" (Park & Abelmann 2004: 646). English (along with university education in general), then, is a stable marker of modern middle class status in Korean society (Lett 1998: 160) and marks upward social movement. English has a lasting impact on Korean identity and Park and Abelmann (2004: 650) explain that "the idea of what it means to be South Korean is transforming: increasingly, to be South Korean means to be South Korean 'in the world' – a prospect that calls for *the mastery of English* as an index of cosmopolitan striving" (emphasis added). Park and Abelmann (2004: 666) altogether identify three functions or 'meanings' of English in Korea:

1. English as providing local opportunities (e.g., in school, university, and at work)
2. English as providing opportunities abroad (e.g., working abroad)
3. English as "satisf[ying] cosmopolitan strivings" (preservation/ascendency of social class).

Additionally, Park (2009b) distinguishes three ideologies of English in Korea: *necessitation*, *externalization*, and *self-deprecation*. Even though these ideologies partly conflict with each other and may seem incompatible, they co-exist in Korean society.

The first ideology, necessitation, refers to the belief that it is imperative for Koreans to be proficient speakers of English. This ideology persists even though, or maybe because, Korea is a highly monolingual country (Park 2009b: 74f). English is a means of contact with the rest of the world, which is, of course, especially important in business contexts. As Park (2009b: 75) states, it is generally believed that "Koreans need to know English, and not knowing English has negative consequences". Externalization constructs English as the "language of an Other" (Park 2009b: 77). This does not only refer to the fact that English is a foreign language in Korea but emphasizes that the identity connected with English directly opposes Korean identity and Korean language. Being Korean is highly correlated with speaking Korean (see also Song 2012: 10 on "the correlation between Koreans and the Korean language"), whereas English is seen as "not merely different, but against that idea of Koreanness" (Park 2009b: 77). As such, the ideology of necessitation and the ideology of externalization present a dichotomy in Korean attitudes towards the language. On the one hand, English is seen as having paramount importance in Korean society, but on the other hand, the English language stands in opposition to one's identity as a Korean. A similar dichotomy can be observed when surveying attitudes towards English loanwords in Korea (Rüdiger 2018).

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[5] For a fascinating, albeit non-academic, overview of the relationship between nationality and the Korean language, see Koh (1999[2014]).

The third ideology that Park identifies is the one of self-deprecation: "Koreans' imagined incompetence in English" (Park 2009b: 92). Koreans see themselves as unable to satisfactorily learn English and systematically construct themselves as "illegitimate speakers" (Park 2009a) of the language. This does not account for reality, as naturally varying English competences can be observed in South Korea (cf. the data from the EF English Proficiency Index which was referenced in the introduction to this chapter). Nevertheless, this ideology of linguistic subordination is prevalent in Korean society and Koreans in general regard themselves as "hopelessly incapable of mastering English" (Park 2009b: 80). The feeling that Koreans are unable to speak English proficiently, even after years of English instruction, has become an urban myth in Korea and has been disseminated by Korean academics (Park 2009b: 88) and in the popular culture alike (e.g., in scripted television entertainment shows). As Park (2009b) demonstrates, the portrayal of Koreans trying to speak English on Korean television further disseminates the three ideologies of English, particularly the one of self-deprecation. The character of the Korean desperately trying (and frequently failing) to communicate in English is often exploited for humorous effects. The viewers of these shows are aligned with the characters (for example, through specific subtitling practices, see Park 2009b: 154ff), which in the end constructs both viewers and characters as "illegitimate speakers, who can only command broken, incorrect, and superficial English" (Park 2009b: 163). The mere presence of English in Korean television shows, however, indicates that a certain level of understanding is expected from the audience (Park 2009b: 162). This relies on the assumption that most Korean people (at least those watching the television shows) have a minimum level of English knowledge due to educational affordances, therefore again relating to the ideology of necessitation.

2.1.9 ‘English Fever’

The extremely high desire for English proficiency in Korea has been described as “probably unparalleled elsewhere in the world” (Song 2012: 14) and has often been likened to a kind of disease. This emphasizes the extreme measures undertaken by many Koreans in order to acquire English, sometimes with “detrimental, and at times even tragic, consequences in society” (Schneider 2014a: 251). Consequently, this social phenomenon has been referred to as *English Fever* (Shim & Park 2008; Park 2009; Park 2009b), *English Sickness* (Kim 2008), *English Language Mania* (Park & Abelmann 2004: 646), and *English Frenzy* (Shim & Park 2008). English Fever, in general, refers to the “excessive parental efforts in pushing their children to learn English” (Park 2009: 56) as well as the extraordinary efforts regarding English education undertaken by the individual. Additionally, a plethora of self-study books is available on the Korean market (see Song 2012: 23–25 for an overview of the Korean print media market). At its extreme, English Fever has also led to a surgical procedure known as ‘lingual frenectomy’ which is a tongue surgery performed predominantly on (young) children and is (wrongly) thought by many to facilitate the production of the English liquid consonants (Takeshita 2010: 275). Despite the lack of scientific and medical validation as a medical procedure, the surgery has become common enough that the National Human Rights Commission of Korea published a video warning about the dangers of the surgery (Takeshita 2010: 275) and several news reports on this ‘phenomenon’ in Korea were published in the 2000s (Demick 2002; Choe 2004; Koehler 2004).

According to Park (2009: 52), three historical reasons for English Fever in Korea can be identified: changes in government policy, socio-economic changes, and the shift to communicative approaches in school and university teaching. Korea is additionally known for the extreme pursuit of education in general, not exclusively connected to English education (see Seth 2002). These “explosive educational aspirations” (Kwak 1992: 205) cannot only be explained with perceived better employment opportunities associated with English proficiency. Even though good education often ensures a good job, this is not the main reason for Koreans’ fervent pursuing of education, since the “pursuit of education [is] more than anything else a pursuit of status” (Lett 1998: 159). English Fever is further relatable to “traditional Confucian attitudes towards learning and status” (Seth 2002: 6).

As such, English Fever and its impact seem to stand in contradiction to the notion of Korea as culturally and linguistically homogenous country with a “strong sense of national and ethnic pride” (Shim & Park 2008: 138). An important additional factor coming into play here is of course globalization, but Shim and Park (2008: 139) remind us that English Fever in Korea cannot be equated to a “blind desire for the glorious commodity of English”. Nevertheless, it can be argued that simply the existence of the phenomenon of English Fever in Korea indicates that English does have an extremely important position in Korean society and seems to perpetuate global discourses of English as a language for international communication and its hegemony. Altogether, English Fever reflects the position of English, described by Harkness (2015: 500) "as a particularly powerful linguistic emblem of South Korean society's ambivalent stance on multiculturalism, multilingualism, and globalization". Even though the acquisition of English is at the center of attention when it comes to English Fever in Korea, Koreans do much more than just learn the language: English is also "actively […] adopted, desired, modified, and resignified by Koreans for their own purposes" (Shim & Park 2008: 141).

Whether called *adoptions*, *modifications*, or *resignifications*, these transformations are at the heart of this study on morpho-syntactic patterns of Korean(ized) English. To complete the picture of the language contact situation in South Korea, the next section gives a comprehensive overview of the most important attributes of the Korean language before moving on to theorizing English in Korea within the World Englishes paradigm in Chapter 3.

2.2 Some characteristics of the Korean language

Definite language family membership of Korean is still under debate (see Poppe 1965: 75; Sohn 1999: 11; Sohn 1999: 17–36; Goddard 2005: 39) and the language has varyingly been typologically related to Japanese, Ainu, and Altaic languages. For some time in the past, a "Southern theory" was prevalent which saw Korean as related to either the Dravidian languages in India or to the Austronesian languages (Kim 1990: 153), but this hypothesis could not be maintained in light of modern linguistic theorizing. Instead, a "Northern theory" (Kim 1990: 154) is often propagated which suggests a relationship to the Altaic languages (e.g., Turkic and Mongolic languages). This theory is complicated, however, by the absence of sound correspondences between Korean and other Altaic languages (Song 2012: 7; see Yi, Sang-Ok 1983 for an overview of the discussion of a possible Altaic language family membership) and thus often doubted as well. Nevertheless, the similarities between the Altaic languages and Korean "are so strong that they simply cannot be brushed aside as being due to chance or contact alone" (Song 2012: 7). However, the debate is still ongoing, and some scholars have even proposed a status as an isolated language (cf. Song 2012: 7). Despite the "real linguistic history" of both Korean and Japanese remaining unclear, the two languages "are (genetically) closer to each other than to any known language(s) in the world" (Song 2012: 9). A genetic relationship between Chinese and Korean can be excluded, however, as the mainly lexical (and some phonological) similarities between the languages can be explained with the pervasive language contact situation. The Chinese influences on the Korean lexicon are indeed of very profound nature and it has been estimated that between 60% (Sohn 1999: 87) and 52% (Song 2012: 9) of the Korean word stock is of Sino-Korean origin.[6]

In general, Korean is an agglutinating language, which "means that inflection and word formation take place by adding suffixes to stems" (Poppe 1965: 189). Typical for agglutinative languages is that these suffixes are mono-functional in nature (i.e., one suffix can be mapped to one inflectional meaning) and do not lead to vowel changes in the stem when added (Poppe 1965: 190). Korean is non-tonal and is written employing its own (alphabetical)[7] script – *Hangeul* (see, e.g., Kim-Renaud 1997 for more information on the Korean writing system). In terms of word order, Korean is a verb-final (SOV) language even though the order of constituents is relatively free, that is, besides the verb which has to remain in final place, constituents can rather freely move around (Sohn 1999: 15). The word order is not inverted in questions, but so-called "scrambling" (Sohn 1999: 266) of constituents occurs frequently with only few restrictions (see Sohn 1999: 293ff). Korean is also head-final, which means that modifying elements occur before the head (Sohn 1999: 265), a characteristic which is sometimes also referred to as 'left-branching' (Kim 1990: 167). Furthermore, Korean is a "situation- or discourse-oriented language" (Sohn 1999: 15), which means that many constituents (such as subject or object, but not the predicate) are optional and can be dropped if they are clear from the context. This is particularly the case for pronominal forms which, when used despite being already inferable from the context, "sound awkward […] unless [they are] emphasized or contrasted with someone else" (Sohn 1999: 15). Correspondingly, dummy elements such as existential *it* and *there* (as in *It is raining* or *There are many people who like pizza*) do not exist in Korean. Furthermore, *do*-support is neither found in questions (Yi, Chong-No 1983: 268) nor in negated statements.

Various classification systems of Korean word classes have been suggested, but Sohn (1999: 204) proposes the following distinction into eight different word class categories:

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[6] Sino-Korean words are very well-integrated into the Korean language. They are lacking "the same feel of foreignness […] that modern, Western loans" have and can in general be compared to the Latinate word stock which can be found in English (Lee & Ramsey 2000: 136).

[7] To be more accurate, the Korean writing system can be categorized as "alphabetic syllabary" (Taylor & Taylor 2014: 198) as the alphabet letters are arranged into syllable blocks following specific syllable structure rules.

a. NOUN: Proper, Counter, Defective, Verbal, Adjectival, Common
b. PRONOUN: Personal, Reflexive, Reciprocal, Interrogative-Indefinite, Demonstrative
c. NUMERAL: Native, Sino-Korean, Loan
d. VERB: Main/Auxiliary, Transitive/Intransitive
e. ADJECTIVE: Copula, Existential, Sensory, Descriptive
f. DETERMINER: Demonstrative, Qualifier, Quantifier
g. ADVERB: Negative, Attributive, Modal, Conjunctive, Discoursal
h. PARTICLE: Case, Delimiter, Conjunctive
(adapted from Sohn 1999: 204)

Lee and Ramsey (2000: 85) follow this classification rather closely but label the determiner category ‘prenouns’ and add the word class of interjections. It should be noted that the word class classification systems in so-called “traditional grammars” of Korean (Lee & Ramsey 2000: 85) have been criticized for being based on Western notions of grammar and parts of speech which might not be the most adequate to represent Asian languages. The word classes of relevance for this study will be explained in more detail in the analytical chapters.

Having thus surveyed the linguistic situation in Korea in detail by examining first the functions and uses of English throughout Korean society and by outlining Korean language structures in the second part of this chapter, I now move on to the World Englishes framework at large. The present study of morpho-syntactic patterns by Korean speakers of English can be situated within a World Englishes paradigm which maps and theorizes the global spread and variation of English. The following chapter introduces previous research on Korean English forms and discusses World Englishes modeling of varieties, variants, and their speakers in relation to the Korean setting.

CHAPTER 3

Theorizing English in South Korea

Like many other Expanding Circle Englishes, English in Korea is a vastly under-researched variety of English and its fit into the traditional categorization systems of World Englishes modeling is problematic. As I will show in this chapter, Korean English can, nevertheless, be considered a legitimate form of English within the framework of World Englishes. The under-representation of studies on the Korean English context does not mean that scholars have completely ignored South Korea in the past and this chapter thus begins with a short overview of previous research on Korean English forms. The discussion then outlines how the *users* versus *learners* debate of English pans out in the South Korean context and the implications this has for matters of variant labeling. Instead of trying to apply a range of World Englishes models to Korea, I will focus in the following on the Extra- and Intraterritorial Forces (EIF) Model by Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017). The EIF Model is not only one of the newest additions to the family of World Englishes categorization systems, but its dynamic nature and equal applicability to postcolonial and non-postcolonial contexts make it a promising approach to categorizing English in Korea. The chapter then concludes with an overview of the terminology employed in this monograph to describe the morpho-syntactic system of English as spoken by Koreans.

3.1 Previous research on Korean English forms

English has come to stay in Asia and “the fact that English is very much an Asian language indeed is largely uncontested and no longer in need of justification” (Schneider 2014a: 249). Asia is also the geographical region with the fastest growing rate of English speakers (Schneider 2014a: 249) and there is a thriving use of Asian English forms especially in intra-Asian communication (Ansaldo & Lim 2012: 204). For the East Asian region specifically, Honna (2006: 114) mentions the existence of “indications […] that what amounts to a national variety is developing in each country in this region, too” and a number of studies have contributed linguistic and attitudinal evidence to this end (e.g., Pei & Chi 1987; Yang 2005;

Deterding 2006; Xu 2010; and Ai & You 2015 for the Chinese context; Stanlaw 1987, 2004; Seargeant 2009; and Oshima 2015 for the Japanese context).

As frequently as the existence of an indigenized Korean English variety or Korean English forms has been disputed, its existence has also been asserted by linguistic scholars (see, e.g., Kachru & Nelson 2006: 177). Features of English as used by Koreans, "Koreans' own English" so to say, are often branded as Konglish, "forever stigmatized as broken, incorrect English, despite the perfectly functional, localized uses of English found in Korean society" (Park 2015: 63). The existence of a Korean English variety is also asserted by Takeshita (2010: 278), who states that "[e]ither intentionally or unintentionally, Korean […] users of English will continue to use English in their own ways, adapting their language to accommodate to various audiences". She also notes that the degree or amount of Korean English features found in English use does not only depend on issues of proficiency and experience but can also be related to identity construction, that is, "the speakers' preference for sounding like Koreans" (Takeshita 2010: 278).

One of the few studies surveying Korean English from a systematic perspective was conducted by Shim (1999), who analyzes the language in English textbooks used in Korean high schools. Shim (1999: 247) discovers that, despite the absence of a codified Korean English variety, differences to American English (the main input variety) can be found in English textbooks on the level of morpho-syntax, lexis, and pragmatics. Textbooks, by their nature, diffuse these features among students and could prove to be important facilitators in the context of language change. All features analyzed by Shim stem from the textbook *High School English I: Teacher's Guide*. In the category of lexico-semantic differences, she lists "words and expressions that are used in contexts that sound unusual, awkward, or incorrect in American English" (Shim 1999: 250). Shim also identifies pragmatic particularities (e.g., unusual choice of formality or informality between interlocutors depicted in the textbooks) and distinctive morpho-syntactic features. She details eleven fields of morpho-syntactic particularities, which I briefly summarize due to their relevance to the topic at hand:

1. definite articles → used to mark specificity (not definiteness)
   e.g., *He is the man who can help other people.*
2. non-count nouns → used as count nouns
   e.g., *a hard work, a great patience*
3. word order → non-conventional ordering of sentence constituents
   e.g., *No wonder you can't sleep when you have coffee too much.*
4. complementizers → omission of complementizers for direct objects
   e.g., *…and we can feel ø spring is just around the corner.*

5. sentence elements → change of word class; conversion
e.g., *to trip* (= to make a trip), *to mistake* (= to make a mistake)
6. verb collocation → unconventional verb collocations
e.g., *After dinner they talked together.*
7. prepositions → insertion of superfluous prepositions
e.g., *The main topic of this lesson is about the coming of spring.*
8a. tense → interchangeable use of present tense and present progressive
e.g., Q: *What happens to the grass and trees when spring comes?*
A: The grass is turning green and trees are budding with fresh leaves.
8b. tense → interchangeable use of simple past and past perfect
e.g., *The wheat had kept its promise. = The wheat kept its promise.*
8c. tense → mixing of tenses in one sentence
e.g., *He seems to be pleased when he saw me.*
9. participle construction→ productive use of participle constructions
e.g., *coming winter = winter which is coming*
10. '*so…that*' → equation of '*so…that*' with '*so* + adjective + *that*'/'adjective + *enough* + *that*'/'adjective + *enough* + *to* infinitive'
e.g., *He started so early that he could catch the first train.* (= He started early so that he could catch the first train.)
11. conditional sentences → no distinction between if-clauses expressing unreal conditions and if-clauses expressing real conditions
e.g., *If I die before I finish, I'll leave the work for my son.* →
Q: *Who would finish the needle if the old man died?*
A: *If he died before he finished the needle, his son would finish it.*
(all features as described and exemplified by Shim 1999: 252–254, emphasis and underlining added)

Despite the features remaining unquantified by Shim, it must be emphasized that these items were present in the official textbooks used in Korean schools. They have thus been spread to a high number of students and according to Shim, "[a]ll Korean students have learned this codified variety of Korean English and were tested on this variety of English as long as they were within the boundaries of Korean educational institutions" (1999: 255). Outside of the education system, however, this is problematic as the English proficiency tests regarded as most authoritative in Korea are the TOEIC and TOEFL tests which are not based on the Korean(ized) English taught in schools. Therefore, while students learn codified Korean English in schools and universities, tests developed outside of Korea are not tailored to this specific variety of English, giving Koreans an inherent disadvantage in testing (Shim 1999: 255).

A second systematic study of the variation of English used by Koreans is represented by Jung and Min's (1999) analysis of Korean English newspaper language. Comparing the frequencies of the use of modals in the Korean English-language newspaper *The Korea Herald* to data from British, American, and Australian English, they find that Korean English writers overuse *will*, underuse *would*, and do not use *shall* at all (Jung & Min 1999: 27). Their semantic analysis of the modals additionally shows that the meanings expressed with the modals *will* and *would* in *The Korea Herald* are similar to the range of meanings in the L1 varieties investigated. They also identify instances of the prepositions *at* and *in* swapped with each other. Jung and Min (1999: 34–35) relate this to substrate language influence from Korean which commonly employs only one preposition for this type of locative meaning.[1] They conclude that "the use of English prepositions which indicate space can be said to illustrate one aspect of the processes of nativization of English in Korea" (Jung & Min 1999: 35).

Hadikin (2014), in the most recent systematic investigation of the Korean English repertoire to date, examines the use of short lexical strings (i.e., *do you know*, *but you know*, and *and you know*) employing two corpora of Korean speakers of English: one participant group composed of Koreans residing long-term in the UK and the other participant group living in Seoul. Hadikin subsequently compares the two corpora to a corpus of Liverpool Spoken English (Scouse Corpus) and the spoken section of the BNC. Using the four corpora, Hadikin concludes that *but you know* is used with higher frequencies by both Korean English participant groups, which can be explained with its function in Korean(ized) English as "an extended connective that 'buys more time' for online speech processing" (2014: 76). The string *do you know* functions in spoken Korean English as topic introduction and to assess the status of shared knowledge, but certain fixed expressions, such as *do you know what I mean* (Hadikin 2014: 76), are under-represented compared to the British corpora. Finally, the string *and you know* seems to be used with far more variability in the Korean English data. Hadikin (2014: 178) interprets his results as "evidence supporting the idea that Korean English is a variety in its own right".

In addition to those full-scale studies, overview works of World Englishes or Global Englishes sometimes cursorily provide feature lists of Korean(ized) English but usually without giving sources or evidence, or quoting only the previously mentioned studies (mainly Jung & Min 1999 and Shim 1999). Galloway and Rose (2015: 135–126), for example, list several sound, vocabulary, grammar-syntactic, and pragmatic features characteristic of English in East Asia. For Korea specifically, they mention the pluralization of uncountable nouns and "little distinction between simple present and present progressive or simple past and past perfect" (Galloway & Rose 2015: 136). Takeshita (2010: 276) notes a number of phonetic, lexical, and grammatical features of Korean English, sometimes considered shared with Japanese English. These features are based on the assumption that "Korean English and Japanese English are two different varieties of English, influenced phonetically, semantically, grammatically and culturally by the native languages and cultures of their speakers" (Takeshita 2010: 276). In other words, features in Korean English are seen as based on substrate language influence by Korean. A lack of distinction between long and short vowels in spoken Korean English, for example, is thus ascribed to the influence of the Korean language which lacks this distinction as well (Takeshita 2010: 276). Two Korean English specific lexical items given by Takeshita (2010: 276) are *audience* meaning *guests* and *house* meaning *family* (explainable by the different semantic ranges of the Korean equivalents).

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[1] Which is not to say that there is only one locative preposition in Korean. However, prepositional meaning is compartmentalized differently in Korean than in English. See Chapter 5.4 on prepositions.

The problem with many (but not all) of the previously mentioned studies is similar to what Williams (1987: 165) notes for a number of other studies on New Englishes: that is, "[i]nformation on actual speech is by example only, [and] rarely is any quantitative evidence offered in support of these descriptions". This issue is reinforced further by a lack of contextual information given on the level of discourse as well as extralinguistic setting (cf. Williams 1987: 165). This is redressed by the approach taken in this study, which provides not only quantification for every area investigated but also includes a sizable number of examples in an adequate amount of discoursal context. The extralinguistic setting of this study is described in more detail in Chapter 4.

There are of course also a number of studies shedding light on different aspects of the Korean English interlanguage system from an SLA perspective (e.g., Cha 1983). Most of these studies focus emphatically on the use of English in the education system and participants are often asked to perform translation tasks, fill in questionnaires akin to grammar exercises, or provide written essays. Besides the clear written bias of these studies, they are only of limited use to studies from a World Englishes perspective. As will be made clear in the methodology section, great effort was undertaken to remove the present study from an educational context in order to collect informal and conversational data. In a few cases, results from SLA studies served as impetus to focus on specific constructions in the analysis (e.g., in the case of copula omission which was marked as "most notable" by Cha 1983: 104) or were compared to the results obtained.

As Schneider (2014b: 21) notes in his efforts to determine the applicability of the Dynamic Model to Expanding Circle contexts, considering the case of Korea besides other countries such as Japan, China, Namibia, and Rwanda, "[l]ittle documentation only is available on the amount of *nativization* of Korean

English" (emphasis in the original). It is exactly this situation which the present study remedies by applying an extensive and rigorous corpus method approach to conversational Korean English material collected in a non-experimental and non-educational setting. The results, as we will see in the next sections, have important implications for theorizing English in Korea and language ideology, as well as for practical decision-making in educational practices.

3.2 Users versus learners of English

One of the underlying assumptions of World Englishes theorizing is the dichotomy between native and non-native speakers of English. Kachru (1988: 214) describes the concept of the native speaker as "an age-old sacred cow carrying an immense attitudinal and linguistic burden" and, indeed, the notion of the native speaker must be one of the most contested issues in the field of applied linguistics (see, e.g., Paikeday 1985; Davies 2003; Mesthrie 2010; Kravchenko 2010; Hackert 2012). However, the stakes are higher than merely distinguishing between speakers who acquired English as L1, ideally, from birth (i.e., the *users* of English) and those who acquired English through the official education system or other means of English education (i.e., the *learners* of English), as nativeness is in turn inherently connected to notions of standardness, correctness, and legitimacy.

Leaving aside the fundamental question and discussion whether it is sensible, necessary, and possible at all to distinguish between native and non-native speakers (see Dewaele 2018), there is no doubt that the vast majority of Koreans who grow up in South Korea initially acquire English as learners of a foreign language. Even though the onset of contact with the English language might set in rather early – at the latest in 3rd grade elementary school but often already in kindergarten – English in South Korea is not typically transmitted via the parents or family caregivers. I argue, however, that outside of educational settings Koreans can equally be users of English and there is no reason for calling them *learners of English*, for instance, in ELF conversational interactions. This argument is supported by a number of studies which have shown that the distinction between Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes or English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) (or postcolonial and non-postcolonial varieties of English) cannot be drawn as categorically as previously suggested and rather resembles a continuum than a clear-cut border (see Bongartz & Buschfeld 2011; Gilquin & Granger 2011; Buschfeld 2013, 2014; Edwards & Laporte 2015; Edwards 2016; and Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017). Due to this, the data collection method employed in this study focused on non-educational settings exclusively and the evocation of language learning and testing frames was actively avoided (see methodology for further information on the data collection procedure). It remains to be shown, in this and further studies, how the Korean English repertoire can then be characterized under a more egalitarian World Englishes framework.

Important at this point is how variants produced by Korean speakers of English should be treated in terms of terminology and implications for the variety at hand. The discussion whether linguistic forms which are 'new' or 'different' from traditional input varieties (i.e., British or American English) should be labeled *innovations* or *errors* has featured prominently in previous World Englishes research. Historically, the distinction between linguistic innovations and errors had attained to so-called native speaker varieties of English versus second language varieties of English (Kachru 1996: 141) and has since then shifted to differentiate between second language and foreign language linguistic forms. In the past, innovations were regarded as the result of nativization processes, whereas errors were considered to represent an illegitimate form of language variation (see, e.g., Bamgbose 1998). From this point of view, features of foreign language varieties are more than just different from the input variety – they are put down as "markers of deficiency" (Kachru 1996: 140). The label *variant*, however, proves to be rather neutral in descriptive value and it is due to this conceptual neutrality that the term *variant* (or *feature*) will be used throughout the description of the Korean English repertoire in subsequent chapters.

It should be noted that factors which have been proposed in the past to determine the status of a linguistic form as either an innovation or an error were often not based on the language system itself but on matters such as codification (e.g., in dictionaries and grammar guides) and acceptability. As Gut (2011: 120, emphasis added) explains "[t]he classification of a linguistic structure as an innovation or an error proceeds on *extra-linguistic rather than linguistic grounds*". This notion is also supported by a number of empirical studies (Nesselhauf 2009; Hundt & Vogel 2011; Davydova 2012; Percillier 2016) which found similar linguistic forms in Outer Circle as well as Expanding Circle varieties. These similarities of linguistic forms across ESL and EFL varieties can be related to the fact that "the general mechanisms operating on the early development of the different Englishes are essentially the same" (Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017: 111). Second language acquisition effects, communicative processes connected to English as a Lingua Franca settings, and English language universals all apply across ESL and EFL varieties and are thus also at work in the Korean context and can be used to explain the morpho-syntactic forms identified in this study.

This overlap of linguistic forms between Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes is an essential part of all varieties of English (see, e.g., Hickey 2012 and Sharma 2012 for New Englishes). As Nesselhauf points out for New Englishes, an increasing number of contrastive and comparative studies show that "many features that were described as variety-specific are, in fact, common to several varieties" (2009: 2). Meanwhile, the features which are shared across varieties of English can be categorized as follows:

> *Type A*: Properties shared with the superstrate (all varieties)
> *Type B*: Properties shared with the substrate (bilingual/L2 varieties)
> *Type C*: Acquisitional universals (bilingual/L2 varieties)
> *Type D*: General universals (all varieties)
> (Sharma 2012: 221, emphasis in the original)

Second language acquisition effects, that is "learning effects that are independent of specific substrates" (Bruckmaier 2017: 28), which lead to universals of *Type C* in the list by Sharma (2012) above, play an important role in all contexts where language is not acquired as an L1 (see also Siegel 2008: 41–42 for SLA processes in pidgin genesis). The following list gives a comprehensive (but non-exhaustive) overview of SLA processes as reported in Percillier (2016: 32; largely based on Biewer 2011), including their origin and a short explanation:

1. *transfer to somewhere principle* (Andersen 1983): "only structural features in L1 that are unmarked in L1 are transferred into L2" (Biewer 2011: 14)
2. *shortest path principle* (Wald 1996): the variant closer to the L1 will be selected if variation in the target language is possible (Biewer 2011: 14; Percillier 2016: 32)
3. *cognitive strategies of linearization* (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008): preference for unmarked variants (independent of L1 or L2) (Biewer 2011: 14; Percillier 2016: 32)
4. *markedness theory* (Tschichold 2002): "less marked features are less complex and more frequent in the world's languages, and as a consequence are easier to learn and therefore acquired first" (Percillier 2016: 32)
5. *teddy bear principle* (Hasselgren 1994): "the tendency of learners to stick to structures which they feel are safe and familiar" (Percillier 2016: 32)
6. *avoidance of redundancies* (Williams 1987; Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008): reduction of redundancy to avoid ambiguity (Biewer 2011: 15)
7. *principle of maximum salience* (Williams 1987): "the creation of redundancies for maximum clarity of meaning" (Percillier 2016: 32; see also Biewer 2011: 18)
8. *avoidance of plurifunctionality* (Shatz & Wilcox 1991): using only/predominantly one function of multifunctional features (see also Biewer 2011: 16).

Simplification, overuse, and regularization are some of the most prominent outcomes of the aforementioned SLA processes. At times similar but also additional processes have been described for English as a Lingua Franca. The similarities can easily be related to the fact that (most) ELF speakers have acquired English as an additional language and have thus also been subjected to the second language acquisition process. A difficulty particular to the linguistic description of ELF, however, is the "constant flux" (Meierkord 2004: 115) of the variety, depending on the involved speakers and their linguistic backgrounds. Nevertheless, a number of over-arching processes or "underlying motives" (Cogo & Dewey 2012: 81) have been successfully identified by ELF scholars:

1. reduction of redundancy (termed "exploiting redundancy" by Cogo and Dewey (2012: 81)), such as the omission of 3rd person present tense singular –*s* marking on the verb
2. regularization (Cogo & Dewey 2012: 90)
3. "added prominence" (Cogo & Dewey 2012: 98), e.g., in the use of definite articles to indicate general reference (Cogo & Dewey 2012: 98-99) and topicalization processes
4. accommodation (Cogo & Dewey 2012: 102)
5. "an orientation to increased explicitness and clarity" (MacKenzie 2016: 491; see also Cogo & Dewey 2012: 110)
6. cross-linguistic influences (MacKenzie 2016: 491).

We can see that a multitude of processes is responsible for variation and it is thus not surprising to find overlap in feature types across English varieties. The processes and mechanisms depicted in this chapter of course do not only lead to coinciding linguistic forms but also bring about competing forms within individual varieties.

A useful approach to outlining the resulting language systems of speakers is the *Feature Pool Approach*. This concept stems originally from the study of pidgins and creoles (Mufwene 2001) but has recently been applied to other variety types of English as well. The Feature Pool Approach describes how "members of a speech community […] contribute different models in pronunciation, lexical materials, grammatical models, and pragmatic constraints to the feature pool" (Mufwene 2008: 117). Individual language users subsequently pick "different subsets of variants [from the feature pool] into their idiolects" (Mufwene 2008: 117). Percillier (2016: 180–181) suggests that the Feature Pool Approach is suitable to describe nativization processes in ESL varieties and connect them to learner varieties of English as well. He proposes that features of ESL "have their origin in learner errors" (Percillier 2016: 179). These learner features enter the feature pool and thus become available for selection into the nativized variety. It is important to keep in mind that "[a] feature present in the feature pool may or may not be represented in the nativised variety" (Percillier 2016: 181). The application of the Feature Pool Approach to demonstrate how learner features become available as nativized variety features is illustrated in Figure 3.1, which is based on Percillier's (2016) research on the English varieties of Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

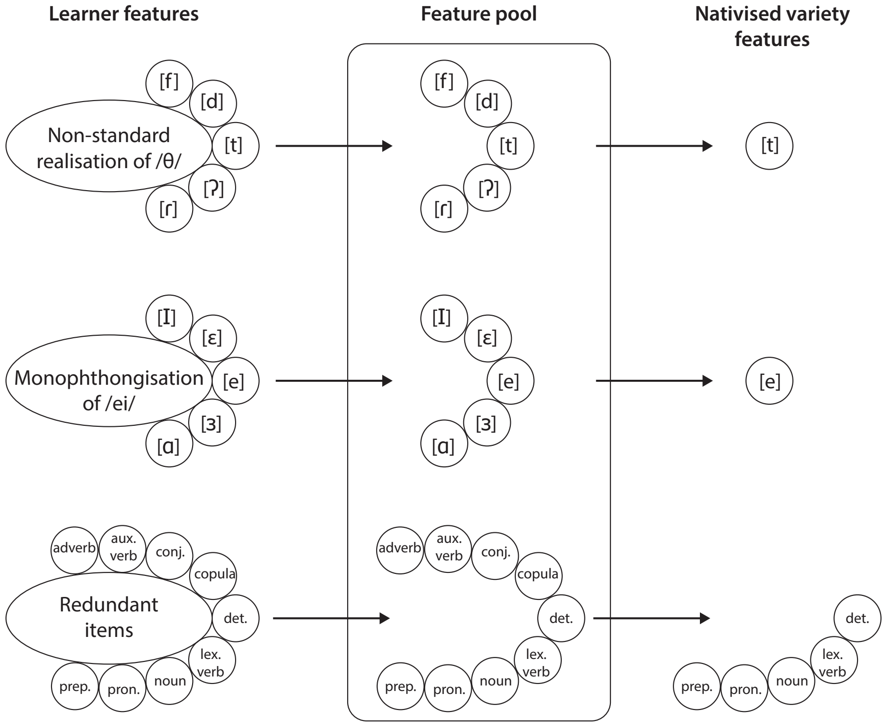
Learner features
Feature pool
Nativised variety features
Non-standard realisation of /θ/
[f]
[d]
[t]
[ʔ]
[ɾ]
Monophthongisation of /ei/
[ɪ]
[ɛ]
[e]
[ɜ]
[ɑ]
Redundant items
adverb
aux. verb
conj.
copula
det.
lex. verb
noun
pron.
prep.

Figure 3.1 From learner feature to nativized variety feature via the feature pool (adapted from Percillier 2016: 181)

The Feature Pool Approach very clearly highlights how several options are available to language users which consequently stabilize in the respective variety. It also explains the variability displayed by speakers at a certain point in variety development (i.e., why speakers are not consistent), as several options are available for selection at any time. So far, we have only a very limited understanding of the make-up of the Korean English feature pool as not enough systematic research has been conducted in this area (see the literature review at the beginning of this chapter); a situation which the corpus-based study at the heart of this monograph explicitly seeks to redress.

Altogether, the evidence presented in this chapter unequivocally shows that "[linguistic] change is occurring just as dynamically in the Expanding Circle as in the Outer Circle" (Lowenberg 2002: 435). In the identification and characterization of the Korean English repertoire (and all other Expanding Circle Englishes for that matter), it is therefore important to keep reminding ourselves that

> certain users [of English], because of their assumed cultural and linguistic privilege, are afforded the opportunity to deviate from convention while others are chronically relegated to a continual process of having to legitimize their "errors" as conscious, deliberate, effective, or appropriate. (Lee, Jerry W. 2016: 67)

The notion of 'legitimacy' also plays an important role in the next section, which considers variety labeling and the application of the EIF Model to South Korea.

3.3 World Englishes models and Korea

The discussion regarding the classification of linguistic variants and English varieties in general is more than just a means of keeping World Englishes scholars busy. Variety and variant classification is, at times, fiercely contested, within and outside of academia, and this can have strong ideological, language political, and educational implications. This relates to, for example, which variety of English should be taught in schools and assessed in proficiency tests. Another aspect with particularly distinct ideological ramifications are naming practices: that is, whether a variety should be called 'X English' or 'English in X' (e.g., German English or English in Germany, Hong Kong English or English in Hong Kong, Korean English or English in Korea; see, e.g., Saraceni 2010: 69–74 for a criticism of labeling practices in World Englishes). For the case of English in South Korea, Song (2016: 57) postulates that

> by calling [the English used by Koreans] 'Korean English' one gives English in Korea *a unique identity* as if it existed as a functional variety of English, especially because Inner and Outer Circle Englishes are labeled the same way […] However, English in Korea should not be given such an identification label, because *no such variety of English exists in Korea* […] [W]e must take issue with this kind of unrigorous labelling practice and demand that it should be discontinued, because it may encourage, if not promote, perceptions, especially among non-specialists or outsiders, that we are dealing with new, instead of learner, varieties of English. (emphasis added)

In other words, Expanding Cicle speakers are emphatically denied the right to using an English variety reflecting their cultural and societal identities, which is in turn constructed as a privilege of the Inner and Outer Circle. The claim that "no such variety of English exists in Korea" (Song 2016: 57) seems premature in light of the lack of systematic corpus-based studies of the English used by Koreans, regardless of the general ideological issues involved in variety labeling which are left unconsidered by Song. The labels *Korean(ized) English* and *English in Korea* are alternated in this text on purpose as the notion of Koreans as 'mere' learners of

English has already been refuted in the previous sections (see also Hadikin 2014 and Ahn 2014, 2017 regarding the attitudinal dimension) and there is no reason why the Korean English repertoire does not deserve to be characterized as having 'a unique identity'.

A number of scholars have drawn attention to this disparate state of affairs – some English varieties considered legitimate and proper and other varieties considered incorrect or even nonexistent (see Song 2016 as quoted above) – by adopting terminology which points to this issue, for example, *unequal Englishes* (Tupas & Rubdy 2015), *peripheral English* (Blommaert et al. 2005), and *peripheralized English* (Lee, Jerry W. 2016). Tupas and Rubdy, for instance, argue that "Englishes are all linguistically equal but their political legitimacies are uneven" (2015: 3). In their approach, they focus mainly on language politics, policies, and attitudes and "[aim] to probe deep into the structures, contexts, and configurations of inequalities of Englishes" (Tupas & Rubdy 2015: 3). Even though issues of language politics, policies, ideologies, and attitudes are only marginally covered in this monograph, these notions help to explain why some Englishes have received more attention than others in academic research. The English used in Korea is one example of varieties which has so far only received little scholarly attention.

The bias in World Englishes studies towards Inner and Outer Circle Englishes is also reflected in the many monolithic models of varieties of English which are based on a central or several central members (e.g., Streven 1980; Kachru 1985; McArthur 1987; Görlach 1990; Modiano 1999a, 1999b; and Mair 2013) or models which are not applicable to non-postcolonial Englishes at all (Schneider 2003, 2007; see also Schneider 2014b). The EIF Model (Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017) surveyed and applied to the Korean context in the following sections, however, has the great advantage of presenting an integrated approach to both postcolonial and non-postcolonial varieties of English, while at the same time relying neither on notions of centrality versus marginality nor on a native versus non-native speaker distinction.

The EIF Model is a continuation of Schneider's Dynamic Model (2003, 2007) and was conceived for the very purpose of including the realities of English use in the Expanding Circle. Schneider's Dynamic Model was originally exclusively geared towards postcolonial varieties of English (Schneider 2014b: 28), which differ from non-postcolonial Expanding Circle Englishes in several important aspects, as pointed out by Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017: 110). Due to the non-colonial background, the transposition of English is based on very different factors and a settler strand as postulated in the Dynamic Model is, on account of the absence of settlers/colonizers in the first place, absent as well (Schneider 2014b: 17). Kautzsch (2014: 224), in describing a case study on English in Germany, argues, however, that the English teachers in Expanding Circle countries can be interpreted as "bodily incarnation of Schneider's STL [settler] strand" providing students with input and face-to-face-models of English use. Nevertheless, important elements of the Dynamic Model relating to identity construction, linguistic accommodation, and language contact are missing in Expanding Circle contexts (Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017: 110).

At the core of the EIF Model are the *extra-territorial* and *intra-territorial forces* which continually exert influence on the respective variety of English as it moves through the developmental stages as retained from Schneider's Dynamic Model (i.e., foundation, exonormative stabilization, nativization, endonormative stabilization, and differentiation). Some of these developmental phases have to be adapted slightly for non-postcolonial Englishes: the foundation phase (as no original establishment of settlement occurred in non-postcolonial Englishes), both of the stabilization phases, and the differentiation phase. Edwards (2016: 159), for example, suggests replacing the traditional foundation phase with "foundation-through-globalization". Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017: 118) typographically illustrate this important difference between postcolonial and non-postcolonial Englishes by setting the foundation phase in their EIF Model in quotation marks and identifying other processes of political and economic nature which can establish foundation in non-postcolonial contexts. Additionally, the exonormative stabilization phase has been renamed to merely *stabilization phase*, as this phase rests on both internal and external factors for non-postcolonial Englishes (Buschfeld &

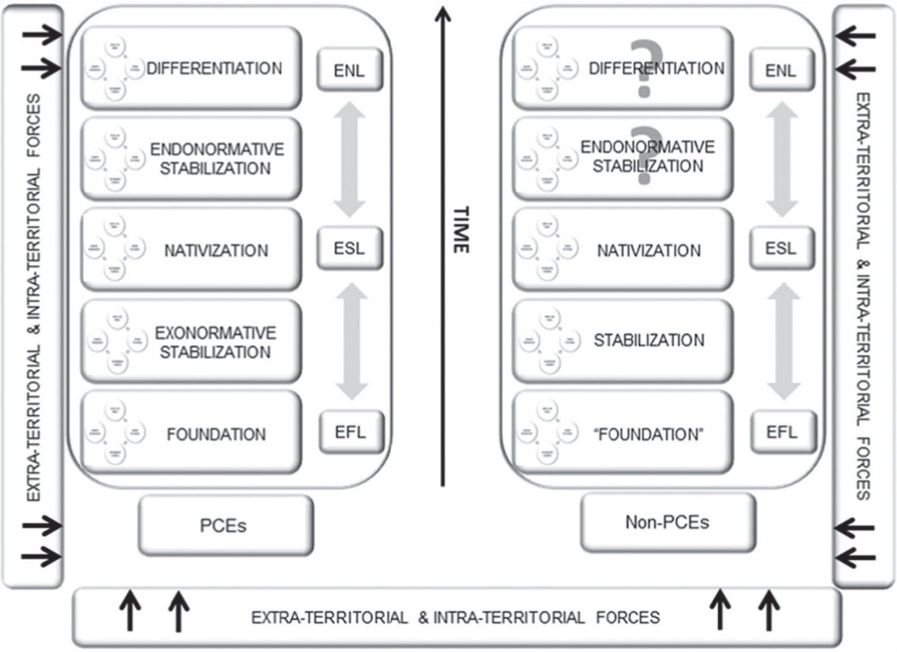
EXTRA-TERRITORIAL & INTRA-TERRITORIAL FORCES
DIFFERENTIATION
ENDONORMATIVE STABILIZATION
NATIVIZATION
EXONORMATIVE STABILIZATION
FOUNDATION
ENL
ESL
EFL
PCEs
TIME
DIFFERENTIATION
ENDONORMATIVE STABILIZATION
NATIVIZATION
STABILIZATION
"FOUNDATION"
ENL
ESL
EFL
Non-PCEs
EXTRA-TERRITORIAL & INTRA-TERRITORIAL FORCES
EXTRA-TERRITORIAL & INTRA-TERRITORIAL FORCES

Figure 3.2 The EIF Model (Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017: 117)

Kautzsch 2017: 118). The endonormative stabilization phase and the differentiation phase, the final steps towards an English as a 'Native Language' (ENL) variety, have not been reached by a non-postcolonial English (yet), but they are included in the EIF Model as "theoretically conceivable" future developments (Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017: 117). An overview of the EIF Model can be found in Figure 3.2.

The extra-territorial forces are identified as 1) colonization, 2) language policies, 3) globalization (e.g., influences from the Internet, popular culture, trade relationships between countries) and the intra-territorial forces are 1) attitudes towards the colonizing power, 2) language attitudes and/or language policies, 3) attitudes towards ("acceptance of") globalization (see Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017: 113–114 for a more detailed explanation of the forces). Two additional forces, foreign policies and sociodemographic background (e.g., number and origin of immigrants, size and age of population), operate on the extra- as well as intra-territorial level and thus the number of forces included in the model is five forces each (Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017: 113). The forces of colonization and attitudes towards colonizing power of course only apply to postcolonial Englishes. Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017: 115) suggest that some forces, such as the Internet, popular culture, and media (mainly from the U.S.), can indeed replace or approximate the settler strand "since these factors create sociolinguistic situations in which different languages and different varieties of English meet". Concurrently, the "same extra-territorial forces also account for the missing external colonizing power" as elements such as "global power politics or popular culture" (Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017: 115) affect language use and assert language influence around the globe.

The survey of the sociolinguistic context in Korea presented in Chapter 2 already provided an overview of most of the extra- and intra-territorial forces at work in South Korea, though not framed explicitly in the terms of the EIF Model. Table 3.1 therefore summarizes the extra- and intraterritorial forces as pertaining to the Korean context, casting them explicitly in the light and the terminology of the EIF Model. The aim here is not to give an exhaustive account of all forces at work but to focus on the most salient aspects in South Korea. This is followed by

Table 3.1 The extra- and intra-territorial forces pertaining to the Korean context

Type of force	Force	Application to the Korean context
extra-territorial force	1. colonization	– N/A (but: United States Army Military Government in Korea for three years after World War II and current deployment of American soldiers to Korea)
	2. language policies	– TOEFL (*Test of English as a Foreign Language*) and TOEIC (*Test of English for International Communication*) as widely used proficiency tests

Table 3.1 (*continued*)

Type of force	Force	Application to the Korean context
	3. globalization	– modern media accessible via the Internet – American and other Anglophone pop culture and movies – popularity of study and work abroad programs
	4. foreign policies	– extensive relations between Korea and the United States starting after World War II; American support in the Korean War against North Korea – deployment of American soldiers to Korea as part of a military alliance – bilateral economic relations between the United States and South Korea (free trade agreement); global trade relationships, free trade agreement with the EU – South Korea as member of ASEAN+3 and OECD
	5. sociodemographic background	– tourism from other countries – returnees from Korean migrant communities abroad
intra-territorial force	1. attitudes towards colonizing power	– N/A (but: acceptance of American presence in Korea vis-à-vis flares of anti-American sentiments)
	2. language attitudes/ language policies	– EPIK (*English Program in Korea*) → hegemony of teachers from Inner Circle countries (part. U.S. and Britain) – English mandatory subject in school starting in grade 3 – official education policy: English education in English – public discussion of English as (co-)official language – English as subject in the university entrance exam – tremendous demand for private English education; English Fever – *Test of English Proficiency* (TEPS) developed by Seoul National University – English as status symbol – ideologies of necessitation, externalization, and self-deprecation
	3. attitudes towards globalization	– active promotion of globalization via the government – unrestricted access to modern media via the Internet
	4. foreign policies	– military alliance with the U.S.
	5. sociodemographic background	– ca. 1,363,000 foreign nationals residing in Korea vis-à-vis a total population of ca. 51,069,000* – currently a young but rapidly aging society** – Korean tourism around the world

* Data for 2015 from the Korean Statistical Information Service (2017).

** See Howe et al. (2007).

an assessment of the EIF Model phases which is, to the best of my knowledge, the first attempt at applying the EIF Model to the Korean context.

Considering the incisive nature of the United States Army Military Government in Korea from 1945 to 1948 including the continuing deployment of American troops to South Korea, I propose this event as the basis of the 'foundation' phase (phase 1) as specified by the EIF Model. The foundation phase is further reinforced by globalization processes (cf. Edwards 2016 on "foundation-through-globalization"). Thus, phase 1 can clearly be considered as established for the Korean context. Continuing with the development of English in Korea, the importance of English in the Korean education system, its character as a status symbol in the society, as well as very high global mobility via tourism, work- and study-related traveling, and emigration in combination with return migration have led to an extreme consolidation of the role of English in Korea. Despite English not having an official function in the country itself, expressions of this consolidation can be found in the existence of the phenomenon of English Fever and the public discussion of adapting English as a co- or semi-official language.

I, therefore, argue that Korea can be reasonably placed in the stabilization phase (phase 2) of the EIF Model. Additional in-depth and updated studies of language attitudes and ideologies in Korea might consolidate this assessment further. In how far the Korean English variety might have progressed towards or already reached phase 3 is currently unclear. Phase 3 is the nativization phase of the EIF Model, which means that indigenized (i.e., nativized) linguistic forms can be found in the variety under scrutiny. However, there are not enough methodologically sound studies of the linguistic characteristics of English as used by Koreans in order to consider an eventual transition to the nativization phase (phase 3). Using the results from this study on the potential morpho-syntactic characteristics of the Korean English repertoire will therefore allow us to assess the development of the variety further.

The EIF Model is, to my best knowledge, the first model to acknowledge that postcolonial and non-postcolonial (or in other words, ESL and EFL) varieties of English develop in similar ways and thus also share linguistic outcomes and characteristics. This is especially revelant for the nativization phase, as this is a development which is usually not considered for EFL varieties in traditional models and discussions of World Englishes, as demonstrated in the *innovation* versus *error* debate. The model by Buschfeld and Kautzsch takes recent scholarship on the parallel development of linguistic forms across variety types into account and is thus particularly suitable for describing the Korean English context. Due to the non-reliance on loaded terminology, such as *native* and *non-native* English speakers, its applicability across variety types, and the acknowledgement of parallel developments within those varieties, the model also provides a much needed counterpoint to other frameworks which contribute to the further propagation of the notion of unequal Englishes.

3.4 A note on terminology

As has been shown in the previous sections of this chapter, terminological choices in World Englishes writing should not be taken lightly. This led, for example, to the use of the term *variant* (or *feature*) throughout this monograph to refer to the instantiations of the repertoire of Korean English speakers. Yet other important terminological decisions have to be made when describing variation in more detail and I want to shortly, but explicitly, motivate the choices I made at this point. In the description of variety features, it has been common to use terms such as *omission of X*, *lack of X*, *underuse of X* or *addition of X*, *superfluous X*, *overuse of X*. These terms, also very common in error analysis of SLA studies (see Ellis & Barkhuizen 2005: 51ff), are intentioned as a descriptive tool but, nevertheless, convey a certain judgmental bias in addition to implying a degree of agentivity and deliberateness by the speaker or writer. I, therefore, replace them in my analysis with a new categorization system: *plus-X*, *minus-X*, and *swap-X* (where *X* stands for a specific feature). For instance, considering the use of prepositions in utterances (a) to (c) below, we can label (a) as using a plus-preposition, (b) as minus-preposition, and (c) as swap-preposition.

a. [I] watered on the ground playground <65_m25>[2] → plus-preposition
b. we went ø the golf course <54_m44> → minus-preposition
c. they think it's too dangerous to me <107_f21> → swap-preposition

Arguably, *plus* and *minus* are also not free from connotation, but due to their general use, for example, in mathematics, they bear less of an emotional load than many other terms. They do draw attention to the presence (*plus*) and absence (*minus*) of certain features or parts of speech and are thus based on a comparative approach, that is, the variety under investigation needs to be compared to 'something' (i.e., another variety or other speakers). This comparative approach can definitely be problematic as it is difficult to keep comparisons judgment- and value-free. That is why it is even more important to consider and adopt terminology consciously and deliberately. It is, furthermore, crucial to not only pick the base (or bases) of comparison carefully but also to discuss this choice openly.

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[2] Speakers are referenced by a unique identification number in combination with information on sex (m = male, f = female) and age. The referencing system is explained in more detail in Section 4.3.2.

Table 3.2 summarizes and exemplifies the terminological choices made in this study. In addition to the plus-/minus-/swap-distinction, I will employ *non-conventional use* as a superordinate term. The term *non-conventional* is preferred over *non-standard* due to the prescriptive connotation of *standard*. The advantage of using *non-conventional* is that it enables the recognition of certain forms of language use as a checkpoint for comparative analysis. At the same time, however, not too much importance is ascribed to the respective usage form as a 'golden standard' as flexible divergence from these conventions is pre-programmed into the terminology (correspondingly, L1 English forms can also be non-conventional).

Table 3.2 Overview analytical terminology

Superordinate term	**Subordinate terms**	**Other labels**	**Example**
non-conventional use	*plus-X*	superfluous item, addition, overuse	plus-preposition
	minus-X	omission, lack, underuse	minus-preposition
	swap-X	non-standard, substitution	swap-preposition

The next chapter summarizes the methodology adapted in this study of morpho-syntactic patterns by Korean speakers of English. Besides introducing the *cuppa coffee method* which was used to collect the data for the SPOKE corpus, the demographic characteristics of the participants represented in the corpus are given in detail.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology and participants

This chapter details the methodological framework of the study and introduces the research instrument of choice, that is, the SPOKE corpus. I first restate the research aims and objectives as proposed in the introduction by formulating them as research questions. Next, the status of spoken language research vis-à-vis written language research is assessed both for linguistics in general and World Englishes in particular. This provides the reasoning for basing the study at hand on spoken rather than written language. The audio material for the SPOKE corpus was collected with a specific data collection method termed the 'cuppa coffee' approach, which is outlined in Section 4.3.1. The final result of the data collection process is introduced in the next section by first giving the technical details of the SPOKE corpus, such as length of recordings and transcription method. This is followed by an overview of the corpus design by applying Čermák's (2009) spoken corpus characteristics and an examination of the demographics represented by the speakers who contributed to the SPOKE corpus. Finally, I introduce the three other corpora consulted for the analysis: the (modified) Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SB), the conversational part of the British National Corpus (BNC), and the spoken part of the Contemporary Corpus of American English (COCA).

4.1 Research questions

As the linguistic form of English as spoken by Koreans has not been comprehensively and systematically investigated before, it is necessary to start with a basic and rather general approach to the language use under consideration. The aim of this study is thus to provide a thorough descriptive account of the English spoken by Koreans, which can be summarized under the following research questions:

Q Does the English spoken by Koreans show morpho-syntactic variation? Can the patterns previously described anecdotally be found in a large corpus of English use by Koreans?

If variation on the morpho-syntactic level is detected in the corpus material, the following supplementary research questions apply:

Q-a Can this variation be described systematically?
Q-b What does this mean for the Korean English repertoire?
Q-c How can this variation be explained in terms of substrate language influence, ELF and EFL processes, Angloversals, or other explanatory approaches?

In World Englishes studies, much hinges on the systematicity of the observed linguistic forms. Meierkord (2004: 111), for example, stresses that the distinction between New Englishes and Learner Englishes rests upon this factor. The forms found within a New English are systematically different from L1 English varieties whereas Learner Englishes differ "in an irregular way" and show "unsystematic deviations" (Meierkord 2004: 111). It was thus particularly important for this study to not only highlight morpho-syntactic variants but also to closely examine their emergence in the discourse, to identify contexts of use, and to evaluate their pervasiveness throughout the Korean(ized) English language system.

4.2 Written and spoken language research

As has been noted before, linguistic research is biased towards written language (Linell 2005, Miller 2006), relegating the investigation of speech to the background. This can be related to the development of linguistics as a field of scientific investigation, which started out with investigations of written language, frequently connected to the notion that written language is more 'prestigious' and 'well-formed' (see Linell 2005: 55-56). Even though the oral aspects of language were not completely ignored in linguistic studies, "the dominance of classical models meant that the written code continued to overshadow how the language was conceived, with an underlying written bias" (McCarthy 1998: 17). Thus, the written mode of communication has emerged as "baseline data" (McCarthy 1998: 16) which spoken language is often contrasted with and judged against. In other words, the written texts function as "'correct' benchmarks" (McCarthy 1998: 16), for example, in case of usage questions. It is also possible to feel this written language bias in corpus linguistics, as especially at the emergence of the field, corpus work was often focused on written rather than spoken corpora (Adolphs & Knight 2010: 38). Even though an increasing number of spoken language corpora have become available and more corpora combine written and spoken modes, a certain bias can still be felt. Spoken corpora are, for example, frequently based on scripted speech instead of conversational/freely spoken material and often of relatively small size.

The predominance of written rather than spoken corpora can to a large degree be related to practical reasons: Collecting and processing spoken data is more time-consuming and consequently more expensive. Furthermore, spoken language is "notoriously difficult to work with" (Thompson 2004: 59) as the spoken dimension adds analytical difficulties which are not present in the analysis of written data. The disfluencies of spoken language (e.g., performance errors, slips of the tongue, self-corrections, hesitation markers, etc.) pose challenges to the analysis of data and also complicate, for example, automatic data annotation. Furthermore, written data, in contrast to spoken language, can be collected after it has been produced. Researchers can, therefore, relegate the discussion of informed consent to a point in time after the material has been produced (e.g., ask for permission to use student papers after the end of term). With most spoken material, researchers have to ask for permission to record before the material is actually produced, therefore opening up problems related to the observer's paradox (Labov 1966, 1972), which acknowledges that people change the way they talk because they know that they are being recorded. Surreptitious recording, however, presents a violation of research ethics and investigators of spoken language are, therefore, left with an ethical and methodological dilemma. Nevertheless, spoken language data is vital for the field of linguistics. Not only to provide a complete picture of language but also in order to capture the more dynamic side of language. As Kortmann (2006: 615) notes, spoken language is the "motor of language change". As a consequence, "[m]any constructions begin life confined to spoken language but make their way into writing" (Miller 2006: 679). Being interested in the patterns of morpho-syntax of a not yet well-established variety of English (i.e., English in Korea), it, therefore, makes sense to start with the investigation of spoken language. This should, at a later point in time, be expanded to include the written mode as well.

The investigation of spoken language features in the field of World Englishes oftentimes (but of course not exclusively) rests on the availability of the International Corpus of English (ICE). This ultimately has contributed to a promotion of the study of Inner and Outer Circle varieties, as Expanding Circle Englishes are not represented in the ICE corpus collection. Despite a growing recognition of the need for more studies based on varied spoken material in the field of World Englishes (see, e.g., Lim 2004), researchers frequently favor the written mode. Hopefully, it has become clear that more investigations of spoken language are needed in order to complete our understanding of World Englishes. While Expanding Circle Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca do not remain completely on the fringes of World Englishes research, as they had been for decades, these issues need to be addressed further. As Laitinen (2011 n.p.) urges, "it is essential that new corpora, which match the global spread of the language, are developed". The SPOKE corpus was collected with this call in mind and allows a so-far unique approach to the variation of English in Korea.

4.3 The data collection process and the SPOKE corpus

Participants for the corpus were initially recruited through calls in Internet forums and later on largely by word-of-mouth snowball campaigns. After every recording session, friends, colleagues, or acquaintances of the interviewee which might be interested in participating in the study were mobilized. Most participants were very forthcoming in recommending contacts from their social networks. This worked particularly well in certain contexts, such as members of a church and a discussion club.

Data collection focused on two broad demographic groups: students and early professionals. It has been argued that even though many investigations of English varieties rely on data provided by students, it would be better to concentrate on other demographic groups in order to avoid the capturing of learner data (see, e.g., Mahboob & Lian 2014: 131). Students cannot be seen as "reliable sources" and differ in their language use from "proficient users" (Mahboob & Liang 2014: 131). I agree with this assessment but would like to add that in some contexts speakers might continue to identify as 'learners' far beyond the time spent in school and university. On the other hand, students are much more than simply 'students' and should not be reduced to their profession only. Besides careful participant selection it seems to be equally important to refrain from falling (unwittingly) into a language learning or even a language testing situation when collecting data. This applies to interview settings both with students and non-students. To this end, I developed and employed the cuppa coffee approach described in the following section.

4.3.1 The cuppa coffee approach

The cuppa coffee approach to data collection hinges on a number of aspects. The overarching goal is to frame the artificial interview situation within a naturally conversational setting. In the following, I explain the different steps taken in this direction and explicate the background of the cuppa coffee approach in detail.

As regards the locale of the interviews, I consciously decided on a coffee shop setting (despite the trade off in recording quality) for reasons that become clear later in this section. First of all, however, this was based on my general approach to the interview situation: I wanted to convey the feeling of having a friendly chat with a well-meaning stranger, rather than a formal interview. In line with this, the interviews were only very loosely structured and I did not bring a list of questions. Of course, participants were aware that they were being recorded (as there was a recording device on the table and they signed an informed consent sheet) and, in the end, it cannot be measured how relaxed they were in our conversation. As a (meager) means of compensation for their time, I bought participants a beverage of their choice. I always took care to order a drink for myself as well, in the hopes of further adding to the image of having a chat over coffee or tea (albeit with a stranger). Altogether then, I tried to frame (in Goffman's sense of the term; see Goffman 1974) the interview as a coffee party. As Bateson (1972) has illustrated, "no message can be interpreted except by reference to a superordinate message about how the communication is intended" (Tannen 2005: 32). The metacommunicative frames speakers operate in can, according to Gumperz (1982), be signaled by "paralinguistic and prosodic features of speech" (Tannen 2005: 33). Other cues can be found in the setting and general context of the communicative situation. By inviting my participants to a coffee, I intended to signal that the ensuing interaction can be interpreted as a conversation and not an interview akin to an interrogation. This is supported by the social connotation of the coffee drinking ritual. Coffee has been described as "social beverage" (Hattox 1985) and as "social lubricant" (Grund 1993 n.p.) which is conducive to social interaction. The act of drinking coffee is, therefore, seen as a "stimulating, comforting, […] sociable and talkative" activity (Valeri 1996: 139). The ritualization of tea and coffee drinking (Anderson 2003: 165) further contributes to "creating a favorable atmosphere for communication" (Grund 1993 n.p.). These notions are 'exploited' by the cuppa coffee frame which invites the interviewees to participate in a social activity coined by its social character. Additionally, as already indicated by the reference to the "coffee or tea drinking ritual" in the previous quote, coffee drinking is a ritualized process (Anderson 2003: 165) and thus coupled to specific expectations regarding participant behavior. Therefore, meeting someone for a coffee or tea automatically indexes the notion of conversation, which I took advantage of as a communicative setting.[1] Findings from social psychology further strengthen the cuppa coffee approach, as Williams and Bargh (2008: 606) found that the simple act of holding a cup of coffee (or tea or any other warm beverage for that matter) generates "feelings of interpersonal warmth" such as trust and comfort (also known as 'the coffee manipulation').

Traditionally, the (non-alcoholic) drinking culture in many Asian countries is rather connected to tea than to coffee. Japan, for example, has a well-known and rich history of tea ceremony (tea originally being imported from China; see, e.g., Surak 2013 and Cross 2009 on the tea ceremony in Japan). Nevertheless, coffee has become “the public drink of choice in Japan” (White 2012: 118) and is now “popular as a *social* drink” (White 2012: 119, emphasis added).[2] In China, coffee-drinking is “already showing every sign of a strongly entrenched habitus presence” (Cook & Lee 2008: 88), despite a strong tea-drinking tradition. There, coffee is connected to Western ideology and has a connotation of modernization and “urban sophistication” (Cook & Lee 2008: 84). Importantly, it is characterized as “gregarious”, relationship-, and trust-building (Cook & Lee 2008: 91). Koreans are also familiar with the rituals of coffee drinking and have been described as “regular drinkers” of coffee (Bak 2005: 39). The USDA Foreign Agricultural Service (2015) reports steady growth of coffee industry resources in South Korea and specifies that the coffee consumption per head is five times higher than in the other countries in the Asia-Pacific region. According to the report, coffee is more popular than tea and can be seen as an “established beverage” on the Korean market. As a recent newspaper article in the online version of *The Korea Herald*, titled ‘Korea, Caffeinated’, reports: “the love for coffee in Korea is overwhelming” (Kim 2017 n.p.). The coffee-drinking culture in Korea is additionally associated with global modernity (Bak 2005), which matches the use of English for the conversational interviews in the data collection process as the English language in Korea is strongly connected to notions of modernity and globalization (Park 2009b).

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[1] There are two sides to drinking coffee. It can be an inherently social activity (e.g., when meeting friends) or an inherently solitary activity (e.g., when sitting at one's desk at work). In cafés, both sides can be acted out (see also the following footnote). Going to a café in company with someone else, however, as done in the cuppa coffee approach, activates the default expectation for conversation to occur.

I termed this approach the *cuppa coffee method*, which despite its ostensible simplicity, can have a considerable effect on the collected data. Surveying the methodology of previous spoken data studies shows that frequently the setting and implementation of the interviews evoked a particular teaching or learning frame. Meeting the research participants in seminar rooms or university offices gives the conversations an air of a teaching and learning situation, which should be avoided if the research aims at collecting informal conversational data. Researchers also need to be careful to avoid other actions which evoke a teaching/learning frame. For instance, Hadikin (2014: 41) collected the data for his spoken corpora of English use by Koreans by giving participants a printed questionnaire which they were supposed to complete in writing within approximately 15 minutes. Besides demographic information, the questionnaire also included questions which were “intended to get the informants thinking about some of the topics in advance” (Hadikin 2014: 41). The following prompt is one of the questions that participants had to answer before the interview: “What do you do in your spare time? Please write a short note about any of the following: Favourite TV/ films [,] Any kind of reading you like [,] Favourite music” (Hadikin 2014: 41). Hadikin (2014: 41) legitimates this methodological decision with the increased ease of interviewing, as the completed questionnaires gave him “more information from which to develop conversation”. The only drawback he acknowledges is that some interviewees referred to the written material by, for example, pointing at the questionnaires or referring to them linguistically, which is not the case “in purely spoken interaction” (Hadikin 2014: 41). I argue, however, that this preparation of written notes before a ‘conversation’ strongly resembles a language testing situation and an ‘exam frame’ in general. This was further supported by the interview setting: Participants met the interviewer in rooms associated with institutional contexts such as “a classroom, small interview room or seminar room” (Hadikin 2014: 41). While Hadikin stresses his endeavors to “keep the situation and settings as informal as possible”, he never explains what exactly it was that he did to ensure this air of informality and even notes himself that “the informants may have perceived a more formal situation than was intended” (2014: 41). He ascribes this to a combination of age gap effects, his “role as a researcher”, and “Korea’s hierarchical social structure” (Hadikin 2014: 41). The effect this might have had on the collected data is not discussed further and remains ignored in his analysis of collocations in spoken Korean English.

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[2] The trend in Japan is towards the café as “a place also to be alone” (White 2012: 127). Many Japanese cafés still emphasize the social aspect of coffee drinking but at the same time supply “relief for many from the social intensity of their regular days” by providing a space for “do[ing] nothing, alone” (White 2012: 127). It is, therefore, completely socially acceptable to go to a café alone in order to enjoy some solitude. Nevertheless, this does not exclude the communicative mode during café visits in company of others.

This rather detailed look at the methodology of one of the very few large-scale studies on Korean English does not claim that Hadikin’s data is necessarily problematic for linguistic inquiry but has hopefully shown that this aspect needs to be considered carefully in linguistic investigations. It, furthermore, illustrates the advantages of the cuppa coffee method employed in the collection of the data for the present study. An even more detailed description of the framework and an in-depth discussion of the cuppa coffee approach to data collection can be found in Rüdiger (2016). It needs to be kept in mind that the cuppa coffee method can be attributed with the non-classroom and thus non-learner focused approach to the corpus material. The framing of the interviews as conversations with help of the cuppa coffee method favors the designation of the interlocutors as *speakers* by not casting them in the traditional interviewer and interviewee roles. I will, nevertheless, employ the terms *interview* (for the recorded conversations), *interviewer* (for my own participatory role in the conversations), and *interviewee* or *participant* (for the Korean individuals) in this text in order to conform to established terminology. I want to stress again at this point that I particularly avoided evoking this hierarchical relationship during the conversations themselves and I only resort to this way of labeling here due its ease of access by the prospective readers of the monograph.

4.3.2 Corpus overview and description

As mentioned in the previous section, I decided to use an unstructured approach in the interviews. A list of questions (maybe even visible on the table), would have subtracted from the informal atmosphere I wanted to convey. I also encouraged the participants to fall into a 'narrative mood' and this was strongly supported by the cuppa coffee method as coffee with friends commonly invites the telling of stories. I was, furthermore, forthcoming in telling stories myself, as I wanted to demonstrate the normality and informality of the situation. The interview participants frequently asked questions about my own experiences, thoughts, etc., which indicates that I succeeded in staging a quite natural conversation. It needs to be kept in mind, however, as Schilling (2013: 126) succinctly states, "that no matter how much we strive to mitigate the effects of the research situation, we can never eliminate observer effects". Nevertheless, depending on the research goals and aims, mitigating observer effects is a worthwhile endeavor in linguistic research and the cuppa coffee method is one expedient possibility.

The topics discussed in the interviews vary greatly due to the free approach to data collection. Usually, I followed the interests of the interviewee and tried to find topics the participants were passionate about. Nevertheless, I had a set of questions in mind that I asked to almost all participants if possible within the natural flow of the conversation. I always inquired into past experiences (what did you do last weekend/in your last vacation/last summer, etc.), future actions (what will you do next weekend/in your next vacation/after we finish our coffee), and traumatic experiences (have you ever had an accident/had to go to the hospital). Very fruitful conversation topics in general were travel experiences, not only enquiring where the participants have traveled but what their best and worst experiences were when on the road. Other topics (not exhaustive) included hobbies, food, Korean customs, social problems (e.g., beggars in Korea, the welfare system), politics, Korean history, dreams for the future, work experiences and job hunting, dating in Korea (esp. the popularity of blind dates), hometown and family, as well as pets. Some participants, unprompted, wanted to talk about English learning experiences, English teaching and testing, English Fever, and the state of the Korean school system.

The collected audio data amounts to 60 hours of material and was recorded between February and April 2014 in Seoul. Transcription followed an orthographic approach and disregarded processes deemed irrelevant for the study at hand: overlap (as I was not interested in turn taking) and pronunciation (as the focus was on morpho-syntax). I also disregarded intonation, except in cases of rising intonation used for questions, which was indicated with a '?' (see also the Appendix for a summary of the full transcription conventions employed). The transcription process itself was executed in two rounds. The first round of transcription resulted in the base transcripts and was produced between May 2014 and June 2015. The second round consisted of checking all transcripts (i.e., re-listening to the interviews with simultaneous reading of the transcripts, correcting errors as going along) and was performed in the months of July and August 2015. The second round of transcription was, therefore, used to ensure the final quality of the transcripts. Even though all speech produced during the interviews was transcribed (i.e., the interviewee's as well as my own speech as the interviewer), only the utterances by the Korean participants were used for the analysis in this study. The interviewer's speech was transcribed as well in order to allow investigating whether utterances by the participants were just repetitions of the interviewer's speech. Additionally, it allowed checking whether participants changed their morpho-syntactic forms modeled on the interviewer's input. In this monograph, all examples from the SPOKE corpus stem from the Korean speakers if not otherwise indicated. When it was necessary to include the speech of the interviewer (e.g., to provide more context in certain cases), the speech of the Korean informant(s) is preceded by 'I' and the speech of the interviewer is preceded by 'S'. At the end of each example, the Korean speaker is referenced by a unique identifier which not only gives the participant number but also indicates sex and age of the speaker. For example, <3_f29> refers to speaker 3, a 29-year-old woman.

Even though the interviews were devised as one-on-one speech events, some participants expressed the wish to invite another person (usually a close friend or partner) to join the conversation. In those cases, the interview was conducted among three people (i.e., the interviewer and two participants) but never more than that. The same principles of the cuppa coffee data collection approach as presented above applied, however, and the data collected thus should not be considered less conversational than those collected in one-on-one situations (as it is quite natural for conversations to include more than two interlocutors). Of the 115 speakers represented in the SPOKE corpus, 95 participated in dyadic interviews and 20 in triadic conversational settings. In other words, 10 interview settings included two interviewees instead of just one. The status of the interview as either dyadic or triadic is also reflected in the identifier given after each example (see also the paragraph above): If the interview was triadic, this is indicated by the letter 'j' (for joint) after the participant number. The absence of the letter 'j' indicates that the conversation was dyadic. For example, <2j_m29> indicates that the recording involved two Korean speakers and the interviewer (i.e., was triadic in nature).

On average, each conversation lasted 32 minutes. In the case of dyadic interviews, the shortest interview took a little less than 20 minutes and the longest conversation close to 50. The triadic interviews in general were longer than the dyadic ones, the shortest lasting around 34 minutes and the longest taking one hour. The final corpus of spoken Korean English consists of approximately 300,000 words (plus an additional 250,000 words by the interviewer).

Čermák (2009) provides a general discussion of spoken corpus design and defines a list of spoken corpus characteristics. Originally set up to allow the compilation of corpora representative of spoken language itself, the parameters Čermák (2009: 116) integrates in his framework follow a binary distribution: prototypical and non-prototypical spoken language values. In Čermák's point of view, the more prototypical spoken language features are found in the corpus make-up, the more representative is the corpus for the spoken mode of communication. Accordingly, researchers should make sure to capture the prototypical features in the compilation of a spoken language corpus by using adequate corpus design. Even though some of the generalizations can be seen as problematic (e.g., it is unclear why one-to-one communication should be more 'typical' of spoken language than one-to-many communication), his design features are reproduced here as they provide an excellent structure to summarize and highlight the corpus design of the SPOKE corpus. Table 4.1 lists the parameters as named by Čermák (2009: 117). The last column gives the respective value for the SPOKE corpus.

As can be seen, the cuppa coffee method was essential in influencing at least three of the parameters relevant for spoken corpus design, that is, the interpersonal relationship between conversational partners (in terms of equality), formality, and casualness.

All data was collected in the Seoul Capital Area. This urban focus was not chosen coincidentally. After all, 10 million of Korea's total population of 51 million live in Seoul (The World Factbook – Central Intelligence Agency 2016). Altogether, 85% of Korea's population is concentrated in seven major cities (i.e., Seoul, Busan, Incheon, Gwangju, Daegu, Daejon, and Ulsan) (Song 2012: 3). Therefore, it seems feasible to focus initial investigations like this one on the urban areas, in line with Mufwene's assertion that "cities should be the focus of any serious empirical study" (2010: 35). Subsequent research on English use in Korea might decide to focus on rural areas of Korea in order to complete the description of Korean English use as described in this monograph. With roughly one fifth of the population concentrated in Seoul, however, this was the most likely and fruitful starting point for the research project at hand. Furthermore, it has been suggested that Korean English cannot be seen as one uniform national variety of English but that the linguistic situation is rather multifaceted and better described in the plural as *Korean Englishes* (Lee & Jenks 2017). The study at hand thus can be seen as depicting one facet of the contact situation, that is, the use of English by young educated Koreans residing in Seoul. Future studies might (and should) choose to consider yet other facets, such as a more rural context as well as other demographic groups.

Table 4.1 Characteristics of spoken corpus design and application to the SPOKE corpus (adapted from Čermák 2009: 117)

	Prototypical spoken language value	**Non-prototypical spoken language value**	**SPOKE corpus value**
origin of text	spoken (i.e., original)	read (but written)	spoken
	dialogue (i.e., original, typical)	monologue	dialogue
interpersonal, sociological relationship of conversational partners, and physical situation	proximity of conversational partners (friends, family)	no proximity	usually no proximity
	equality of partners	inequality	unequal at outset (researcher vs. participant), but more equal through *cuppa coffee method*
	private (non-public)	public	private
	informal	formal	in between at outset, but more informal through *cuppa coffee method*
	interactive	unidirectional	interactive
	present	distant (e.g., phone)	present
	non-multiple (one-to-one)	multiple (one-to-many)	non-multiple (dyadic or triadic)
topic/situation approach	spontaneous (unscripted)	prepared (beforehand, more or less scripted)	spontaneous (i.e., unscripted; but planned beforehand)
	casual (informal)	regular/official	in between at outset, but more casual through *cuppa coffee method*
awareness of the recording	not aware	aware	aware

4.3.3 The participants

Altogether, 115 Korean speakers contributed to SPOKE and the following list summarizes their general demographic characteristics:

- **sex**: 64 women, 51 men
- **age**: on average 27 years of age, ranging from 18–44
- **profession**: 65 students, 42 working, four both working and studying, four unemployed (for details see next section)
- **nationality**: Korean (all participants)
- **mother tongue**: Korean (all participants)
- **other information**: self-evaluated English proficiency, length of studying English, experiences abroad (see sections below)

Whereas sex and age are straightforward demographic information, I want to address the rest of the participant characteristics in more detail.

Profession

A variety of professions (for the working participants) and majors (in case of the students) are represented in the corpus. As has been argued previously, it is important in variational linguistics to avoid an over-reliance on student texts and speech (Mahboob & Liang 2014: 131). A mixture of students and early professionals was recruited to participate in the recordings for the SPOKE corpus (mainly aged between 20 and 30), as they are the speakers who will continue to use English throughout their life. In other words, the surveyed population is a sample of the Korean English speakers of tomorrow. Regarding the education level of the speakers, as Schneider (2011: 153) points out in his observations on Chinese English,

Table 4.2 English and non-English related professions of the SPOKE corpus speakers

	Profession	**Σ**
English-related professions	English teacher in school, private institution, or university, teaching assistant	5
	interpreter/translator	3
	cabin crew	3
	profession otherwise related to English (international relations, scientist)	4
non-English-related professions	office worker, employee (engineering, IT), marketer, administrator	19
	health-related fields (doctor, nurse, psycho-counselor)	3
	police officer	2
	graphic designer, lawyer, social worker	1 (each)

"[s]tudying the performance of such highly educated and basically fluent speakers is of interest because features which surface even in their speech can be taken to be strongly persistent and deeply rooted". This demographic group was, therefore, the first choice when it came to selecting participants for the study at hand.

The professions of the working participants (n = 42) can be categorized into fields of work which directly relate to the English language (English teachers at schools or private institutions, interpreters/translators, etc.) or necessitate a high use of English (cabin crew members, international relations, etc.) and work which cannot be directly connected to English use (police officers, nurses, graphic designers, etc.). Of course, just because a profession is not generally connected to English does not mean that people who work as such do not have possibilities to speak English on the job, for example, when talking to foreign clients or reading material from other companies. Nevertheless, this crude distinction can help us to further describe the speakers represented in the SPOKE corpus.

Altogether, 15 speakers can be identified as working in a profession directly related to English and 27 working in fields not directly connected to English or English use.

The students (n = 65) sampled in the SPOKE corpus are enrolled in a variety of majors, summarized in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 University majors of the SPOKE corpus speakers

Field	Major	Σ
natural sciences	computer engineering, computer science, informatics	5
	material science	3
	electronics, electronic engineering	3
	mechanical engineering	3
	food/nutrition science	2
humanities	business/economics/finance	9
	English language & literature	8
	English education	7
	German language & literature	6
	youth education/child studies	5
	law	4
	international studies	2
	public administration, architecture design, Chinese, history, sociology	1 each
medicine	nursing	2
	psychology	1

Altogether, 15 students were enrolled in programs directly related to the English language: eight in English language and literature and seven in English education. It is also likely that the students in international studies (n = 2) had extensive contact with English at university. In how far other subjects relied on teaching and/or readings in English is unknown.

Four participants indicated that they were working and studying at the same time: two worked as private English instructors and simultaneously studied in TESOL programs (*Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages*), one taught music (guitar) at university and studied English education, and one worked as administrative staff at university while studying public relations. Four participants were unemployed at the time of recording (one housewife, three on the job hunt).

English proficiency and experiences abroad

Self-evaluation of language proficiency is limited in its reliability (see MacIntyre et al. 1997 and Ross 1998 for a discussion of self-evaluation in foreign language learning contexts). More accurate measures are, for example, standardized linguistic proficiency tests (not to be confused with English tests such as TOEFL or TOEIC). Due to operational restraints of the research at hand no proficiency tests of English could be conducted. Participants were asked instead to self-evaluate their proficiency on a scale with the options 'beginner', 'intermediate', 'advanced', 'near-native', and 'native/bilingual'. In view of the inaccuracies of such self-evaluation, the results should be approached with caution but, nevertheless, are reported here to complete the portrayal of the participants. The respondents' answers are summarized in Figure 4.1.

Most of the participants judged their own English proficiency to be at an intermediate (n = 62) or advanced (n = 34) level. Despite the inaccuracies commonly associated with self-evaluated language proficiency levels, it can be asserted that

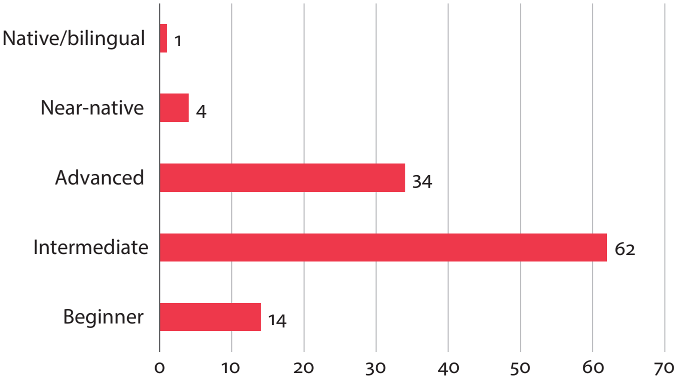

Figure 4.1 Self-evaluated English proficiency of the SPOKE corpus speakers

all participants were proficient enough to hold a conversation in English, as they did so in the recordings with the researcher. Furthermore, I would like to suggest that, from my own perspective as interlocutor, there was a tendency to rather under-report than exaggerate English proficiency.

To corroborate the linguistic background of the speakers, the participants were prompted with a participant information and informed consent sheet to give other information related to their English experiences and English use, such as length of English study and experiences abroad. The information regarding length of English study in years is summarized in Figure 4.2 (one participant indicated that he had studied English for "more than 10 years" and could thus not be represented in the graph).

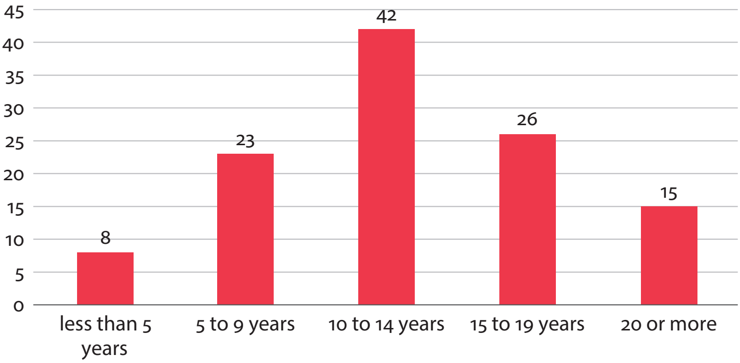

Figure 4.2 Length of English study by the SPOKE corpus speakers in years

As can be seen, a majority of participants had been studying English for more than ten years (n = 83), which means that most of the participants had been in contact with the language for an extensive period of time (in addition to the other contact possibilities with English described in Chapter 2.1 on the presence of English in Korean society).

Stay abroad experiences varied considerably in length and countries visited and are thus harder to summarize. 28 participants had never been abroad to an English speaking country and three participants did not indicate the length of their period abroad. Table 4.4 gives the length of stay abroad in English-speaking countries as indicated by the participants.

The countries visited by the participants contributing to the SPOKE corpus are summarized in the table below (Table 4.5). As some participants visited several countries, the numbers add up to more than the total number of participants.

The most visited country by far is the United States of America which was a popular destination not only for vacations but also study abroad, internships, or work (thus often entailing longer stays). This corresponds to the prevailing

Table 4.4 Length of stay abroad in English-speaking countries by SPOKE corpus speakers

Length of stay abroad	Σ
< 1 month	6
= 1 month	4
> 1 up to 6 months	27
> 6 months up to 1 year	23
> 1 year up to 2 years	13
> 2 years up to 4 years	8
> 4 years up to 6 years	2
> 6 years	1

Table 4.5 Countries visited during stays abroad by the SPOKE corpus speakers

Country	Σ
U.S.A.	41
UK	17
Australia	15
Canada	12
New Zealand	8
the Philippines	5
Singapore	3
Ireland	2
Malaysia	2
Malta	2
India	1
Other	10

influence of American culture in Korean society (see Park & Lo 2012) and, also, the preeminence of American English as the input variety (cf. the history of English in Korea as described in Chapter 2.1.1). The category ‘Other’ subsumes traditionally non-English speaking countries. As participants reported using English as the main language for communication in those contexts as well, I decided to include these as data points instead of dismissing them as irrelevant. The countries mentioned in this category include: Qatar, France (twice), Vietnam, the Netherlands, Germany, Egypt, Belgium, Myanmar, and Europe (exact country unspecified).

Even though South Korea is often described as a culturally, ethnically, and linguistically homogeneous country (see, e.g., Cotton 1996; Park 2010b; Kim & Kim 2012; Brown & Koo 2015), the Korean society is characterized by an astonishing amount of geographical mobility as evidenced by the existence of a large-sized Korean diaspora. Park and Lo (2012: 148), for instance, estimate the size of the Korean diaspora worldwide at seven million people, which needs to be related to the population number of South Korea at circa 50 million inhabitants to be fully appreciated in its magnitude. The rising global Korean diaspora consequently leads to growing waves of return migration. Additionally, Koreans continue to go on study and work abroad leaves "in record numbers" (Park & Lo 2012: 148). The SPOKE corpus demographics reflect this geographical mobility in the younger stratum of Korean society as the majority of the participants had either short or long term experiences abroad.

4.4 Other corpora consulted and analytical tools used

Three other corpora were consulted in the analysis: the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SB corpus), the British National Corpus (BNC), and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). Only selected parts of the SB corpus and the BNC were used, however, in order to increase comparability. The COCA corpus was mainly used to provide additional references or examples. The three corpora and how they were modified for the analytical purposes of this study are detailed in the following sections.

The Santa Barbara Corpus of American English

The Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (Du Bois et al. 2000–2005) is an important tool of comparison in the analysis as the input variety in South Korea is clearly American English due to historical and political reasons (see Chapter 2.1 on English in Korea). The SB corpus originally consists of recordings of 213 speakers of American English from diverse professional backgrounds and age ranges engaged in various communicative settings. The orthographic transcription amounts to circa 249,000 words. For the purpose of this study, the SB corpus files were downloaded and modified slightly in order to make them more comparable to the SPOKE corpus. Speech data which was not conversational in nature was excluded (e.g., task-related discussions, university, school, or public lectures, sermons, city meetings, presentations, scripted tours, medical interactions, storytelling events, and business conversations). The remaining corpus of approximately 170,000 words was POS-tagged with the *CLAWS* tagger, which was also used for tagging the SPOKE corpus. For more information on the corpus design of the SB corpus see Chafe et al. (1991).

The British National Corpus

The British National Corpus is a general purpose corpus incorporating both spoken and written language from a wide range of genres and settings. The corpus was collected in the 1990s[3] and amounts in total to circa 100 million words. The BNC is part of speech tagged with CLAWS4 (the SPOKE and the modified SB corpus were tagged with the more detailed CLAWS7 tagset) and was accessed for this study via the Brigham Young University (BYU) web interface (at <http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/>). For more information on the corpus design of the BNC see Hoffmann et al. (2008).

The decision to include a corpus based on British English speech in the analysis, particularly when it comes to the assessment of overall frequencies of certain lexical or grammatical items, was made in order to account for possible British English influences on the English by Korean speakers. The focus in the analysis (from a comparative aspect) is, however, on American English as this is the uncontested input variety in South Korea. When using the BNC in this study, only the conversational part of the corpus (circa 4 million words) is considered.

The Corpus of Contemporary American English

The Corpus of Contemporary American English is a monitor corpus which, at the time of writing, comprised circa 520 million words from a range of genres and settings. COCA contains material from the 1990s onwards and is constantly growing. No conversational material as such is represented in COCA, but the spoken part of the corpus consists of material from TV and radio programs. As this does not really match the data from the SPOKE corpus, comprised of informal and casual conversations, the spoken part of COCA was thus mainly used for additional information on usage patterns, due to the up-to-date nature of the corpus but does not play a major role in the analysis. COCA was accessed via the Brigham Young University (BYU) web interface (at <http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>). For more information on the corpus design of COCA see Davies (2009).

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[3] The BNC is a bit dated for comparison with the SPOKE corpus, which was collected more than twenty years later. As the conversational part of the BNC was only used to provide frequencies of highly frequent lexical and grammatical items, this problem is not further considered in this study. The BNC2014, a modern installment of the BNC corpus, was unfortunately not available at the time this research was conducted.

Analytical tools

The SPOKE corpus and the modified SB corpus were, as previously mentioned, tagged with the C7 tagset of the CLAWS tagger (UCREL CLAWS7 Tagset n.d.). Manual tagging of the selected morpho-syntactic patterns was undertaken via an individualized XML-tagging scheme. The analysis of the SPOKE corpus and the modified SB corpus files was then performed via the AntConc concordance software (Anthony 2014).

Analytical procedure

The analytical procedure adopted for the investigation of each morpho-syntactic area is explained in detail in the respective empirical section. In general, either a manual, automatic, or a combination of manual and automatic tagging and annotating procedures led to the identification of all relevant instances of the particular pattern under investigation. This is usually compared to all other realizations (also identified either manually, automatically, or via a combination of both methods) of the same feature to determine its pervasiveness in the Korean English repertoire. Usage numbers are reported in raw frequencies. In addition, normalized frequencies are given per 1,000 words. Where possible, usage ratios, that is, rates of non-conventional uses per conventional uses, are given in percentages. All percentages are rounded to full digits (which leads in very few cases to individual table cells not adding up to exactly 100) and normalized frequencies are rounded to one decimal place. Following Kilgarriff's (2005: 272) argument that "[l]anguage is non-random and hence, when we look at linguistic phenomena in corpora, the null hypothesis will never be true", I refrain from significance testing in this study.

4.5 Selection of morpho-syntactic patterns for investigation

Since it is impossible to investigate all possible morpho-syntactic patterns within one study, it was necessary to make a selection. The criteria for selection were as follows: a) observations which spontaneously emerged during transcription (e.g., reduced plural redundancy), b) Korean English patterns previously reported in the literature (e.g., use of prepositions), and c) patterns previously reported in the WE literature in general. Of course, some of the selected patterns emerged from more than one of the selection criteria. I claim no completeness of investigated patterns and assume that further fruitful research will be undertaken in the future. Regarding selection criterion b), two different cases exist: I checked patterns reported for written Korean English to see whether they also exist in the spoken

English variety and patterns (in either written or spoken English) which were previously reported anecdotally without corpus quantification or other corroboration by data. In those cases, I mention the literature which led to the selection of the respective pattern in the introduction of the chapter.

In the following, the analysis is structured according to word classes. I begin with an analysis of plural marking on the noun, in particular when related to questions of plural redundancy. This is followed by an investigation of the use of pronouns. Subsequently, article and preposition use by Korean speakers of English are examined in detail. The empirical section closes with an analysis of the use of verbs and a general discussion relating the results from the individual studies to the Korean English repertoire in general.

CHAPTER 5

Morpho-syntactic patterns of spoken English in Korea

This chapter presents a series of empirical investigations which analyze different aspects of the Korean English morpho-syntactic system. In the first part of this chapter, the focus is on the noun, more specifically on aspects relatable to pluralization. This is followed by analyses of pronoun, article, preposition, and verb use.

5.1 Nouns

I start out with a short overview of what might be a shibboleth of non-conventional language use: non-count nouns and their use as countable grammatical units. This rather cursory examination is included here, as reports of countable uses of non-count nouns are extremely pervasive in the linguistic literature. At the center of this chapter, however, is the analysis of minus-plural marking[1] on nouns in general. Minus-plural marking can frequently be related to a process of redundancy reduction and the analysis considers a range of environments where plural marking on the noun is indeed redundant, either lexically (i.e., when preceded by quantifiers and numerals) or via information given in the context or through general knowledge. The discussion summarizes the results and relates them to a number of insights from World Englishes studies in general.

5.1.1 Countability – Non-count nouns in English and in Korean

Countability in English

Non-count nouns (also referred to as *mass nouns*) are one of the essential noun subclasses in English (besides count and proper nouns) as categorized by Quirk et al. (1985: 245) and are characterized as such because they do not take plural marking.

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[1] As explained in Section 3.4, I am using the prefix *minus-* as part of the plus-/minus-/swap-framework to designate the non-conventional non-use of certain morphemes or lexical/grammatical items.

Non-count nouns "denot[e] an undifferentiated mass or continuum" (Quirk et al. 1985: 246), and the concept of plurality is thus not applicable to them. Typical examples of non-count nouns in English include *information*, *money*, *work*, and *furniture* (for more instances of non-count nouns see Quirk et al. 1985: 251–252).

Countability in Korean

It has been suggested that, due to the nature of Korean as a classifier language, "the Mass/Count distinction […] is not relevant in Korean" (Kwon & Zribi-Hertz 2004: 136). The proposal that all nouns in Korean are of mass denotation as discussed by some scholars, however, has been met with strong criticism (see Kwon & Zribi-Hertz 2004: 155). Kang (1994: 2), for example, argues that even though many quantifiers are used with nouns "irrespective of semantic countability", a number of syntactic characteristics (e.g., the distribution of particular particles and determiners, the non-permissibility of the plural marker -들 (*-deul*) with certain nouns; see Kang 1994: 3) does attest to a mass – count noun distinction in Korean. He concedes, however, that this distinction might be less strong than in English and that certain Korean nouns, such as 정보 (*jeong-bo*, 'information') and 충고 (*chung-go*, 'advice'), whose English counterparts are non-count, are definitely countable in Korean (Kang 1994: 4). Kwon and Zribi-Hertz (2004: 152, emphasis in the original) find that the "Korean [plural marker] *deul* may interestingly combine with a noun which denotes a mass of continuous matter such as SAND, OIL, or MONEY"[2] and have attested these usages in the *Korean Advanced Institute of Science and Technology* (KAIST) corpus, a large general purpose corpus of various genres in Korean.

The use of non-count nouns in the SPOKE corpus

The use of non-count nouns as countable is reported in various studies of English varieties and has come to be perceived as a shibboleth of non-conventional English use. Wee and Ansaldo (2004: 63), for example, report a tendency for using non-count nouns as count nouns in Colloquial Singaporean English, and Seidlhofer (2011: 126) sees the pluralization of non-count nouns in ELF as one example of "the exploitation of the morphosyntactic potential inherent in the code". Dröschel (2011: 191) finds only six different non-count nouns (i.e., *advice*, *damage*, *feedback*, *information*/*info*, *input*, and *trouble*) used as count nouns more often than once (i.e., excluding single occurrences) in her corpus of Swiss ELF (167,000 words; written and spoken). The overall ratio of non-count to count use of these lexical items lies at 59% non-count to 41% count, but the raw frequencies of these items are very low in general (e.g., three occurrences of *damage*, five occurrences of *trouble*). According to Dröschel (2011: 198), the reclassifications of non-count nouns as count nouns by the participants in her study can be attributed to substrate language influences.

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[2] The Korean nouns are 모래 (*mo-rae*, 'sand'), 기름 (*gi-reum*, 'oil'), and 돈 (*don*, 'money') respectively.

Forty non-count nouns were checked in the SPOKE corpus. The list of nouns was compiled by consulting Quirk et al. (1985: 252), which was complemented with nouns from previous research (e.g., Dröschel 2011). The following table (Table 5.1) reports the results for all items occurring at least ten times.[3] Lexical items identical in form with non-count nouns and their pluralized form (e.g., *to work*, *she works*) were of course excluded from the analysis. Items were categorized as count noun use when they were either pluralized, as in (1), or preceded by *a*/*an*/*one* ,[4] as in (2). The search syntax allowed for an item to be inserted between *a*/*an*/*one* and the noun investigated. For example, the search term "a * work" returned the result given in (3): *a little work*.

Table 5.1 Non-count nouns in SPOKE

	Non-count use	**Count use**	**Σ**
money	246 (97%)	8 (3%)	254
work	152 (87%)	23 (13%)	175
business	99 (99%)	1 (1%)	100
stuff	81 (91%)	8 (9%)	89
fun	83 (99%)	1 (1%)	84
education	80 (97%)	2 (3%)	82
water	61 (94%)	4 (6%)	65

(*continued*)

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[3] The lexical items which occurred less than ten times were (first number in brackets gives use as non-count noun, second number as count noun): *cash* (7/0), *equipment* (4/2), *advice* (3/3), *luck* (5/0), *sunshine* (4/0), *hospitality* (3/0), *scenery* (2/1), *damage* (2/1), *furniture* (2/0), *abuse* (2/0), *moonlight* (2/0), *publicity* (2/0), *evidence* (1/0), *anger* (1/0), *chaos* (1/0), *photography* (1/0), *resistance* (1/0), *feedback* (1/0), *applause* (0/0), *chess* (0/0), *harm* (0/0), *leisure* (0/0), *violence* (0/0), *input* (0/0).

[4] No occurrences of *one* plus non-count noun can be found in the SPOKE corpus.

Table 5.1 (*continued*)

	Non-count use	**Count use**	**Σ**
music	60 (94%)	4 (6%)	64
research	60 (97%)	2 (3%)	62
news	24 (100%)	0	24
information	20 (87%)	3 (13%)	23
homework	17 (85%)	3 (15%)	20
traffic	12 (100%)	0	12
safety	12 (100%)	0	12
trouble	12 (100%)	0	12
behavior	9 (82%)	2 (18%)	11
Σ	**1,028** **(94%)**	**61** **(6%)**	**1,089**

(1) I pour some waters on the floor <8_m37>

(2) [if] she really needs you know small amount of money then I gave him or her a money but and but usually I don't give them <14_f28>

(3) I'm doing a little work (.) on on Internet <101_f23>

Considering all non-count nouns investigated (i.e., including those occurring less than ten times, listed in Footnote 3), 1,072 cases of non-count nouns used as non-count (94%) and 68 cases of non-count nouns used as count nouns (6%) were identified. The countable uses can be further divided in the use of the plural morpheme -*s* in 45 occurrences and 23 cases of an indefinite article preceding the noun (in either first or second position to the left). Only four of the investigated non-count nouns in Table 5.1 show countable usage rates above ten percent: *work* (13%), *information* (13%), *homework* (15%), and *behavior* (18%). It is important to keep in mind, however, that the overall frequencies for *information*, *homework*, and *behavior* are still rather low (*behavior*, e.g., occurs only 11 times altogether). Thus the percentages should only be interpreted as very rough tendencies and not as a reliable measurement. The only exception is the noun *work*, which occurs

152 times in a conventional non-count use and 23 times as a countable unit. The noun *work* preceded by an indefinite article was already presented in example (3) above, but it can also be found in combination with the plural morpheme *-s* as in (4) and (5).

(4) I was not there I I maybe I was in another classroom to do some other works <21_f31>

(5) I'm I'm doing some volunteer works for some non-profit organizations <29_f25>

Altogether, however, the numbers show that using non-count nouns as countable is a rare phenomenon in the SPOKE corpus. This confirms Mollin's results, which indicate that, in spoken English by Europeans (Euro-English), countable uses of non-count nouns are very low in frequency (only 3% of all non-count nouns in her corpus were used as countable) and largely of idiosyncratic nature (Mollin 2006: 126). Due to the amount of attention that countable uses of non-count nouns have received, despite their low frequencies in many cases, it seems that these uses are particularly salient and marked and thus stand out in linguistic analysis. The overview of the nouns presented here has shown that countable uses of non-count nouns are not pervasive in the Korean English repertoire.

5.1.2 Minus-plural marking

The second morpho-syntactic feature regarding plurality and nouns in spoken Korean English investigated in this study is the use of minus-plural marking on nouns. This often leads to a reduction of plural redundancy and has been termed as such in the research literature. The "absence of plural marking after measure nouns" has been attested in *The Handbook of Varieties of English* for L1, pidgin, and creole varieties worldwide (Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi 2004: 1158) and even occupies position five in the ranking of the most pervasive morpho-syntactic patterns (attested in 37 of 46 investigated varieties). It has, however, not been attested for L2 varieties in the handbook. The reduction of plural redundancy on the noun in the English spoken by Koreans was also qualitatively corroborated in a pilot corpus consisting of six hours of English language interviews with Korean pop stars and university students and data from video blogs (Rüdiger 2014).

5.1.2.1 *Plural marking in English and in Korean*

Plural marking in English. Plural marking in English is very straightforward. Regular count nouns are inflected for the plural by adding the plural morpheme *-s* (which has three different phonetic realizations depending on the final sound of the respective noun; see Quirk et al. 1985: 304). Irregular plural marking can occur via an irregular plural morpheme (e.g., *child* → *children*), stem vowel change (e.g., *foot* → *feet*; *mouse* → *mice*), or by adding a zero-plural morpheme (e.g., *deer* → *deer*). Both regular and irregular plural marking were considered in the following analysis of pluralization in the SPOKE corpus. Nouns which form the plural by a zero-plural morpheme process had to be excluded from the analysis, however, as the presence or absence of zero-plural morphemes is not attestable by examining the noun itself.

Plural marking in Korean. Korean, as an agglutinating language has a plural marker at its disposal which, at first glance, seems similar to the English plural marker. Like the (regular) English plural marker -*s*, the Korean plural marker (PL) -들 (-*deul*)[5] is a grammatical suffix which attaches to the noun:

(6) 책
chaek
book

(7) 책들
chaek-**deul**
book-PL
books

Despite the similarity in form (i.e., both are suffixes), the use of the plural marker is drastically different between English and Korean. Whereas the English plural marker is largely obligatory in all plural contexts, the Korean plural marker is not only optional but in some cases also non-permissible. As Yeon and Brown (2011: 42) note, Korean "does not typically mark number". This can result in utterances where it is "unclear […] whether the speaker is talking about a single item or plural items" (Yeon & Brown 2011: 42), as demonstrated in the following example.

(8) 책이 있어요.
chae-gi i-sseo-yo.
book-SBJ be-present tense informal polite verb ending
I've got a book./I've got (some) books.
(example and translation adapted from Yeon & Brown 2011: 43)

In (8), no explicit plural marking is expressed on the noun 책 (*chaek*, 'book') (or elsewhere in the sentence for that matter). Without information from the linguistic or extralinguistic context, the utterance can, therefore, be interpreted to refer to the possession of a single book or several books.

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[5] Note that there are isolated calls to categorize -들 (-*deul*) not as a plural marker but as particle with classifier function (e.g., Park 2008). This would entail that Korean lacks a concrete plural morpheme (see Park 2008: 294). I will follow the majority of literature, however, which specifies -들 (-*deul*) as (largely) optional plural marker in Korean.

In many cases, number can be retrieved from the context. In other cases, it might simply be irrelevant and thus irretrievable if not explicitly mentioned. In general, the plural marker is used for special emphasis or "when it is necessary to explicitly distinguish plural from singular" (Kim 1995: 367). Adding the plural morpheme to the noun 'book', before the subject marker (SBJ), however, results in a sentence where the plurality of 'books' is asserted and consequently not interpretable with singular meaning.

(9) 책들이 있어요.
chaek-**tteu-r**i i-sseo-yo.
book-PL-SBJ be-present tense informal polite verb ending
I've got (some) books.
(example and translation adapted from Yeon & Brown 2011: 43)

In some cases, the non-use of the plural marker is optional, and in others non-use is obligatory. In general, non-use is always the favored option "when it is obvious from the context that you are talking about plural items (or when the fact that an item is plural or not is of no significance)" (Yeon & Brown 2011: 121). As using a numeral "makes it obvious that what you are talking about is plural (or singular)" (Yeon & Brown 2011: 44) this context disfavors the use of the plural marker -들 (*-deul*) in Korean. When the noun is a non-human referent, the use of the plural marker after numerals is even out of the question. Thus, example (10) would be rejected by Koreans as ungrammatical, clearly favoring the version, presented in (11), without the plural marker.

(10) *책들이 세 권
*chaek-**tteu-r**i se gwon
book-PL-SBJ three book-counter[6]
있어요.
i-sseo-yo.
be-present tense informal polite verb ending
I've got three books.

(11) 책이 세 권 있어요.
chae-gi se gwon i-sseo-yo.
book-SBJ three book-counter be-present tense informal polite verb ending
I've got three books.

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[6] When counting with numerals, the numbers occur together with 'counters' which "specify the kind of item being counted" (Yeon & Brown 2011: 83).

With human referents, the use of the plural marker after numerals is again completely optional and can be either used or omitted. Some constraints against the optionality of -들 (*-deul*) are in operation, however: Demonstratives before the noun necessitate the use of the plural marker and there is a tendency to interpret nouns without plural marking as singular when there is no other indication for plurality (Yeon & Brown 2011: 122). In cases where -들 (*-deul*) attachment is optional, Kiaer finds that with the use of the plural marker "the speaker aims to express […] his/her commitment to explicitly convey the plurality of the argument" (2010: 270).

5.1.2.2 *The use of plural marking on nouns in the SPOKE corpus – Reduced plural redundancy*

The concept of reduced plural redundancy is based on the fact that English plural marking on the noun is frequently redundant. In the phrases 'two cars' or 'many friends' both plural morphemes are, strictly speaking, redundant, as the lexemes 'two' and 'many' already indicate that the noun in the noun phrase has a plural meaning. Saying that plural redundancy is reduced should not be taken to indicate that the investigated speech is in any way 'lacking' something. On the contrary, it could be argued that by using a minus-plural morpheme *-s* resulting in 'two car' and 'many friend', the language is put to more efficient and economic use. In the end, the feature of minus-plural marking after numerals, quantifiers, and in other contexts is simply to be described and not to be evaluated in this study.

The following words or phrases were selected as possibly triggering the aforementioned reduction of plural redundancy: *many*, *all*, *most*, *several*, *few*, *both*, *some*, *lot(s) of*, *one of*, *more*, *those*, *these*,[7] *other* (all subsumed under the heading quantifiers), and the numerals. The concordances for each item were identified with AntConc and manually processed. Instances where the respective lexical trigger was not part of a noun phrase were discarded from the analysis (e.g., *most* in *I like her most*). Also discarded were the first parts of repetitions (e.g., the first *most* in *most most students*; note that the second *most* would be included in the analysis). If the following noun was marked with a plural morpheme (regular or irregular), it was tagged as 'plural' (e.g., *one of my friends*). Correspondingly, if the following noun did not bear a plural morpheme, it was tagged as 'reduced' (e.g., *one of my friend*). Uncountable nouns were tagged separately into two categories: conventional usage (e.g., *most people*) and plus-plural marking (e.g., *most peoples*). Three other, infrequently applied, tags are 'self-correction' (e.g., *most of my friend friends*), 'mixed' (e.g., *most of my friends and colleague* or *most of my friend and colleagues*), and 'unclear'. An overview of the tagging categories can be found in Table 5.2.

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[7] *Those* and *these* are demonstrative determiners used with plural nouns (Quirk et al. 1985: 257).

Table 5.2 Overview of annotation scheme for (minus-)plural marking

Tag	Description	Example
<plural>	conventional use of plural marking (count noun)	*many students*
<reduced>	minus-plural marking (count noun)	*many student*
<NC_s>	non-count noun without plural marking	*many people*
<NC_pl>	non-count noun with plus-plural marking	*many peoples*
<mixed>	noun phrase with coordinated nouns, one with plural marking the other without plural marking	*many students and professor/ many student and professors*
<corrected>	self-correction by speaker	*many student students*
<unclear>	unclear utterance	*many [XXX]*
<discarded>	repetitions, item not part of a noun phrase, etc.	*many many student, I like her most*

This chapter proceeds by surveying each lexical environment in detail. Furthermore, other possible triggers for minus-plural marking, most prominently the case of contextual information, are also investigated.

Reduced plural redundancy after quantifiers. As explained in the previous section, 13 quantifiers were selected as possibly triggering a reduction of plural redundancy, or in other words, a minus-plural marking on the following noun.

Table 5.3 Overview plural marking after quantifiers in the SPOKE corpus (raw frequencies)

Lexical trigger	Plural	Reduced	NC_s	NC_pl	Discarded	Unclear	Corr.	Mix.	Σ
many	307	133	143	6	138	6	1	0	734
some	279	79	186	20	866	21	1	2	1,454
lot(s) of	137	78	125	9	43	4	2	0	398
other	132	61	41	3	265	5	0	0	507
one of	43	48	1	0	33	0	0	0	125
all	83	30	17	1	321	4	0	0	456
these	73	28	0	0	9	1	0	0	111
most	38	23	44	4	118	2	0	1	230
those	56	10	11	0	27	22	0	0	126
more	32	7	26	0	485	2	0	0	552
several	30	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	36
few	37	3	6	0	18	0	0	0	64
both	9	0	0	0	54	0	0	0	63
Σ	**1,256**	**504**	**601**	**43**	**2,378**	**67**	**4**	**3**	**4,856**

The subsequent list of utterances provides one example from the SPOKE corpus for each quantifier under investigation followed by a noun with minus-plural marking (except for *both* which yielded no respective results).

(12) when I was in England I tried to visit many place in Europe <112_f24>

(13) but s- some (.) some student are bad <104_f33>

(14) I can study a lot of thing from this major <23_f27>

(15) health insurance program is good in Korea com- compared to other country <1j_f27>

(16) we're one of the research group in Korea you know working on that <69_m28>

(17) not all the Christian in Korea are willing to go to North Korea to help <7j_f27>

(18) we can put our card but just just big- just bigger than these card <42j_f24>

(19) but most of my friend applied for sixty companies <4_m28>

(20) yes (.) so I need to pay more tax <39_m32>

(21) we dropped by several place that we had a delicious (1) delicious things <88_f28>

(22) we want to (clears throat) live more big flat s- uh place […] yah yah in few year <20j_m34>

Table 5.3 summarizes the quantitative observations regarding the use of plural marking after quantifiers.

All in all, it can be seen that in 12 of the 13 lexical environments investigated, the number of nouns bearing plural inflection is greater than those who do not. An exceptional case is the partitive construction *one of*, which is followed by 43 plural forms and 48 singular forms. Even though the majority of nouns are indeed used with conventional plural marking, the reduced forms can come up to sizable percentages of overall usage, as summarized in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Reduced plural redundancy vs. conventional plural marking after quantifiers in the SPOKE corpus (percentages)

	one of	*most*	*lot(s) of*	*other*	*many*	*these*	*all*	*some*	*more*	*those*	*several*	*few*	*both*
% red.	53%	38%	36%	32%	30%	28%	27%	22%	18%	15%	12%	8%	0%
% pl.	47%	62%	64%	68%	70%	72%	73%	78%	82%	85%	88%	93%	100%

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, only one lexeme (i.e., *one of*) triggered more than 50% of minus-plural marking. For four other items (i.e., *most*, *lot(s) of*, *other*, and *many*), the reduction rate was above or at 30% as well, which can be seen as an important threshold in the nativization process.[8] Buschfeld (2013: 65–66), for example, sees 30% as "a rough starting point of indigenous usage". The thought process behind this is that when a feature is being realized in roughly a third of the overall occurrences of the possible environment, more than just individual speech variation must be the reason. The *these* and *all* environments, with 28% and 27% reduction rates respectively, can also be considered relatively close to this (arbitrary) 30% threshold. *Some* reaches a reduction rate in the low twenties, but this environment is particularly problematic for analysis. Consider the following example from the corpus:

(23) uuh we we usually got some tent from the agents when we when we went to <82_m26>

In this case, it is not clear whether *some* marks a pluralized concept (i.e., *some tents* as in *more than one tent*). If this were the case, this instance must be tagged as 'reduced'. However, it is also possible that the participant was using *some* as an elliptic form of *some kind of tent* (i.e., *some* tent as in some kind of (big) tent which everybody slept in). Then, this instance cannot be counted as a reduced form but needs to be dismissed from the analysis. Indeed, surveying the amount of instances which were tagged as discarded from the analysis, we can see that a very high number (n = 866) has been tagged as such for the *some*-environment. Dissecting the *some*-items categorized as discarded, the aforementioned dilemma can be identified 82 times. It can be assumed, that at least some of these cases are reductions, instead of ellipsis, which, however, have not been taken into account for the calculation of the percentage of reduced forms. I decided to rather err on the conservative side and dismissed those instances in coding the data in order to avoid inflated percentages. Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that the actual reduction percentage for *some* is likely to be higher than the stipulated 22%.

Interestingly, in some cases the interviewees stuck with the uninflected nouns even when the interviewer repeated the noun in the pluralized form. In the following excerpt, the participant is talking about an island which in the past was only accessible via boat but nowadays is connected to the mainland by several bridges.

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[8] It is important to note that the stipulation of 30% as nativization threshold is arbitrary. The threshold could as well be assigned to 25%, 31%, or 35% (or other percentages). Nevertheless, it is indispensable to assign the nativization threshold to a certain percentage of use. The reader is encouraged to keep this arbitrariness and looseness of the nativization threshold in mind for the rest of the analysis.

He uses the uninflected form of the noun *bridge* in combination with the quantifier *many*. The interviewer then gives a minimal response including *the bridges*. Nevertheless, the speaker repeats the reduced form *bridge* and continues to talk about the advantages of the island.

(24) I: not the island right now uh there are so many bridge
S: mh ah the bridges
I: bridge and uh (.) mh very clean and uh you also uh enjoy the seafood lots of seafood <20j_m34>

It also has to be mentioned that no speaker consistently uses uninflected forms after quantifiers. Speakers vary between plural and singular forms even after the same quantifier and across relatively short stretches of speech. The participant below, for example, talks about going to *many country* and reading *many book* but only four turns later, concludes that she wants to do *many things*.

(25) I: yes so I wanna travel many country and I wanna uh experience many people and I wanna read many book as as possible uh as possible
S: uhu
I: yah so
S: hu so it's good
I: I just wanna do many things <1j_f27>

Altogether, the aggregated reduction rate in the SPOKE corpus for all quantifiers combined lies at 29% (based on 1,256 realized plural forms and 504 minus-plural markings).

Reduced plural redundancy after numerals. All numerals (except *one*) call for adding a plural morpheme to the following noun and minus-plural marking processes can also be identified in this environment:

(26) we do like two round of jump roping <93_f25>

(27) I just had (.) four blind date <87_f23>

(28) so I was stayed as the cultural museum for five e- five hour or six hour <25_f43>

(29) it's really hard to get a (.) a hundred point at the exam <22_f27>

Table 5.5 below summarizes the quantitative results of the analysis of the numerals.

Nearly all numerals are predominantly followed by a noun with plural marking. The aggregated reduction rate for all numerals combined lies at 15%. Considering items individually (for the numerals from two to ten) or in combined ranges (for

Table 5.5 Overview plural marking after numerals in the SPOKE corpus (raw frequencies)

Lexical trigger	Plural	Reduced	NC_s	NC _pl	Discarded	Unclear	Corr.	Mix.	Σ
two	381	81	4	0	262	0	1	0	729
three	268	26	3	0	137	0	0	0	434
four	111	20	12	0	105	0	0	0	248
five	101	11	1	3	119	0	0	0	235
six	68	13	6	0	74	0	0	0	161
seven	26	1	1	0	55	0	0	0	83
eight	34	4	0	0	64	0	0	0	102
nine	13	1	1	0	64	0	0	0	79
ten	78	15	5	1	81	0	0	0	180
11-99	148	26	10	2	482	1	1	0	670
>100	49	31	4	0	183	0	0	0	267
Σ	**1,277**	**229**	**47**	**6**	**1,626**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**3,188**

numerals above ten) in Table 5.6 shows that, overall, minus-plural marking after numerals is less likely to occur than after quantifiers.

Table 5.6 Reduced plural redundancy vs. conventional plural marking after numerals in the SPOKE corpus (percentages)

	>100	**two**	**ten**	**six**	**four**	**11-99**	**eight**	**five**	**three**	**nine**	**seven**
% red.	39%	18%	16%	16%	15%	15%	11%	10%	9%	7%	4%
% pl.	61%	82%	84%	84%	85%	85%	89%	90%	91%	93%	96%

Table 5.6 shows that only numerals greater than or equal to 100 are followed by a sizable amount of reduced nouns (i.e., 39%). The rest of the numerals only display reduction rates between 18 and 4%. This seems surprising, insofar, as eight of the 13 *quantifiers* investigated earlier in this chapter had reduction rates above 20%, some of them above 30%.

One possible explanation for this difference in percentages between quantifiers and numerals can be found when looking at the collocations of the numerals. The numerals in the corpus were extremely frequently used together with nouns referring to time (i.e., *years*, *months*, *hours*, *minutes*). It is possible that these time reference nouns occupy a special place in the English repertoire of Korean speakers. They could, for example, be more salient in their plural forms and stored as such in the mental lexicons of the Korean speakers. And, indeed, 23 instances of *one years* can be found in the corpus (vs. 50 instances of *one year*). After excluding all time reference nouns from the corpus (both in plural and singular forms), 524 instances of numeral plus noun combinations remain. Of those, 375 are followed by a noun in the plural form and 167 by a noun in the singular form. Converting these numbers to percentages yields a reduction rate of 31%. This is much more similar to the reduction rates reported for the quantifiers (and their combined reduction rate of 29%) and supports the hypothesis that time reference nouns might have a special status in the language system of Korean speakers of English.

The use of plural marking in general. So far, I only considered lexical environments which conventionally condition the use of the plural: quantifiers and numerals (except *one*). Surveying all nouns which bear plural marking but are not preceded by a quantifier or numeral, 2,583 conventional plural forms can be identified in the corpus. Furthermore, 667 nouns (not following a numeral or quantifier) were identified which conventionally would require a plural marking but are not marked as such (i.e., cases of minus-plural marking). However, in those cases the plurality was retrievable either from the context, the interviewer's phrasing, or common sense. Utterance (30) from the corpus illustrates the first case: context.

(30) no I traveled with my friend (.) two more friend <62_f22>

The utterance was produced after the interviewer asked whether the interviewee traveled to Barcelona alone. In the first part of the utterance it is not clear whether the speaker traveled with one friend (*my friend*) or whether *friend* is used in a reduced form and more than one person traveled together with the speaker. After a short pause, however, the speaker adds the information that she had two travel companions. This resolves the reference of the previous noun as indeed referring to more than one friend. Thus, the first instance of *friend* functions as a reduced form (the second instance, *two more friend*, is also a reduced form preceded by a numeral). In the case of contextual inference of plurality, the relevant information can be found either in the previous or the following utterances of the speaker.

Another possibility of retrieving plurality is from the interviewer's speech. In the short excerpt below, we can see that the interviewer specifically uses the plural noun phrase *funny things*. This is acknowledged with *yes* and repeated by the interviewee, but the plural morpheme *-s* at the end of the noun is omitted. Nevertheless, it is clear from the previous utterance by the interviewer that several things are funny and not just one.

(31) S: it's ok yah it's they have funny things
I: yes funny thing and cheap (laughs) <1j_f27>

Last but not least, in many cases, common sense and general knowledge indicate plurality. When, for example, participants refer to the general activities of reading or watching TV, it is clear that they refer to a plural concept of books and movies. It is highly unlikely, for example, that the interviewee in (32) likes reading the same book and watching the same movie over and over again. Instead, the nouns can be identified as bearing minus-plural marking with the plurality being given through the common sense interpretation that not the same book or movie is referenced.

(32) I like reading book (.) of English and I like yah watching movie (.) in of English <26_f29>

The 667 noun phrases categorized as reduced (but not preceded by a numeral or quantifier) were identified as clearly referring to a plural concept. Interesting for our purpose here is also the category of cases where reference was established as 'unclear' (n = 91). For the noun phrases tagged as 'unclear' it is not retrievable whether the noun refers to a plural concept or not, as illustrated in the following example:

(33) I also have uh Japanese friend <4_m28>

In this utterance, it is not clear whether the speaker has one friend from Japan or several friends from Japan, depending on whether the noun *friend* is used as a reduced form or as a singular form. The answer to this question cannot be retrieved from the previous or the following utterances and therefore the reference remains unclear.

Japanese friend in utterance (33) above, also illustrates an important difficulty in analyzing the data which needs to be acknowledged. The hesitation marker *uh* is phonetically very similar to the indefinite article *a*. A phonological idiosyncrasy could potentially be the reason why the participant produced /ə/ as /ɜː/. Then, the transcribed utterance would need to be transcribed as *I also have a Japanese friend*. Following from this, it could be argued that the indefinite article resolves the plurality question as *a* is leading the analysis to a singular noun. However, I argue that the use of the indefinite article is not necessarily helpful when analyzing the data, due to the high variability in the use of definite, indefinite, and zero articles in the English spoken by Koreans (see also Chapter 5.3 on article use). The presence or absence of articles (esp. of the indefinite article) can, therefore, not be used to clearly establish plural or singular reference in the SPOKE data.

Changing the perspective and surveying the cases of plural morphemes which are applied to nouns with singular reference, 216 instances of plus-plural marking can be identified, as illustrated in (34) and (35).

(34) yah (.) and my mother is easygoing persons <85_f31>

(35) Starcraft two is a three dee games <33_m25>

In the examples above, both *persons* and *games* refer to a singular entity (i.e., one mother and one game). Therefore, the nouns do not require plural marking. As they, nevertheless, bear plural marking, they can be categorized as instances of plus-plural marking. Overall, the number of plus-plural marking found in the SPOKE corpus is relatively low. Taking all conventionally pluralized nouns into account (1,256 following a quantifier, 1,277 following a numeral other than *one*, and 2,583 plural nouns in other noun phrases), in only 4% of the cases is the observed plural a plus-plural marking.

The following table (Table 5.7) summarizes the quantitative results regarding the pluralization of (semantically) plural (or potentially plural in the case of unclear reference) nouns and cases of minus-plural marking where the noun is not preceded by a quantifier or numeral.

Table 5.7 Pluralization of (plural) nouns and minus-plural marking on nouns not preceded by quantifiers or numerals in the SPOKE corpus (raw frequencies)

Conventional plural	Reduced (Minus-Plural Marking)	Unclear reference	Plus-plural marking
2,583	667	91	216

The plural redundancy reduction rate for plural contexts which are not triggered by a quantifier or a numeral lies at 21% (based on the conventional plural forms and minus-plural marking categories referenced in Table 5.7).

5.1.3 Discussion

The results obtained in this chapter can be summarized as follows:

- Korean speakers of English very rarely use non-count nouns as countable items.
    - Only the noun *work* shows traces of blurring between the categories of countable and non-countable items (but still rare with a 13% rate of countable use).

- Minus-plural marking occurs frequently in contexts where the use of plural marking is redundant; the minus-plural marking thus leads to a reduction in plural redundancy.
    - After quantifiers, the plural redundancy reduction rate lies at 29% and is particularly high for the partitive construction *one of* (53%).
    - After numerals, the plural redundancy reduction rate lies initially at 15%; after excluding time reference nouns, which could be lexicalized in their

plural instead of their singular form, the plural redundancy reduction rate after numerals lies at 31%.
- If plurality is semantically given in the context (in the previous speech of the interviewer or the interviewee) or by general world knowledge (but not triggered by a quantifier or numeral), the plural redundancy reduction rate lies at 21%.
- Plus-plural marking and unclear cases of denoted plurality or singularity are very rare (216 and 91 instances in the whole corpus respectively).

Pinpointing the mechanisms at play behind the morpho-syntactic pattern of the reduction of plural redundancy in spoken Korean English is a challenging task. The following aspects are likely to play a role and I apply them to the findings in sequence: substrate language influence, Lingua Franca communication characteristics, SLA effects, idiolectal variation, and Angloversals.

Substrate language influence refers to the impact the Korean language potentially has on the form of English as used by Korean speakers. As can be recalled from Section 5.1.2.1 on plural marking in Korean, the Korean plural marker -들 (*-deul*) is in many cases optional and Kim (1990: 166) explicitly draws attention to the fact that "[e]specially in cases where quantifiers or numerals appear in sentences […] the plural marker is usually not attached to the noun". This corresponds closely to the situation found in the SPOKE corpus. It can be determined that the use of plural marking in the English spoken by Koreans follows to a certain degree the use of the plural marker in Korean: It is less often used after numerals and quantifiers and with a tendency also omitted when the plurality is either given through context or common world knowledge. Nevertheless, there are also other candidates which are more or less likely to have influenced this usage pattern.

The minus-plural marking observed on nouns could also be the result of consonant cluster reduction and/or the deletion of word-final /s/ after vowels. A respective process has been used by Kirkpatrick (2010) to explain a number of minus-plural marking cases in data from ASEAN contexts (unfortunately unquantified). He argues that in cases where the introduction of a plural morpheme *-s* would create a consonant cluster, the non-use of this plural morpheme does not necessarily have to relate to structural nativization processes but can instead be related to the phonological process of consonant cluster reduction. This could potentially also explain minus-plural marking in the SPOKE corpus and is indeed supported by evidence from Korean phonology. In Korean, letters and sounds build so-called syllable structures, as illustrated in Figure 5.1.

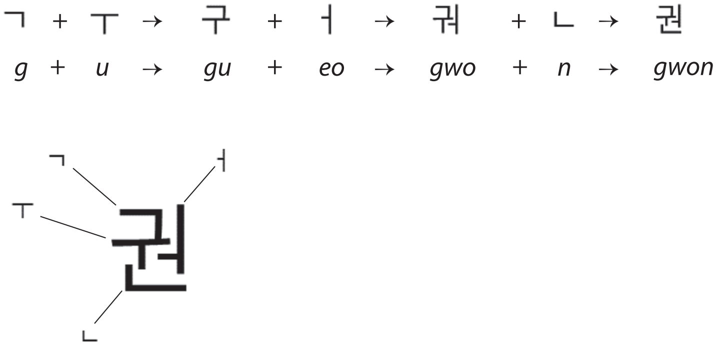
ㄱ + ㅜ → 구 + ㅓ → 궈 + ㄴ → 권
g + u → gu + eo → gwo + n → gwon
ㄱ
ㅓ
ㅜ
권
ㄴ

Figure 5.1 Arrangement of Korean alphabet letters into syllable block, example (adapted from Coulmas 2003: 163)

The construction of syllables in Korean follows strict syllable construction rules. Korean syllables can take one of the following five forms: vowel (form 1), consonant – vowel (form 2), vowel – consonant (form 3), consonant – vowel – consonant (form 4), or consonant – vowel – consonant – consonant (form 5) (see Taylor & Taylor 2014: 159). In the last case (form 5 with the word final consonant cluster), however, one of the two consonants in the consonant cluster "is silent in an isolated word" (Taylor & Taylor 2014: 159) and in connected speech is only pronounced if the following syllable or following word starts with a vowel. If the final syllable of a Korean word (of form 3 or 4) ends in the letter <ㅅ> (corresponding graphically to the English letter <s>),[9] the sound is not produced as a fricative but as the stop /t/, if it is not followed by a vowel in connected speech. This process in Korean concerns all fricatives in coda position (see Lee et al. 2016: 65). As the English plural is usually marked with a fricative in coda position (except for irregular plural marking), minus-plural marking in spoken English by Koreans could be ascribed to a transfer of Korean phonological rules to the pronunciation of English. Two observations strongly suggest that phonological processes of consonant cluster reduction and deletion of word-final fricatives do not play a major role in this case, however. First of all, a large number of cases of minus-plural marking found in the SPOKE material are followed by a word beginning with a vowel (see many of the examples presented in this chapter). In those instances, the use of a fricative in coda position would be conventional even when observing Korean syllable structure pronunciation rules. However, even in those cases, ø is produced instead of a plural morpheme. Second, cursory checking of the data did not reveal cases of stops replacing coda-final fricatives after vowels in any words. Minus-plural marking in the SPOKE corpus is continuously characterized by ø and not by /t/. It is thus more likely that minus-plural marking on nouns by Korean speakers of English is relatable to processes of plural redundancy reduction following Korean morphological and syntactical rules and preferences than phonological reduction processes (which at best might play a minor supporting role in this phenomenon).

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[9] Note that <ㅅ> is not always pronounced /s/, however.

It also needs to be considered that the data from SPOKE was collected in a traditional Lingua Franca setting. Two speakers from different native language backgrounds (i.e., German and Korean) resort to a shared language for communication (i.e., English). It has been shown previously that speakers of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) "actively [exploit] elements of redundancy inherent in the system" (Cogo & Dewey 2012: 82),[10] and simplification (resulting in shorter utterances) is a well-known process of ELF (e.g., Meierkord 2004: 120; Meierkord 2012: 178). More specifically, Björkman (2009: 231) notes that speakers in her study of ELF as used in Swedish universities "indicate the plural meaning merely by numerals, adverbs or determiners before the noun but leave the noun itself without a declension". It remains unclear, however, how often this occurs in her data, as the material was only partly transcribed and the only quantitative indication refers to features occurring "for a minimum of ten times" (Björkman 2009: 230). In other words, as soon as a feature occurred at least ten times, "by different speakers of different first language backgrounds, in different types of speech events", it was reported as "commonality in the material" (Björkman 2009: 230), that is a feature of ELF. We do not know more exactly how often this pattern occurs and, equally important, how often it does not occur, as well as more detailed information on the users of this feature. Furthermore, we need to consider that for a high frequency item, such as plural marking on nouns, ten occurrences of a differing pattern seem exceptionally low to draw binding conclusions regarding variant status.[11] Dröschel's study of the ELF use by Swiss citizens in various contexts (i.e., interviews, a panel discussion, a conference, classroom teaching, emails, and business school applications) found that minus-plural marking on the noun occurs 0.59 times per 1,000 words[12] (2011: 185–186). Re-calculating the number of minus-plural marking in all contexts (i.e., quantifier + numeral + other = 1,400) for the SPOKE corpus to a normalized rate (instead of the previously given percentages based on the total number of nouns in the same context), one arrives at a frequency of minus-plural marking at 4.7 per 1,000 words for the Korean English speakers in my corpus. This by far surpasses the frequencies reported by Dröschel (which might well be due to the difference in corpus makeup as the SPOKE corpus consists of rather informal conversational material whereas the data which informs Dröschel's study is largely of a more formal nature). Interestingly, however, Dröschel also reports that this feature often goes hand in hand with a reduction of redundancy as "a vast majority of the nouns lacking the usually necessary plural marking in the data co-occur with quantifiers or determiners […] which, in the specific context they are used in, imply plurality of the following noun" (2011: 187).

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[10] Barbara Seidlhofer brings up the valid point that reductions in redundancy (in general) can also be found in ENL, for example in newspaper headings (2011: 145). However, "[w]hen native speakers make such reductions they are accepted as appropriate – legitimate examples of the principle of communicative economy in action" (Seidlhofer 2011: 145).

[11] It is very probable that this feature occurs more often than 10 times, nevertheless, it is difficult, or even impossible, to estimate more exactly. Until provided with more detailed numerical information, these results have to be interpreted very carefully.

[12] This number varies according to L1 background: French 1.40, German 0.20, Italian 0.46, Italian/German 0.17, and English/German 0.17 (Dröschel 2011: 186).

From a language acquisitional point of view, Korean speakers, no doubt, learn English as a foreign language. Due to the pervasion of English throughout Korean society (see Chapter 2.1), first contact might occur early and official instruction frequently sets in at a very young age as well (often in kindergarten but latest at elementary school; see Chapter 2.1.2). SLA studies have found that some learners "fossilize" certain forms before they reach full competence in the target language organizing into a so-called interlanguage (see, e.g., Long 2003 and the contributions in Han & Odlin 2006). The use of minus-plural marking on the noun by Korean speakers of English results, as detailed above, in many cases in a reduction of redundancy. Avoidance of redundancies is one of the common SLA processes as listed by Percillier (2016: 32; see also Williams 1987: 176–177 and Biewer 2011: 15). Ultimately, the avoidance or reduction of redundancies is a form of simplification, an important process in the acquisition of a second/foreign language (also reflected in the importance of simplification in ELF). The reduction of nominal plural redundancy by Korean speakers of English is, therefore, also influenced by cognitive strategies known from second/foreign language learning contexts.

Last but not least, it needs to be mentioned that the observed pattern is not exclusively found in the English spoken by Koreans. Besides the previously mentioned observations from *The Handbook of Varieties of English* (Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi 2004: 1158), we can find similar patterns reported in *The Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English* (eWAVE; Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013). In eWAVE, optional plural marking on nouns with either non-human or human referents have been attested for a number of varieties. Minus-plural marking only after quantifiers (including numerals) is obligatory or pervasive in nine varieties and common in an additional 16 varieties. Table 5.8 summarizes the findings from eWAVE for the last category and lists all varieties which display minus-plural marking after quantifiers and numerals. Notably, eWAVE does not represent foreign language/Expanding Circle varieties of English, but, as can be seen, reduction

Table 5.8 Absence of plural marking only after quantifiers throughout varieties of English; data from eWAVE

Feature	Frequency	Varieties
absence of plural marking only after quantifiers	pervasive or obligatory: 9	Bahamian English, Cameroon Pidgin, East Anglian English, Gullah, Malaysian English, San Andrés Creole, Southeast American enclave dialects, St. Helena English, Vincentian Creole
	neither pervasive nor extremely rare: 16	Appalachian English, Channel Islands English, Colloquial American English, English dialects in the North of England, English dialects in the Southeast of England, English dialects in the Southwest of England, Falkland Islands English, Indian English, Irish English, Newfoundland English, New Zealand English, Orkney and Shetland English, Ozark English, Pure Fiji English, Rural African American Vernacular English, Welsh English

of plural redundancy has been attested in a range of variety types: high-contact L1 varieties (e.g., Bahamian English, St. Helena English), traditional L1 varieties (e.g., English dialects in the North and in the Southeast of England), pidgins and creoles (e.g., Cameroon Pidgin and Vincentian Creole), and indigenized L2 varieties (e.g., Malaysian English and Indian English).

Thus, it is also possible to posit that the reduction of plural redundancy is a recurring item across varieties of English. This explanation is situated in the realm of language typology: that is, so-called *-versals*. Chambers (2004) laid the groundwork for the study of vernacular universals, which, generally speaking, are "features that are found (more or less) universally across all kinds of (nonstandard) varieties of different languages" (Filppula et al. 2009b: 2). Szmrecsanyi and Kortmann (2009: 33) suggest categorizing linguistic features into seven types of -versals, of which the last two are the most relevant for this study: angloversals and varioversals. Angloversals subsume "features that tend to recur in vernacular varieties of a specific language", in our case English, whereas varioversals are "features recurrent in language varieties with a similar socio-history, historical depth, and mode of acquisition" (Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann 2009: 33). This is, additionally to the data from eWAVE, supported by the range of individual studies which identified minus-plural marking in redundant contexts. Filppula et al. (2009a: 235), for example, investigate ten nouns of measurement (i.e., *mile*, *foot/feet*, *inch*, *acre*, *stone*, *pound*, *year*, *kilo*, *kilometer*, and *meter*) preceded by a numeral or a quantifier and analyze how often minus-plural marking occurred on the noun. In the spoken unscripted parts of five different ICE-corpora, they find reduction rates between

0.2% (ICE-Singapore) and 4.4% (ICE-GB).[13] Due to the few nouns investigated and the low number of occurrences of minus-plural marking (e.g., only one instance in ICE-Singapore), it is difficult to compare these results to the redundancy reduction rates in the SPOKE corpus (which included all nouns). Nevertheless, it is helpful to consider the conclusion drawn by Filppula et al. (2009a), who also investigate this feature in Irish English, Welsh English, and traditional English English dialects. They establish minus-plural marking as "common feature of the vernacular British Isles varieties of English" (Filppula et al. 2009a: 240) whereas it has a rather marginal status in the varieties represented by the ICE-corpora. They conclude that the absence of plural marking on nouns of measurement "is primarily a feature of vernacular speech, whether with an L1 or L2 background" and can thus "be considered a good example of a vernacular universal" (Filppula et al. 2009a: 240).

Other studies which reported minus-plural marking on the noun include, among others, Davydova (2012) and Percillier (2016). Davydova (2012: 372) deems minus-plural marking on the noun as "one of the most salient characteristics of mesolectal Indian English" but unfortunately does not further quantify this feature or specify the environments where this occurs. In comparing data from Singaporean English, Malaysian English, and Indonesian English, Percillier (2016: 68–70) finds that minus-plural marking is most common in Indonesian English (an Expanding Circle variety) but occurs in the other two varieties as well. Alsagoff and Ho (1998: 143) try to explain, for the case of Colloquial Singaporean English, that minus-plural inflection on the noun can, at times, be related rather to a different distinction between count and non-count nouns. They argue that minus-plural marking on nouns such as *ticket* is an indication that the noun is used as a non-count noun and correspondingly does not show the plural marking. They support this with the observation that in their data, when the noun *ticket* is preceded by a quantifier and thus clearly has a count status, it does show plural marking. Wee and Ansaldo (2004: 64), however, disprove this explanation by showing that in their data of Colloquial Singaporean English count nouns also occur with minus-plural marking and observing that in many cases a quantifier does not lead to subsequent minus-plural marking on the noun. Alsagoff and Ho's hypothesis, interesting as it is, does not apply to the Korean case either, as the omission of plural marking on the noun is *particularly* predominant after numerals and quantifiers and thus cannot be interpreted as a sign of non-count status. Wee and Ansaldo's "more modest, though admittedly less interesting" proposal to explain the use of plural marking in Colloquial Singaporean English is that it "is essentially sporadic or optional" (2004: 64).

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[13] For the remaining three ICE-corpora the reduction rates are as follows: 0.5% in ICE-Philippines, 1.9% in ICE-East Africa, and 3.3% in ICE-India (Filppula et al. 2009a: 238).

As the analysis in this chapter has shown, minus-plural marking on the noun forms a characteristic part of the Korean English repertoire. It occurs largely in contexts where the plural marking is redundant. This reduced plural redundancy, in the end, can be ascribed to a process of simplification triggered, in the case of Korea, by a number of factors. Substrate language influence and SLA processes play a major role, but we need to heed Kirkpatrick's advice and remember "how careful we must be before assigning definite causes to specific usages" (2010: 106). After having thus described and established reduced plural redundancy on the noun as a prominent morpho-syntactic feature of Korean English speakers, the next chapter focuses on the use of pronouns.

5.2 Pronouns

The Korean and English pronoun systems do have a number of aspects in common but are shaped by two important differences: The Korean pronoun paradigm 1) reflects an intricate honorification system and 2) does not come with third person pronouns per se. It also needs to be kept in mind that Korean is a pro-drop language and pronoun use is optional in many circumstances. Due to the lack of previous research and the fundamental differences between the Korean and English pronoun paradigm, particularly when it comes to their assignment in the sentence (i.e., optional vs. obligatory), an investigation of the pronoun use and non-use in the SPOKE corpus makes for a rewarding research endeavor.

This chapter begins with a detailed overview of the English and Korean pronoun paradigms. Section 5.2.2 implements a study of pronoun frequencies in the SPOKE corpus from a comparative perspective including data from the modified SB corpus and the conversational part of the BNC. The following section closely examines the Korean English pronoun system in use. As the insertion of pronominal elements is optional in many contexts in Korean, this study focused on what can be described under the *plus-/minus-/swap*-framework as minus-pronouns (i.e., the non-use of pronouns in contexts where a pronoun is conventionally required). To this end, the SPOKE corpus has been fully annotated for minus-pronouns and coded for their function in the utterance. Naturally, the analysis goes hand in hand with insights into the realization of subjects and objects. To conclude the chapter, the results are discussed and related to previous studies in World Englishes in general.

5.2.1 Pronouns in English and Korean

Pronouns in English

The English pronouns belong to "a varied class of closed-class words with nominal function", which means that they behave "'noun-like' or, more frequently, 'like a noun phrase'" (Quirk et al. 1985: 335). The pronoun paradigm in English shows distinctions between case, person, gender, and number, a characteristic in part preserved from Old English, although considerable leveling has occurred throughout the history of the language (Wales 2006: 13). The prototypical English pronoun paradigm is reproduced in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9 The prototypical Standard English pronoun paradigm (adapted from Wales 2006: 13)

Person	**Number**	**Gender**	**Personal pronouns**		**Possessive pronouns**		**Reflexive pronouns**
			subjective case	**objective case**	**determiner function**	**nominal function**	
1st person	singular		*I*	*me*	*my*	*mine*	*myself*
	plural		*we*	*us*	*our*	*ours*	*ourselves*
2nd person	singular		*you*	*you*	*your*	*yours*	*yourself*
	plural						*yourselves*
3rd person	singular	masc.	*he*	*him*	*his*	*his*	*himself*
		fem.	*she*	*her*	*her*	*hers*	*herself*
		neuter	*it*	*it*	*its*	*its*	*itself*
	plural		*they*	*them*	*their*	*theirs*	*themselves*

Bhat notes that the classic definition of pronouns as words standing for nouns is "rather problematic" (2007: 1). He relates the notorious difficulty of finding an adequate definition for the word class 'pronoun' to the attempt of uniting all members of the pronoun word class under one definition. According to Bhat (2007: 1), the various kinds of pronouns are so different from each other that they "do not together form a single category". Particularly personal pronouns are "quite different from the rest of the pronouns" (Bhat 2007: 1), which can be related mainly to functional differences between the sets (see Bhat 2007: 6–9 for a detailed description of the functional differences). In the present chapter, only personal pronouns will be considered.

Pronouns in Korean

Grammars of Korean have noted that the language "uses a lot fewer pronouns than English" (Yeon & Brown 2011: 75) for two different reasons: 1) Korean is a pro-drop language, that is, it is common to drop pronouns from utterances, especially when the referent is known to the speakers or deducible from the context (see Oh 2007: 462; Lee, Hye-Kyung 2010: 2507; Yeon & Brown 2011: 75); 2) Repeated repetition of names (of people and objects) and titles is acceptable in Korean (whereas in English the preference is to avoid too many repetitions and use pronominal forms instead). Kim (2009: 2097), for example, finds that Korean newspaper texts contain far fewer first person plural and second person pronouns than comparable texts in English newspapers due to the possibility of omitting the agent in Korean, which ultimately "promote[s] the indirectness of the texts valued in the Eastern Asian culture".

The Korean pronouns are part of the highly complex Korean honorific system (for a description and/or studies of the Korean honorific system see, e.g., Sohn 1986; Hwang 1990; Byon 2006; Hong 2006; Cho 2008; Kim-Renaud 2009). Korean honorification is expressed via a number of means: honorific vocabulary (such as titles and lexical items in general) and grammatical honorification (referent honorification and addressee honorification). One of the most well-known pieces of honorification in Korean are the different speech styles/levels (expressed with suffixes on the verb) used in addressee honorification (see Park 2006: 63 for an overview of Korean speech styles). Lee and Ramsey (2000: 15) claim that "it may well be that no language on earth has a more finely differentiated system of honorifics" than Korean (except maybe Japanese), which is also reflected in the pronominal system. In deliberating which pronoun to pick, it is essential to consider questions of age, gender, social status, and relationship to the addressee. In the first person, Korean speakers have two different singular and plural pronouns at their disposal: either a plain or a self-humbling one. The case of the second person is extraordinarily complex (for the sake of brevity and clarity, only the singular second person pronouns will be illustrated in detail; for a more detailed overview of the second person pronouns and different levels of honorification see Kim 2009: 2089). For second person pronouns, Korean speakers have a variety of forms to choose from:

1. 너 (*neo*): used towards close friends of the same or younger age and towards children; co-occurs with intimate or plain speech style marked on the verb
2. 자네 (*ja-ne*): only used non-reciprocally by older adults (> 30) towards younger adults; use becoming less frequent
3. 당신 (*dang-sin*): extremely restricted in use, most frequently used between (older) spouses or to be disrespectful and rude in an argument

4. 자기 (*ja-gi*): a new second person pronoun most frequently used between young unmarried couples
5. other forms: 어르신 (*eo-reu-sin*; respectful form addressing an elderly person), 댁 (*daek*; elder speaker addressing an older adult), 그쪽 (*geu-jjok*; literal translation 'that side'; speakers of similar age addressing each other but unsure of correct term of address), 그대 (*geu-dae*; archaic, mainly found in song lyrics or poems), 귀하 (*gwi-ha*; can be found when using automated machines or on the Internet, originally an honorific form of *to* when addressing envelopes to an elder or senior)
(adapted from Yeon & Brown 2011: 76–78)

The "most remarkable" (Chang 1983: 226) aspect of Korean second person pronouns, however, is the absence of an adequate pronominal form to address a higher-status speaker. Instead, another term of address must be employed, such as kinship terms, titles, or 선생님 (*seon-saeng-nim*, 'teacher') (see Chang 1983: 226).

Korean does not have third person pronouns, neither in the singular nor in the plural. However, other lexical constructions can be used to refer to a third person or persons. These constructions can be classified as epithets (see Chang 1983: 228) and are constructed by combining a demonstrative like 이 (*i*, 'this'), 그 (*geu*, 'that'), or 저 (*jeo*, 'that…over there') with a noun such as 사람 (*sa-ram*, 'person', non-honorific), 분 (*bun*, 'person', honorific), or 선생님 (*seon-saeng-nim*, 'teacher', honorific title) (Yeon & Brown 2011: 78). The selection of the demonstrative depends on the proximity of the referent to the speaker: 이 (*i*, 'this'), 그 (*geu*, 'that'), or 저 (*jeo*, 'that…over there') indicate close, medial, and distant proximity respectively (Lee & Ramsey 2000: 90–91). 그 사람 (*geu sa-ram*) and 이 분 (*i bun*) can thus literally be translated to 'that person' and 'this person', and would in English usually be expressed with a third person pronoun. As Yeon and Brown (2011: 79) note, both expressions "may be understood by default to mean 'he' rather than 'she'". In order to differentiate between feminine and masculine referents (when necessary), it is possible to use the respective demonstrative together with the noun for *man* (남자, *nam-ja*) or *woman* (여자, *yeo-ja*): 그 남자 (*geu nam-ja*, 'that man' = 'he') and 그 여자 (*geu yeo-ja*, 'that woman' = 'she'). Other nouns the demonstrative can combine with in the same way to form a pronominal-like construction are, for example, 애 (*ae*, 'child'), 친구 (*chin-gu*, 'friend'; non-intimate), and 녀석 (*nyeo-seok*, 'guy/chap/boy'; intimate). As the demonstrative is combinable with all nouns "[t]heoretically, it is possible to create as many third-person pronominal forms as we wish" (Lee, Hye-Kyung 2010: 2508).

As a matter of fact, two artificial constructions, 그 (*geu*, 'he') and 그녀 (*geu-nyeo*, 'she'), analogous to the English masculine and feminine third person pronouns exist in Korean. However, "these are literary devices that were devised to facilitate the translation of pronouns from European languages" (Yeon & Brown 2011: 79) and are thus not used in spoken language and are also very rare in general writing.

A simplified version of the Korean pronoun system is reproduced in Table 5.10.

Table 5.10 The Korean pronoun system

	Singular	**Plural**
1st person	plain: 나 (*na*) self-humbling: 저 (*jeo*)	plain: 우리 (*u-ri*) self-humbling: 저희 (*jeo-hi*)
2nd person	너/네 (*neo/ne*) 자네 (*ja-ne*) 당신 (*dang-sin*) 자기 (*ja-gi*) 그대 (*geu-dae*) …	너희(들) (*neo-hi(deul)*)**** 자네들 (*ja-ne-deul*) 당신들 (*dang-sin-deul*) 자기들 (*ja-gi-deul*) …
3rd person	N/A	N/A

**** -들 (*-deul*) is the Korean plural marker which is simply added to the second person singular pronouns.

In the following sections, I investigate the use of personal pronouns by the Korean English speakers represented in the SPOKE corpus in detail. The analysis starts out with a brief assessment of pronoun frequencies in comparison to the modified SB corpus and the conversational part of the BNC and then proceeds to review the evidence for minus-pronouns.

5.2.2 Personal pronoun frequencies in the SPOKE corpus

To establish the pronoun frequencies in the data, the word-class tagged versions of the SPOKE corpus, the modified SB corpus, and the conversational part of the BNC were consulted. Word-class tagging for the SPOKE corpus and the modified SB corpus was carried out automatically with the CLAWS tagger. Searching the conversational part of the BNC (BYU interface), the respective pronoun tag of the web interface was used. Using the tagged corpora permits the exclusion of word fragments which incidentally overlap in form with pronouns and, most importantly, allows to distinguish between *her* as a personal pronoun in object position and *her* as possessive pronoun. In the present analysis only personal pronouns are of relevance, possessive and reflexive pronouns are not considered.

The following table (Table 5.11) gives the raw and normalized frequencies of personal pronouns in the SPOKE corpus, the modified SB corpus, and the conversational part of the BNC.

Table 5.11 Personal pronoun frequencies in the SPOKE corpus, the modified SB corpus, and the conversational part of the BNC

	SPOKE corpus		**SB (modified)**		**BNC (conversational)**	
	raw frequency	**per 1,000 words**	**raw frequency**	**per 1,000 words**	**raw frequency**	**per 1,000 words**
I	17,083	56.4	6,638	39.0	126,813	31.6
me	1,064	3.5	759	4.5	14,983	3.7
you	3,607	11.9	4,544	26.7	134,847	33.6
she	1,156	3.8	1,368	8.0	33,716	8.4
her	166	0.6	264	1.6	5,958	1.5
he	1,461	4.8	2,008	11.8	48,202	12.0
him	247	0.8	395	2.3	8,879	2.2
it	6,159	20.3	4,235	24.9	127,262	31.7
we	2,189	7.2	1,157	6.8	33,067	8.2
us	119	0.4	100	0.6	3,078	0.8
they	2,315	7.7	1,894	11.1	43,919	11.0
them	474	1.6	250	1.5	15,726	3.9
Σ	**36,040**	**119.0**	**23,612**	**138.7**	**596,450**	**148.6**

For ease of reference, the data in Table 5.11 was additionally mapped to the two dot plot panels[14] displayed in Figure 5.2. The SPOKE corpus data is once compared to the modified SB corpus (left panel) and once to the conversational part of the BNC (right panel).

The pronoun frequencies in the SB corpus and the conversational part of the BNC are very similar (although not exactly the same), particularly in comparison to the SPOKE corpus (i.e., American and British English frequencies of pronoun use do not differ considerably from each other). Examining the two dot plots in Figure 5.2 allows for a number of observations regarding overall pronoun frequencies pertaining to the SPOKE corpus:

1. Frequencies of some pronouns are similar/near-identical across the three corpora: *me*, *her*, *him*, *we*, *us*, *them*.
2. All other pronouns (except *I*, see list point 3) are markedly less frequent in the SPOKE corpus than the modified SB corpus and the conversational part of the BNC: *you*, *he*, *she*, *it*, *they*.

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[14] I am thankful to Lukas Sönning for his Excel-spreadsheet, available via <www.bit.ly/malt-dotplot-excel>.

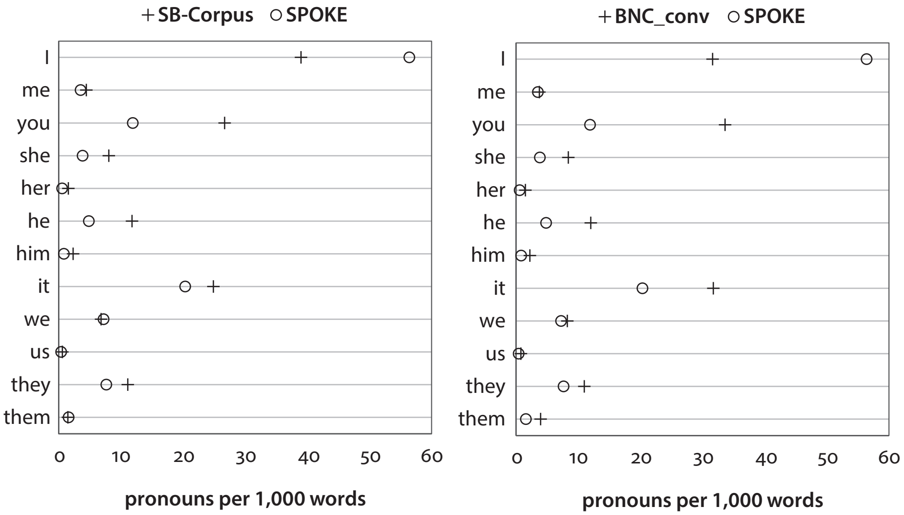

Figure 5.2 Pronoun frequencies (per 1,000 words) – The SPOKE corpus compared to the modified SB corpus (left panel) and the conversational part of the BNC (right panel)

3. Only one pronoun is more frequent in the SPOKE corpus when compared to the modified SB corpus and the conversational part of the BNC: first person singular *I*.

Conspicuously, the pronouns used less frequently in the SPOKE corpus (see list point 2) are mainly third person pronouns, which have no equivalent in the Korean language. The first person singular *I*, however, occurs much more frequently per 1,000 words in the SPOKE corpus than in the other two corpora (56.4 in the SPOKE corpus, 39.0 in the modified SB corpus, and 31.6 in the conversational part of the BNC). A likely explanation for this is the different thematic focus in the conversations covered by the databases. The conversations recorded in the SPOKE corpus were actively focused on personal experiences and topics the speakers brought up themselves and thus favor the use of the first person pronoun *I*. In the case of the modified SB corpus and the conversational part of the BNC, a wider range of topics are covered. Speakers were often familiar with each other and more conversations about other people were held, favoring the use of different pronouns. This potentially explains the higher frequency of the first person pronoun *I* and the lower frequency of the second and third person pronouns (*you*, *he*, *she*, *it*, *they*) in the SPOKE corpus when compared to the modified SB corpus and the conversational part of the BNC. However, the favoring of particular pronouns over others due to conversational topics cannot completely explain the pronouns used less frequently in the SPOKE corpus. If we assume that the pronoun *I* occurred at the expense of the other pronouns (particularly the third person pronouns), the total (normalized) number of pronouns found in each corpus should approximate each other (i.e., the shift in use from one pronoun type to another should not affect the total number of pronoun tokens greatly). The total number of pronouns per 1,000 words is distinctly lower in the SPOKE corpus, however: 119.0 (SPOKE), 138.7 (SB), and 148.7 (BNC). This notable difference in the total number of pronouns in use can potentially be explained with the occurrence of minus-pronouns in the SPOKE corpus. In the following section, minus-pronouns in the SPOKE corpus will be investigated and analyzed in detail.

5.2.3 Minus-pronouns in the SPOKE corpus

As described in Section 5.2.1, "overt reference forms can be omitted [in Korean] provided that the referent can be understood by the recipient(s)" (Oh 2007: 462). The omission of referent forms is a prominent feature in Korean and it is possible that this is transferred to the use of English by Korean speakers. The lower frequency of pronouns in the English spoken by Koreans, which has just been described, points in this direction as well. These considerations served as starting point to select minus-pronouns for further analysis.

In spoken language, the non-use of pronouns can be a result of false starts and incomplete sentences. These cases do not pertain to the focus of the present study, however, and are therefore not considered in the following analysis. The SPOKE corpus was tagged manually for all cases of minus-referents including information on form (i.e., first, second, or third person; singular or plural) and function (i.e., subject or object) of the respective minus-item. Manual tagging also enabled

Table 5.12 Minus-pronouns in the SPOKE corpus

Singular pronouns		**Raw frequency**	**Plural pronouns**	**Raw frequency**
1st person singular (*I/me*)		79 (22%)	1st person plural (*we/us*)	21 (6%)
2nd person singular (*you*)		14 (4%)	2nd person plural (*you*)	0
3rd person singular	*she/her*	13 (4%)	3rd person plural (*they/them*)	33 (9%)
	he/him	12 (3%)		
	it	184 (52%)		
Σ		**302 (85%)**	Σ	**54 (15%)**

the exclusion of false starts and incomplete utterances. Altogether, 356 minus-pronominal referents were identified in the SPOKE corpus. Table 5.12 does not distinguish between the functions of the minus-pronouns (subject or object; see Table 5.13) but provides an overview of the pronouns as regards their form. The percentages reflect the share that the respective minus-pronoun form has of all minus-pronouns (i.e., 356 minus-pronouns = 100%).

All instances of minus-pronouns were examined in context and it was thus possible to accurately determine the gender and person of every minus-pronoun. For example, the context in (10) makes it clear that the speaker is talking about his parents wanting him and his siblings (one brother and one sister) to come back home early and not drink alcohol; thus, the minus-pronoun can be established as *us* (and not *him*, *her*, or *me*). Similarly, in utterance (4) the speaker is talking about how her boyfriend's older sister is a soldier in the Korean army where she also met her boyfriend; thus, the minus-pronoun is *she* (and not *I*, *they*, or *he*). The following utterances illustrate each type of minus-personal pronoun listed in Table 5.12 with an example from the SPOKE corpus.

(1) uh I (.) told my sister I tell her ø had had a boyfriend <104_f33> (1st person singular *I*)

(2) so like yes they bullied ø about that kind of things <78_m23> (1st person singular *me*)

(3) how can ø study the Korean language before? <25_f43> (2nd person singular *you*)

(4) ø met him in the army <42j_f24> (3rd person singular *she*)

(5) and then (.) I told ø I'm f- from Korea <106_f27> (3rd person singular *her*)

(6) so probably ø will stay at home <9_f33> (3rd person singular *he*)

(7) oh they follow ø (.) oh wow <22_f27> (3rd person singular *him*)

(8) it wasn't really good because ø was far from the city center <28_m33> (3rd person singular *it*)

(9) yes ø slept in a tent <82_m26> (1st person plural *we*)

(10) they want ø to come come ho- come uh home early <74_f24> (1st person plural *us*)

(11) in Switzerland many people don't get a marriage ø just live together <1j_f27> (3rd person plural *they*)

(12) so they have to protect ø <9_f33> (3rd person plural *them*)

Even when we assume that all minus-pronouns could have been realized by pronouns (which is not necessarily the case, as they always could also be expressed with a corresponding non-pronominal noun phrase), the sum of minus-pronouns does not offset the lower number of pronouns found in the SPOKE corpus in total. Adding the occurrences of minus-pronouns (n = 356) to the number of the realized pronouns in the SPOKE corpus (n = 36,040) and normalizing to a base of 1,000 words, one arrives at 120.2 pronouns per 1,000 words in the SPOKE corpus. In other words, even if all minus-pronouns had been realized as overt pronominal referents, the number of pronouns found in the SPOKE corpus is still well below the pronoun frequencies reported for the modified SB corpus (138.7 per 1,000 words) and the conversational part of the BNC (148.7 per 1,000 words). Accordingly, other factors must contribute to the lower number of pronouns used by Korean speakers of English. For example, it is possible to repeatedly refer to the same entity through nouns instead of switching to a pronoun. In Korean, overt reference does not have to be in the form of pronouns and Brown reports that "[w]hen dealing with superiors and non-intimates, Korean speakers will […] avoid pronouns entirely and maintain the use of a personal name, title or kinship term throughout the interaction" (2011: 42). It remains to be seen whether Koreans use more repetitions and other means of address instead of pronouns when speaking English. This can be observed in (13), which is part of a longer conversation on traveling by train.

(13) [1] I: is it (.) mh maybe (1) more some kind of tr- train travel
[2] S: yes yah
[3] I: which is called train travel like baekdudaegan
[4] S: ok
[5] I: so uh because of my (.) mother want me (laughs)
[6] S: to do a train travel
[7] I: to go (laughs) train travel so I don't know about the baekdudaegan train travel
[8] S: ah ok so you haven't done it before?
[9] I: no
[10] S: ok
[11] I: but my mother want me to go
[12] S: aah
[13] I: my mother want want go a take a train <18_m43>

The mother of the speaker (I) is introduced in line 5 as *my mother* and then referenced in the same way again in line 11. Due to the number of intermittent turns by the speaker and the interviewer, the repetition of *my mother* instead of a pronoun was to be expected. However, the next reference to *my mother* already occurs in line 13, which is only separated from the previous utterance by the speaker through a short backchannel by the interviewer (S; i.e., *aah*). In this instance the use of the third person pronoun *she* instead of the repeated reference to *my mother* would have been conceivable. The speaker, nevertheless, opted for the noun for the recurring reference to his mother and thus a possible pronoun is not realized. This is not to say, however, that a speaker from a different background would have necessarily selected a pronoun in this subject slot but demonstrates how repeated reference via a noun can occur at the expense of pronouns. (14) illustrates this in a more condensed example. The speaker here referenced her boyfriend twice in very short succession but did not switch to a pronoun in the second reference. Again, the realization of a pronoun is omitted in favor of a noun.

(14) I have to scold my boyfriend (laughter) I have to tell my boyfriend <30_f26>

At the current state of research, the selection of (repeated) nouns over the realization of pronouns cannot be abstracted to a general preference by Korean speakers of English as the extent of this process remains unquantified. However, the qualitative observations from (13) and (14) establish it as, at least, a contributing factor to the distribution of pronouns in the SPOKE corpus.

Despite their relatively low frequency, the salience of minus-pronouns and their possibly close interconnectedness to the Korean language system warrants a closer look at their use by Korean speakers of English. Considering the numbers, it seems at first glance, as if minus-singular person pronouns are more likely to occur than minus-plural person pronouns: 302 (85%) of all minus-pronouns refer to single referents and only 54 (15%) of minus-pronouns are plural pronouns (see also Table 5.12). However, taking the overall pronoun frequencies used in the SPOKE corpus into account (see Section 5.2.2), we find that more of the realized pronouns in general refer to singular referents than plural referents: Singular personal pronouns account for 86% of all pronouns used (raw frequency n = 30,943) and plural personal pronouns for 14% (raw frequency n = 5,097). It is thus not surprising to find more singular person minus-pronouns than plural person minus-pronouns, as this is just a reflection of general reference patterns. First person singular *I* and third person singular *it* are the most numerous in the minus-pronoun paradigm with 79 (22%) and 184 (52%) instances each.

In the manual coding process, information on the function of each minus-pronoun within the utterance was added. The minus-pronouns were either in subject or object position (including direct, indirect, and prepositional objects). In only one case the minus-pronoun was neither in subject nor object position but functioned as prepositional complement.[15] This instance is not considered in the table and analysis below (due to the exclusion of this element, the analysis and calculation of percentages in Table 5.13 are based on 355 minus-pronouns). Table 5.13 gives a summary of the quantitative results distinguishing between minus-pronouns in subject and object position.

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[15] This concerns one instance of the third person plural pronoun *them*.

Table 5.13 Minus-pronouns in the SPOKE corpus according to function within utterance

Singular pronouns		**Subject position**	**Object position**	**Plural pronouns**	**Subject position**	**Object position**
1st person singular (*I*/*me*)		74 (21%)	5 (1%)	1st person plural (*we*/*us*)	18 (5%)	3 (1%)
2nd person singular (*you*)		13 (4%)	1 (0%)	2nd person plural (*you*)	0	0
3rd person singular	*she*/*her*	8 (2%)	5 (1%)	3rd person plural (*they*/*them*)	23 (6%)	9 (3%)
	he/*him*	9 (3%)	3 (1%)			
	it	53 (15%)	131 (37%)			
Σ		**157 (44%)**	**145 (41%)**	Σ	**41 (12%)**	**12 (3%)**

As described previously, minus-plural pronouns (accounting only for 15% of all minus-pronouns) are rather rare in the SPOKE corpus so the following analysis will focus on minus-singular pronouns. Minus-singular pronouns are nearly equally often found in subject as in object position. The most frequent minus-pronouns in subject position are the first person singular *I* (21% of all minus-pronouns; 47% of all minus-singular pronouns in subject position) and third person singular *it* (15% of all minus-pronouns; 34% of all minus-singular pronouns in subject position). In object-position, the third person singular *it* even accounts for 90% of all minus-pronouns in this category (37% of all minus-pronouns in total). The following sections present the most frequent minus-pronouns as case studies for closer scrutiny.

5.2.3.1 *Case study 1:* I *as minus-pronoun in subject position*

In the case of the first person singular pronoun in subject position (i.e., *I*), nearly half (42%) of all minus-pronouns can be found in subordinate clauses with *I* already occurring in the main clause, as in (15) through (17), coordinated main clauses with *I* already occurring in subject position in the first main clause, as in (18), or with the pronoun *I* otherwise occurring in subject position in the preceding nine words,[16] see example (19) and (20).

(15) I like her so ø some send some message <13j_m30>

(16) I'm just university student so ø don't have enough experience <78_m23>

(17) I'm not comfortable because ø read read subtitle <34_m26>

(18) I do whatever they ask me and ø just do it at home <7j_f27>

The main clauses of (15) to (17) already establish the referent as *I*: "I like her" (15), "I'm just [a] university student" (16), and "I'm not comfortable" (17). The following subordinate clauses have the same referent despite no explicit reference via a pronoun (or any other lexical means). In those cases, the referent can be established very easily, despite the lack of overt reference via a pronominal form. Coordinated sentences with a pronoun occurring in the first sentence and a minus-pronoun in the second sentence are very rare in the SPOKE corpus and (18) is the only instance found for the first person singular pronoun *I*.

In examples (19) and (20), the pronoun *I* is used by the speakers shortly before the position of the minus-pronoun but not as part of a coordinated or subordinate clause. In excerpt (19), the speaker, who was working on his PhD at the time of the interview and was asked about his progress, explained that his data collection was finished in the previous year. After a short hesitation marker (i.e., *uh*) he announced that he additionally took two supplementary university courses in order to familiarize himself with the theoretical background. The utterance about the university courses does not contain a subject ("uh also took uh two courses uh to get more information") but can be inferred to have the same subject as the previous statement ("I finished my data collection last year"). The interpretation of the lexical item *uh* as a hesitation marker und not as the pronoun *I* in a reduced phonological (i.e., monophthongized) form can be related to the general pronunciation of these items by the same speaker. *I* is, throughout the recording, consistently produced as the diphthong /aɪ/ and the hesitation marker *uh* as central monophthong. It is thus highly unlikely that the occurrence of *uh* can here be related to a phonological reduction process. Therefore, *uh* was in this case categorized as a hesitation marker followed by a minus-pronoun.

(19) I told you earlier uhm (clicks tongue) I finished my data collection [S: mhm] last year uh ø also took uh two courses uh to get more information <10_m41>

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[16] These nine words are in some cases intercepted by a turn of the interviewer.

Example (20) is given in more detail in order to provide a more comprehensive picture of the utterance under consideration. In this excerpt, the interviewer (S) and interviewee (I) talk about the interviewee's time abroad in Singapore. The Korean speaker is evaluating the stay abroad and recapitulates the negative and positive sides connected to it. The minus-pronoun *I* in line 5 is preceded by a realized pronoun *I* in subject position in line 3, which leaves a gap of seven words between the realized and omitted pronoun (not counting the utterance by the interviewer in line 4). The utterance by the interviewer in line 4 shows a repetition of the reference, accounting, of course, for the shift in deictic center (i.e., "because you learned a lot?"). The Korean speaker then does not repeat the reference again and the following utterance is characterized by a minus-pronoun in line 5 ("yah learned a lot"). Interestingly, after a backchannel by the interviewer (line 6, "yah"), the speaker adds the information that she also saw a lot (i.e., made a lot of experiences). In adding this, as a kind of afterthought, the pronoun *I* is realized again.

(20) [1] I: so (1) it was really difficult and hard time in Singapore
[2] S: ok
[3] I: but now I think it was quite good experience
[4] S: ah ok because you learned a lot?
[5] I: yah ø learned a lot
[6] S: yah
[7] I: and I saw a lot <91_f27>

In the remaining 58% of minus-first person singular pronouns in subject position, the last use of *I* is removed further than nine words, but reference is, nevertheless, usually quite easily established. This is mainly explainable by a lack of alternative referents possible due to the semantic content frame established in the wider context of the conversation or due to the use of a second person singular pronoun by the interviewer in the preceding question. Thus, in (21), the use of *you* in the question makes it clear that the answer by the interviewee refers to her own (and not someone else's) failure to start studying for an upcoming exam.

(21) S: so how do you study these days?
I: hh ø haven't started yet but my planning (laughs) <62_f22>

In (22) below, we can see that the minus-pronoun *I* in line 11, is preceded by a number of realized first person singular references: five times in subject position (twice in line 1 and once each in lines 5, 7, and 9) and once as object (*me* in line 9). The person in line 11 who was quite *amazed* about Haitian families living on very little money every day can thus only be the speaker himself (as constructed in the previous utterances) and the referent of the minus-pronoun can easily be established as *I*.

(22) [1] I: when I was doing the military service like uh I was dispatched to Haiti because
[2] S: oh really?
[3] I: of the earthquake yah so
[4] S: how did that happen that you
[5] I: ah after the earthquake like I went there to res- reconstruct them and
[6] S: oh ok
[7] I: yeah so and actually I saw lots of kind of (.) some things and kind of the poverty
[8] S: yah
[9] I: in TV but when I saw that in real like it made me some kind of think again about lots of thing
[10] S: yah
[11] I: so (.) ø [was/am] quite amazed about that and uh it's still sad that uhm (.) yes that even a family like four people they they don't live without uh they they live uuh well they live the day with only less than a dollar so maybe
[12] S: yah
[13] I: less than uh uh similar with cheon won [one thousand won; *won* = Korean currency] <78_m23>

5.2.3.2 *Case study 2:* It *as minus-pronoun in subject position*

Of the 53 occurrences of minus-third person singular pronoun *it* in subject position, 15 instances can be clearly categorized as pleonastic subjects (also known as pro, empty, or dummy *it*; see Quirk et al. 1985: 348f). The pleonastic subjects which are concerned by minus-pronoun *it* in the SPOKE corpus either refer to the weather, in (23) the speaker is contemplating a trip to Thailand and in (24) the speaker is asking about the weather in Germany, or time, as demonstrated in (25).

(23) I: but I heard that the weather (.) at the time is horrible
S: aah
I: very hot and humid (.) ø rains a lot so I changed my mind <99_f27>

(24) isn't ø cold in in your country? <92_m28>

(25) what time is ø now? <56_f23>

In the rest of the cases, minus-pronoun *it* is a referring anaphoric expression, as illustrated in (26), where the minus-pronoun refers to a previously mentioned Nepalese curry, and (27), where the minus-pronoun invokes a university guest house in a German city mentioned in the preceding turns.

(26) S: how was that [the Nepalese curry]?
I: how? I think ø is good <74_f24>

(27) it was really (.) it wasn't really good because ø was far from the city center <28_m33>

5.2.3.3 *Case study 3:* It *as minus-pronoun in object position*

The by far most frequent minus-singular pronoun in object position is the third person *it* (n = 131). The other singular minus-pronouns which function as objects are *him*, *her*, *you*, and *me* (14 instances altogether). In the following, those instances will not be considered as the focus lies on the main contender in this category: *It* as minus-pronoun accounts, after all, for 90% of all singular minus-pronouns in object position.

The 131 instances of singular minus-pronoun *it* in object position were further subcategorized into direct objects, indirect objects, and prepositional objects. Sentences (28) to (30) illustrate the use of *it* in the SPOKE corpus in direct, indirect, and prepositional object position, once as realized pronoun (the a-utterances) and once as minus-pronoun (the b-utterances). As *it* never occurred in the corpus in indirect object position (neither as realized nor as minus-pronoun), two constructed examples, (29a) and (29b), represent this usage.

(28a) at first my (.) uuh mother didn't like it <102_f25> (*it* as direct object)

(28b) I I really didn't like math I hated ø <31_m32> (minus-*it* in direct object position)

(29a) I gave it some food [constructed; not found in the SPOKE corpus] (*it* as indirect object)

(29b) I gave ø some food [constructed; not found in the SPOKE corpus] (minus-*it* in indirect object position)

(30a) I didn't know about it <41_f30> (*it* as prepositional object)

(30b) so mmh I usually had to look at ø before I went [to] their house <21_f31> (minus-*it* in prepositional object position)

For the analysis at hand, the b-utterances (concerning the minus-use of *it* in object position) are of relevance.

In most cases, minus-pronoun *it* can be categorized as direct object (89% of all minus-pronouns *it* in object position; n = 117). Only in a few cases minus-pronoun *it* functioned as prepositional object (14 instances; i.e., 11% of all minus-pronouns *it* in object position; see example (30b) above) and no cases of minus-pronoun *it* in indirect object position were attested in the SPOKE corpus.

To examine the dominant forms of minus-pronoun *it* in direct object position more closely, it is useful to study the direct lexical environment, especially to the left of the minus-pronouns in order to determine the verbs this feature collocates with. Analyzing the left collocates of minus-pronoun *it* in direct object position (n = 117) reveals that it co-occurs with 48 different verb lemmas. 28 of those are hapaxes, for example, *find*, *regret,* and *buy*, as in example (31). Most other verb types occur between two and five times in combination with a minus-pronoun *it* in direct object position: for example, *hate* (n = 4), *learn* (n = 3), and *love* (n = 3; see (32)).

(31) [the speaker is talking about buying a raclette grill online] no I didn't buy ø yah (.) because you know the shipping fee is so expensive <101_f23>

(32) yah actually at that time I planned [to stay in Australia] just for three we- three months and I loved ø so changed my plan and of course my parents are was angry <106_f27>

Three verb types stand out as being more often followed by a minus-pronoun *it* in direct object position: *do* (n = 10), *eat* (n = 10), and *like* (n = 19). All three are verbs which express very basic semantic content and are of high frequency in the SPOKE corpus in general (all lemmas of *do* n = 1,572; all lemmas of *eat* n = 230; all lemmas of *like* n = 1,214). Examples (33) to (36) below illustrate this for the three different verbs. In (33), the speaker is contemplating being one of the few people in Korea being able to provide instructions on ceramic arts in English. In the next example, (34), three tokens of minus-*it* occur in direct object position after the verb *eat* over a short stretch of speech (note that the speaker is not talking about eating in general as in being a person who does not eat much but is thinking about eating a specific Korean dish).

(33) there's no one who can teach ceramic in English but I can do ø that's the good point <58j_m26>

(34) yah but (.) but uh I don't eat ø very (.) very much because (.) ddeokbbeogi [rice cakes in a spicy red sauce] is seems a little bit not healthy so (.) I eat ø like just once a week even if I I want to eat eat ø more than that <37_m23>

The next utterance, (35), is an answer to the interviewer's question whether the speaker likes German food. The speaker concedes that she likes *it* even though it is a bit too salty (where *it* is realized as minus-pronoun). The last example, (36), is part of an account of photography as a hobby where the speaker argues that taking pictures of landscapes is easier than taking pictures of people. In the utterance excerpted below, the minus-pronoun *it* refers to a picture taken by the photographer (i.e., if the photographer takes a picture of a person, that person might not like *it* and complain, whereas pictures of landscapes are always constructed as beautiful, making everybody "feel good").

(35) yah I can eat everything I don't have some favorites so generally I like ø but for me a little bit salty you know for a Korean <30_f26>

(36) maybe uh maybe you like ø or not but but landscape is always always feel good <115_f23>

It could be argued that the occurrence of minus-pronouns in direct object position is determined by the preceding verb, which, depending on its verb complementation type (Quirk et al. 1985: 1171), requires an object (i.e., monotransitive verbs), two objects (i.e., ditransitive verbs), or no complement (i.e., intransitive verbs). The cases of minus-pronouns in direct object position could then potentially also be explained with a change in the complementation type of the respective verb. This explanation, however, is contradicted by the high number of the same verbs which do take object complements (e.g., *do* without object complement n = 10 vs. all lemmas of *do* n = 1,572; *eat* without object complement n = 10 vs. all lemmas of *eat* n = 230; *like* without object complement n = 19 vs. all lemmas of *like* n = 1,214). It is thus more sensible to consider those verbs as shifting from a transitive verb to another, rather particular, kind of intransitive verb. In their classification of intransitive verbs, Quirk et al. (1985: 1169) specify a subtype called *intransitive verbs – Type II*. Intransitive verbs of type II can occur with identical meaning either as intransitive (i.e., without object) or as transitive form (i.e., with object) (Quirk et al. 1985: 1169). If those verbs occur (usually in informal speech) without an object, they "can be described as having an 'understood object'" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1169) as can be observed in sentence (38).

(38) I am reading (a book). (example from Quirk et al. 1985: 1169)

It is thus conceivable that Korean speakers of English classify more verbs as flexible intransitive verbs of type II. They can then stand either with or without a direct object without any semantic repercussions, which led to the observations made in this section.

5.2.4 Discussion

This chapter surveyed the use of pronouns by Korean speakers of English based on the premise that the Korean and the English pronoun paradigms are essentially different. The quantitative analysis of pronoun frequencies in comparison to corpora of British and American English led to a subsequent focus on minus-pronouns which were scrutinized in detail in three case studies. The results of the analyses pertaining to pronominal use by Korean English speakers are summarized as follows:

- Markedly fewer pronouns are found in the SPOKE corpus in total when compared to the modified SB corpus and the conversational part of the BNC; the quantitative overview also revealed that this trend does not pertain to all pronoun types.
  - *Me*, *he*, *him*, *we*, *us*, and *them* are of similar normalized frequency across the three corpora.
  - *I* is the only item which is more frequent in the SPOKE corpus (probably due to a different thematic focus of the recordings).
  - *He*, *she*, *it*, *they*, and *you* are less frequent in the SPOKE corpus.
- Minus-pronouns do occur in the SPOKE corpus but can only account for a fraction of the quantitative difference between the total normalized pronoun frequencies of the three corpora; in addition to minus-pronouns, I thus proposed the repetition of noun phrases as possible explanation for the lower number of pronouns in the SPOKE corpus.
- The identified minus-pronouns are mainly of three types: *I* in subject position, *it* in subject position, and *it* in object position.
  - Minus-pronoun *I* in subject position mainly occurs in close neighborhood to a previously realized mention of *I*.
  - Minus-pronoun *it* in subject position is either a pleonastic subject or an anaphoric referring expression.
  - Minus-pronoun *it* in object position is to a large degree a direct object (89%) and to a lesser degree a prepositional object (11%).

Minus-pronouns can also be subsumed as a general characteristic of languages under the phenomenon of *pro-drop*. Korean is a pro-drop language whereas English, per se, is not. Even though pronoun use is generally not optional in English (apart from particular cases of ellipsis), the system is not as rigorous as it is often made out to be. Pro-drop can indeed frequently be observed in contact varieties and colloquial speech of L1 Englishes (Wagner 2012: 393) as well as in some forms of computer-mediated communication (see, e.g., Bieswanger 2016) and in note taking (Janda 1985). Pronoun drop has also been observed, in subject as well as in object position, in a range of English varieties. eWAVE, for example, gives the pervasiveness of object pronoun drop with 65% and subject pronoun drop with 58% for referential pronouns and 57% for dummy pronouns (Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013). Referential pronoun drop in subject position is attested as pervasive or obligatory in eight varieties and as common (i.e., neither pervasive nor extremely rare) in 18, among them high-contact L1s (e.g., Colloquial Singaporean English, Maltese English), 'traditional' L1s (e.g., Scottish English), L2s (e.g., Hong

Kong English, Indian English), pidgins (e.g., Norfolk Island/Pitcairn English), and creoles (e.g., Torres Strait Creole). Dummy pronouns in subject position are always or at least very frequently dropped in eight varieties, and in an additional six varieties of English this feature occurs to a considerable degree as well. The case of object pronoun drop has been described as characteristic of nine varieties and is attested for a further 12 English varieties, among them many L2s (e.g., Hong Kong English, Indian English, Kenyan English, Malaysian English, Cape Flats English, Sri Lankan English) but also other variety types. Minus-pronouns are thus not an isolated (low frequency) feature of the English spoken by Koreans but can also be found in different instantiations across a range of variety types around the world, which points to their status as general universals (Sharma 2012) or Angloversals (Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann 2009).

In explaining the frequency differences of pronoun use across the SPOKE corpus, the SB corpus, and the BNC, minus-pronouns emerge as only one contributing factor. The conclusion is, thus, that pronouns are used less frequently by Korean speakers of English, but in addition to minus-pronouns other means are employed to achieve lower pronoun usage rates, such as the repetition of nouns. Occurrences of minus-pronouns might be favored by substrate language influence of Korean, which can be characterized as a pro-drop language (which additionally does not have third person pronouns at its disposal at all), but the influence is clearly only marginal as attested by the low numbers of minus-pronouns: per 1,000 pronoun occurrences in the SPOKE corpus, only ten are realized as minus-pronouns.

Minus-pronouns have also been investigated from a language acquisition point of view. These studies often focused on the acquisition of anaphora (e.g., Williams 1988), the resolution of pronoun reference (e.g., Pretorius 2005), or (bilingual) child language acquisition (e.g., Sorace et al. 2009) and are thus of less relevance to the present investigation of the Korean use of English pronouns in an informal, conversational setting. Learner effects should, nevertheless, not be excluded from potential influences on the formation of the Korean English repertoire.

The analysis of minus-pronouns in the SPOKE corpus, despite their relatively low number, allowed the creation of a minus-pronoun profile for the English spoken by Koreans (as described in the list of results at the beginning of this section). This kind of profile depicting preferences for certain kinds of minus-pronouns has also been identified for other varieties of English. Schröter and Kortmann (2016), for example, establish different realization patterns or preferences for minus-pronouns in subject position in ICE-Great Britain, ICE-Hong Kong, and ICE-Singapore. Using the spoken informal (conversational) components of the three corpora, they find that "British English favours zeroes in co-referential coordination, Hong Kong English in relative clauses, 3rd person contexts and non-referential *it is*-constructions, [and] Singaporean English in existential *got*, *X or not* questions, and topic chains" (Schröter & Kortmann 2016: 238, emphasis in the original). For British English and Singaporean English, person (i.e., first, second, or third person pronoun) was not a relevant factor (a slight preference for minus-first person pronouns was detected, however), but person is relevant for Hong Kong English, where third person pronouns are more frequently realized as minus-pronouns than first and second person pronouns (Schröter & Kortmann 2016: 235). The study by Schröter and Kortmann (2016) consequently shows that varieties have preferences in the realization of minus-pronouns (see also Alsagoff & Ho 1998) and the present description of minus-pronouns in the Korean English context provides insights into pronoun use in a so-far underdescribed variety of English.

After having surveyed, so far, the use and non-use of plural marking on the noun and the general use of pronouns, the following chapter analyzes the use of articles by Korean speakers of English.

5.3 Articles

This chapter is devoted to the analysis of article use by Korean speakers of English, as the Korean and English article systems are inherently different. Whereas English possesses an article paradigm which, despite simplicity in form, is shaped by complex and irregular uses and functions of definite and indefinite articles, articles are notably absent in Korean. The use of the definite article to signal specificity instead of definiteness was also one of the morpho-syntactic innovations identified by Shim (1999) in the English textbooks used in the Korean education system (see Chapter 3.1). The functions of English articles as employed by Korean speakers of English are thus an interesting point of departure in researching the Korean English repertoire.

Section 5.3.1 starts out with a short overview of the English and Korean article system. The following analytical section investigates overall article frequencies in the SPOKE corpus, particularly in comparison with other varieties of English, before turning more concretely to the use of definite and indefinite articles by Korean speakers of English. Due to the immense complexity and high frequency of articles in language use (in combination with the difficulties in grasping article use analytically), I decided to follow the example set by other researchers (e.g., Filppula et al. 2009a) and only investigate article use in set contexts. This means that not every instance of article use or non-use in the corpus data is taken into consideration but only articles occurring (or not occurring) in selected lexical environments or patterns. As in the previous analytical chapters on nouns

(Chapter 5.1) and pronouns (Chapter 5.2) and as explicated in detail in the section on the theoretical framework (Chapter 3.4), I employ the *plus-/minus-/swap*-terminology to describe the non-conventional use of articles in the SPOKE corpus. Finally, the discussion relates the results from the analysis to previous research on varieties of English.

5.3.1 Articles in English and in Korean

Articles in English

The English system of determiners can be classified according to their ordering in the noun phrase as predeterminers, central determiners, and postdeterminers (Quirk et al. 1985: 253). This study focuses on the category of central determiners, more specifically the definite and indefinite articles *the* and *a/an*. Other central determiners, such as *some*, *any*, *this*, and *every*, are not considered. Subsumed in the article paradigm is frequently a 'no article'-form which occurs

a. with indefinite plurals and mass nouns (*olives*, *cheese*);
b. with proper names in the singular (*John*, *Helsinki*);
c. with some count singular common nouns in certain 'idiomatic' structures (*at church*, *hand in hand*, etc.) (Chesterman 1991: 45, emphasis in the original)

It has been proposed that the 'no article'-form consists of two different instantiations: the null-article (found in definite contexts such as (b) above) and the zero-article (found in indefinite contexts such as (a) above) (Chesterman 1991: 46). However, an interpretation of the 'no article'-form as one "single 'unmarked' category" (Chesterman 1991: 47) is also possible.

In general, the main function of the definite and indefinite articles in English is to indicate definiteness (Quirk et al. 1985: 253). Article choice depends on a number of factors such as the grammatical status of the following noun (count/non-count, singular/plural) and whether specific or generic reference is expressed. The definite article *the* establishes the following phrase as "referring to something which can be identified uniquely in the contextual or general knowledge shared by speaker and hearer" (Quirk et al. 1985: 265). The definiteness of the specific reference is retrievable via a number of means, for example, through assumed general knowledge, reference to the extralinguistic situation, anaphora or cataphora, etc. (Quirk et al. 1985: 265–272). The indefinite article fills in when the use of the definite article is not applicable, that is "*a/an X* will be used where the reference of *X* is not uniquely identifiable in the shared knowledge of speaker and hearer" (Quirk et al. 1985: 272, emphasis in the original). What Quirk et al. (1985: 276) term "zero article with definite meaning" is used "in rather special circumstances" such as when expressing a unique role or task, see (d), with specific kinds of institutions, as in (e), nouns of transport or communication if following the preposition *by*, see (f), etc. (Quirk et al. 1985: 276–281).

d. Maureen is _ captain of the team.
e. go to _ prison, be in/at _ church
f. travel by _ bicycle, come by _ car (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985: 276–278)

The article system of English is only at first sight a straightforward paradigm of equating definite article use with definite reference and indefinite article use with indefinite reference. In fact, it is not only extremely complex in nature (as hinted at above) but is also riddled with exceptions and unclear cases "which plague not only learners of the language but also grammarians and language teachers trying to make sense of the article system" (Chesterman 1991: 7). Furthermore, the use of articles is not a matter of black and white but "displays great variability even in standard British and American English" (Sand 2004: 283). This point leads Sand to the prediction that "even greater differences in [article] usage" (Sand 2004: 283) can be expected in contact varieties of English. And indeed, New Englishes, for example, have "frequently been described as sharing irregular use of articles" (Sharma 2012: 215). A number of further studies, which will be integrated in the discussion at the end of this chapter, also identified variable article use across varieties of English (see, e.g., Platt & Weber 1980; Sand 1999; Mollin 2006; Kirkpatrick 2010; and Dröschel 2011 for studies of article use in a range of variety types).

Articles in Korean

As the Korean language does not have articles (neither definite nor indefinite), no separate overview of the article system is necessary. The existence of other determinatives in Korean needs to be mentioned here, however. Despite a lack of articles as such, determiners are realized in the form of definite and indefinite demonstratives (e.g., 이, *i*, 'this'; 그, *geu*, 'that'; 어느, *eo-neu*, 'one (certain)'), qualifiers (e.g., 새, *sae*, 'new'; 다른, *da-reun*, 'another'), and quantifiers (e.g., 매, *mae*, 'every'; 첫, *cheot*, 'first') (Sohn 1999: 210). These determiners all occur before the noun they modify and cannot be inflected (Sohn 1999: 210).

5.3.2 Article frequencies in the SPOKE corpus

Using the search function in AntConc and manually excluding false starts (such as *an* in _an-_ *another*) allowed the establishment of raw and normalized frequencies of the definite article *the* and the indefinite articles *a* and *an* in the SPOKE corpus (summarized in Table 5.14).

Table 5.14 Article frequencies in the SPOKE corpus (raw frequencies and normalized per 1,000 words)

	Raw frequency	Frequency per 1,000 words
the	7,442	24.9
a	3,996	13.3
an	157	0.5
a/an (comb.)	4,153	13.9

It will be of interest to compare these usage numbers from the SPOKE corpus to the frequencies of article use in the American reference corpus, represented by the modified SB corpus and displayed in Table 5.15.

Table 5.15 Article frequencies in the modified SB corpus (raw frequencies and normalized per 1,000 words)

	Raw frequency	Frequency per 1,000 words
the	4,578	26.9
a	3,014	17.7
an	226	1.3
a/an (comb.)	3,240	19.0

Table 5.16 Article frequencies in different English varieties as reported by Sand (2004) (normalized per 1,000 words)

	ICE-GB	ICE-Singapore	ICE-India	ICE-New Zealand	ICE-East Africa (Kenya)	ICE-Jamaica	NITCS*******
the	27.2	30.9	31.3	33.8	35.1	45.6	47.3
a/an	26.6	14.0	15.3	22.1	19.8	23.7	25.5

******* NITCS stands for the *Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech*.

As we can see, the frequencies of the definite article are similar between the SPOKE and the SB corpus data (24.9 vs. 26.9 definite articles per 1,000 words). Regarding the indefinite articles *a* and *an*, the SPOKE data, however, stays well below the frequency found in the SB corpus (13.9 vs. 19.0 indefinite articles per 1,000 words).

Considering article frequencies in World Englishes more widely, it is helpful to turn to Sand (2004), who reports the frequencies of articles for various other varieties of English (drawing mainly on the ICE-corpora). For the conversational parts of the corpora investigated (and thus comparable in mode to the data from the SPOKE corpus),[17] she finds the article frequencies per 1,000 words as given in Table 5.16.

Using the numbers from Sand (2004) and the data obtained from the SPOKE corpus and the modified SB corpus and ordering the data points in ascending order of definite article frequency we obtain the following figure:[18]

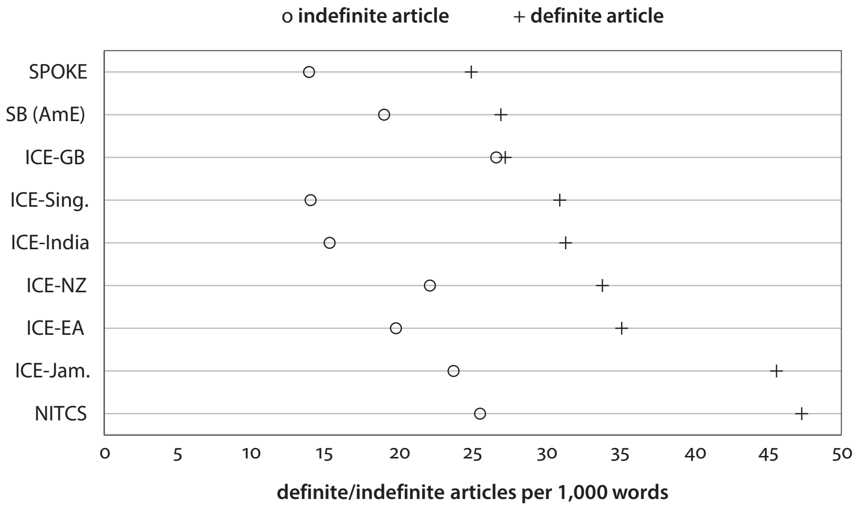

Figure 5.3 Article use plotted across English varieties (normalized per 1,000 words)

The use of both the definite and the indefinite article is lowest in SPOKE when compared to the other surveyed corpora. One possible explanation for this is substrate language influence. As the Korean language does not have articles, it can be hypothesized that Korean speakers transfer this property to their use of English and consequently employ articles to a lesser degree. Speakers are, of course, aware of the existence of the English articles in general and thus do not refrain completely from using them. Sand (2004), however, argues that substrate language influences in the use of articles is unlikely. Continuing her argument, she modifies this statement and concedes that "[i]f the structure of the substrate has any influence at all with regard to article use, it is only in *spontaneous conversations*" (Sand 2004: 288, emphasis added). As the SPOKE corpus material consists of exactly such spontaneous conversations it is thus conceivable that Korean as a substrate language, nevertheless, had an influence on the article use by Korean speakers of English as described in this study. Nonetheless, Singaporean English and Indian English, which are also characterized by a lack of articles in their (or some of their) substrate languages (cf. Sand 2004: 286), show moderately higher use of definite articles when compared with the SPOKE speakers (30.9 definite articles per 1,000 words in ICE-Singapore, 31.3 in ICE-India vs. 24.9 in the SPOKE corpus) which lie even above the frequencies found in the corpora of American and British English. In the use of indefinite articles, however, the three varieties clearly cluster together and are characterized by the lowest frequencies of all the varieties surveyed (13.9 indefinite articles per 1,000 words in the SPOKE corpus, 14.0 in ICE-Singapore, and 15.3 in ICE-India).

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[17] In formal spoken contexts as well as in written genres more definite articles can usually be found (Biber et al. 1999: 267; Sand 2004: 287). It would be interesting to see if this difference regarding definite article use depending on formality and mode of text also holds true for the English used by Koreans.

[18] I am thankful to Lukas Sönning, who not only described the visualization of this kind of meta-analysis in Sönning (2016) but also made a corresponding Excel-spreadsheet available for use via <www.bit.ly/malt-dotplot-excel>.

In summary, the English spoken by Koreans is similar to the British and American English data when it comes to the frequency of the definite article and rather dissimilar to the other varieties under consideration (i.e., Singaporean English, Indian English, New Zealand English, East African/Kenyan English, Jamaican English, and Irish English). Regarding the frequency of the indefinite article, the situation nearly reverses and the SPOKE data resembles the Singaporean and Indian English data more closely than any of the other varieties. I hypothesize that this could partly be explained with substrate language influence but also concede that this only potentially accounts for some of the frequency differences. The different behavior of Singaporean English and Indian English regarding definite article use (despite similar grammatical properties of the substrate languages as regards articles) indicates that substrate language influence can only be part of a bigger picture.

This kind of quantitative analysis obviously has its limits and can only be used as a starting point for further investigation. The following two sections, therefore, present more qualitative insights into the use of the definite and indefinite articles.

5.3.3 The definite article

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, definite and indefinite article use in the SPOKE corpus are to be more closely examined via a number of case studies. In the selection of case studies, I followed the procedure established by Filppula et al. (2009a) and Sand (2004), who start out by identifying a number of lexical contexts which conventionally inhibit the use of the definite article. Filppula et al. (2009a: 241) select “the most commonly occurring names of social institutions and quantifying expressions”, that is, *school*, *hospital*, *college*, *university*, *most of*, *half of*, and *both of*. The contexts described by Sand (2004: 290–292) in a qualitative analysis of definite article use across various L1 and L2 varieties of English are also of particular interest: collective nouns with generic meaning (e.g., *society*, *people*, *men*, *women*, *boys*, *girls*), institutions (e.g., *jail*, *church*), and temporal expressions (e.g., nouns referring to days of the week, months, seasons, and holidays). The procedure of identifying lexical environments pertinent to the feature under investigation makes the analysis of high-frequency items (such as articles) more feasible. Manual disambiguation is still necessary, however. The specific reference to social institutions, for example, warrants the use of the definite article whereas a non-specific reference does not, a distinction which has to be sorted manually (see Filppula et al. 2009a: 242). Using the studies by Filppula et al. (2009a) and Sand (2004) as models, the following lexical items[19] were selected for analysis:

1. social institutions: *school*, *hospital*, *college*, *university*, *jail*, *church*
2. quantifying expressions: *most of*, *half*, *both of*
3. temporal expressions, i.e.,
    3a. days of the week: *Monday*, *Tuesday*, *Wednesday*, *Thursday*, *Friday*, *Saturday*, *Sunday*
    3b. months: *January*, *February*, *March*, *April*, *May*, *June*, *July*, *August*, *September*, *October*, *November*, *December*
    3c. seasons: *spring*, *summer*, *fall/autumn*, *winter*
    3d. holidays: *Thanksgiving*, *Christmas*, *New Year(s)*, *Valentine's Day*, *White Day*, *Black Day*, *Rose Day*[20]

Following the preliminary results from a pilot study (Rüdiger 2014) which noted a tendency to use definite articles in combination with proper nouns, names of countries and languages were also added to this investigation.

4. proper nouns,[21] i.e.,
    4a. country names – type A (conventionally used without definite article): *Afghanistan*, *Albania*, *America*, *Australia*, *Austria*, *Belgium*, *Bolivia*, *Brazil*,

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[19] Items occurring ten times or more in SPOKE are underlined.

[20] *White Day*, *Black Day*, and *Rose Day* are Korean holidays: *White Day* (March 14) is an unofficial holiday similar to Valentine's Day where men are supposed to give candy, chocolate, or other gifts to their girlfriend or wife. *Black Day* (April 14) is another unofficial holiday where singles gather to eat noodles covered in black bean sauce (*Jjajjangmyeong*). On *Rose Day* (May 14), flowers are offered to women as part of a romantic gesture.

[21] The list of countries (type A and B) was composed by checking the list of countries available on <http://www.state.gov/misc/list/> (Date of Access October 15, 2016). Items which do not occur at all in the SPOKE corpus are not listed (i.e., every item given in 4a) and 4b) occurs at least once). The list of place names was compiled by checking the list of the world's largest cities available on <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World%27s_largest_cities> (Date of Access November 4, 2016). Each item which occurred at least once in the SPOKE corpus was added

Cambodia, *Canada*, *Cote d'Ivoire*, *China*, *Czech*,[22] *Denmark*, *East Timor*, *Egypt*, *England*, *Finland*, *France*, *Germany*, *Greece*, *Haiti*, *Holland*, *Hong Kong*, *Hungary*, *India*, *Indonesia*, *Iran*, *Iraq*, *Ireland*, *Israel*, *Italy*, *Jamaica*, *Japan*, *Jordan*, *Kazakhstan*, *Korea* (incl. *North Korea*, *South Korea*), *Kyrgyzstan*, *Laos*, *Luxembourg*, *Macau*, *Malaysia*, *Mexico*, *Morocco*, *Nepal*, *New Zealand*, *Niger*, *Norway*, *Pakistan*, *Peru*, *Poland*, *Portugal*, *Qatar*, *Russia*, *Saudi Arabia*, *Singapore*, *Somalia*, *South Africa*, *South Sudan*, *Suriname*, *Sweden*, *Switzerland*, *Syria*, *Taiwan*, *Thailand*, *Turkey*, *Uzbekistan*, *Venezuela*, *Vietnam*

4b. country names – type B (conventionally used with definite article): *the Czech Republic*, *the Netherlands*, *the Philippines*, *the States* (as in the United States), *the U.K.*, *the United States*, *the U.S.*/*U.S.A.*

4c) continents: *Africa*, *Asia*, *Europe*, *South America*, *North America*, *Antarctica*

4d. place names (mainly cities): *Amsterdam*, *Auckland*, *Bangkok*, *Barcelona*, *Bayreuth*, *Beijing*, *Berlin*, *Brisbane*, *Busan*, *Calgary*, *Chicago*, *Cologne*, *Daegu*, *Dresden*, *Dubai*, *Dublin*, *Fuessen*, *Gyeongju*, *Hamburg*, *Hanoi*, *Incheon*, *Jeju* (*Island*), *Kuala Lumpur*, *Kyoto*, *L.A.*/*Los Angeles*, *London*, *Lyon*, *Manila*, *Melbourne*, *Milan*, *Montreal*, *Munich*/*Muenchen*, *New York*, *Nuremberg*/*Nuernberg*, *Osaka*, *Paris*, *Perth*, *Prague*/*Praha*, *Pyongyang*, *Rome*, *San Francisco*, *Seoul*, *Shanghai*, *Suwon*, *Sydney*, *Tokyo*, *Toronto*, *Venice*, *Warsaw*, *Washington*, *Yongsan*, *Zurich*

4e. languages: *English*, *French*, *German*, *Japanese*, *Korean*, *Chinese*, *Spanish*

The range of deverbal nouns in *-ing* was also added to the list of items of interest; this was inspired by Sand (2004: 291):

5. deverbal nouns in *-ing*

The lexical items listed in 1) – 4) were subsequently entered as search terms in AntConc and a search phrase was developed to account for 5). The concordances were then automatically sorted according to two categories: used with article and used without article. Next, the concordances were manually coded for conventional and non-conventional uses of articles, taking the exceptions outlined in each subsection into account. In the following analysis, I consider each lexical environment separately as case studies, starting out with nouns denoting social institutions.

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to the list in 4d). The list was then completed with the names of cities which are not among the world's largest cities but were of particular relevance to the speakers (e.g., *Bayreuth*, *Jeju*, *Nuremberg*/*Nuernberg*).

[22] Excluding *Czech Republic*, which can conventionally be used with the definite article.

5.3.3.1 *Case study 1: Articles + nouns denoting social institutions*

In conventional uses of English, the use of definite articles with nouns denoting social institutions is not a black-and-white picture but presents itself as rather complex. As Quirk et al. explain, in certain cases of nouns referring to "'institutions' of human life and society" the definite article is absent when the "nouns […] do not refer to actual buildings or places, but to the institutions associated with them" (1985: 277). Particularly when they are part of a prepositional phrase with *at*, *in*, or *on*, the zero article is common (Quirk et al. 1985: 277). The following pairs of phrases (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985: 277) demonstrate this difference between zero article and definite article use. The first pair part shows the reference to the social institution with zero article use and the second pair part demonstrates the locative use with specific reference which entails definite article use:

(1) be in jail/walk around the jail

(2) go to school/visit the school

(3) be in church/admire the church

(4) go to college/the gates of the college (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985: 277)

This shows quite plainly that it is not enough to simply look for the respective noun either preceded by the definite article or by zero article in one's dataset. For the investigation of the SPOKE corpus every concordance line of the nouns listed in the previous section was manually checked. The first step was then to discard items which were the first part of a compound (e.g., *school uniform*, *school student*, *hospital building*, *university student*, *university fee*, etc.).[23] Altogether, 192 concordance lines were thus eliminated from the analysis (and are also not listed in Table 5.17 below). Compounds where the lexical item under scrutiny was the second part of the compound were retained for analysis (e.g., *elementary school*, *middle school*, *high school*, *private school*). Also retained were cases where the noun was modified by an adjective (e.g., *big hospital*, *small hospital*) or was part of a name (e.g., *Cardiff University*, *Seoul University*). The next step consisted of reviewing the remaining concordance lines and ascertaining whether either a definite or indefinite article was present or not. In each case it needed to be decided whether the noun was referring to a specific location or to the institution per se. When necessary, the extended context including the speech of the interviewer was examined in order to establish whether the reference was specific or non-specific and whether a locative meaning was expressed or not. Each noun was then assigned a category (A, B, C, D, or E) which are explained in detail and with examples in the following sections.

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[23] The number of discarded items in this step are: *school* (n = 103), *university* (n = 67), *college* (n = 17), *church* (n = 4), and *hospital* (n = 1).

Regular uses of the definite article were tagged as *conventional zero article*. The example in A illustrates this with the noun *school*. The speaker in (5) refers to *school* as a general social institution and not a location by alluding to the time when students *finish school*.

A. no article and non-specific reference: conventional zero article
   (5) because usually when they [students] finish school from uh sc- class from school it's uuh about over eight or nine <21_f31>

When a definite article was used to express a specific reference, the tagging category was determined as *conventional definite article*. In the example given for B, the speaker concludes a longer narrative about her stay abroad in Germany. One of the problems she encountered was that she had to take a course in a very hot classroom in *the school she attended*. Due to this specific reference, the use of the definite article can be determined as conventional.

B. definite article and specific reference: conventional definite article
   (6) one of the classrooms was really hot (.) in the school <96_f22>

In cases where the article was left out but a specific reference expressed, the use was tagged as *minus-definite article*. In example (7), the speaker was talking about her younger sister's trip to India where she was sent, not by any school, but specifically *the school she visits*. This would conventionally warrant the use of a definite article.

C. no article and specific reference: minus-definite article
   (7) so she's very er she's just high school student so uh ø school send send her [to India] <50_f22>

In some cases, a definite article was used to express a non-specific reference. This was subsequently tagged as *plus-definite article*. In the illustrative example of category D, the speaker talks about her condition since she started studying at university: that is, since school started she has been excessively tired. As she is referring to the general start of school and no locative sense is expressed, this use has been tagged as plus-definite article.

D. definite article and non-specific reference: plus-definite article
   (8) since the since the school starts (.) I don't know I (laughs) I'm tired every day <86_f24>

There are also cases where the conventional use would include an indefinite article preceding the respective noun. This means in turn, that conventional and non-conventional uses of the indefinite article before nouns denoting social institutions are possible and both can be found in the SPOKE corpus. All cases of indefinite article use are subsumed under one category, however, as they are, strictly speaking, not of relevance to the investigation of definite article use.[24] Cases concerning indefinite article use are, nevertheless, still listed in order to complete the picture of article use in combination with the noun class investigated. The first example given in E below demonstrates a conventional use of the indefinite article and the second example a non-conventional one (to be more specific, a plus-indefinite article).

E. indefinite article: all uses concerning the indefinite article – plus-indefinite article, conventional indefinite article, minus-indefinite article (all subsumed in one category as they are not of relevance for this analysis)
(9) I knew a school for North Korean students <27_f37>
(10) you know that after they uh finish a high school they do like ceremonies after <41_f30>

The results of the analysis for the six selected nouns (*school*, *university*, *hospital*, *college*, *church*, and *jail*; ordered by total number of occurrences) are summarized in Table 5.17 below.

Table 5.17 Use of articles with nouns denoting social institutions in the SPOKE corpus (raw frequencies and percentages)

	A) Conventional zero article	**B) Conventional definite article**	**C) Minus-definite article**	**D) Plus-definite article**	**E) Indefinite article cases**	**Σ**
school	347 (76%)	37 (8%)	5 (1%)	29 (6%)	37 (8%)	455
university	237 (73%)	28 (9%)	5 (2%)	41 (13%)	12 (4%)	323
hospital	12 (25%)	18 (38%)	13 (27%)	0	5 (10%)	48
college	18 (67%)	3 (11%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	4 (15%)	27
church	21 (95%)	1 (5%)	0	0	0	22
jail	6 (100%)	0	0	0	0	6
Σ	**641** **(73%)**	**87** **(10%)**	**24** **(3%)**	**71** **(8%)**	**58** **(7%)**	**881**

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[24] Except when an indefinite article stands instead of a definite one, that is, a *swap-article (def → indef)*, which occurs only three times with nouns denoting social institutions as investigated in the SPOKE corpus.

As can be seen, the conventional uses of definite articles (categories A and B) clearly predominate the overall usage patterns: The percentage of conventional uses (zero-article or definite article) lies between 63% and 100%, averaging out at 83% (A and B combined). The percentages of non-conventional definite article use (either minus- or plus-definite article; categories C and D) range between 0% and 27%, averaging out at 11% (C and D combined). The lexical item *hospital* is conspicuous due to its association with a rather high rate of minus-definite articles (particularly when compared to the other items). This might be related to the general variability of article use together with this noun. For example, *go to hospital* is conventional for American English, whereas *go to the hospital* is conventional for British English (a cursory checking of COCA and BNC confirm that these are only usage preferences). The higher use of minus-definite articles before *hospital* by the Korean speakers in the SPOKE corpus could now be interpreted as validation of the status of American English as main input variety in South Korea. However, the minus-definite articles subsumed as category C are non-conventional regardless of which variety the usage is compared to. In those cases, the specific reference of the noun definitely necessitates the use of the definite article. This is illustrated in example (11). The speaker, who worked as a nurse in pediatric oncology, recounts how one of her patients was scheduled to come back for a check-up to *the* hospital where she was working and where he was receiving his regular care. Despite the specific reference to a hospital, the definite article is not used and can thus clearly be identified as minus-definite article.

(11) he come back to he [it was] time to [come] back to ø hospital why he didn't come <106_f27>

The use of plus-definite articles before the noun *university* also stands out. With 41 instances (13% of all instances of *university*) it warrants a closer look in the two examples below.

(12) all the students are is preparing to enter the university or uh will enter the university this year <27_f37>

(13) ooh so when you were in the university you came to here and did something? <112_f24>

In (12), not one specific university is referenced but university as a social institution in general. Nevertheless, plus-definite articles are employed twice by the speaker. This is similar to the use of *the university* in (13), where the speaker enquires about the university days of the interviewer. The notion of a specific university is irrelevant as the question only aims at the timeframe where the interviewer was a student (i.e., the particular school attended by the interviewer is not of consequence).

5.3.3.2 *Case study 2: Quantifying expressions*

Three quantifying expressions were examined for the second case study: *both of*, *half*, and *most of*. The tagging and categorization scheme in this case was far more simple than in the previous case study. Either a definite article was present (non-conventional use; plus-definite article) or no article was realized before the expressions (conventional use). No cases of indefinite article use before the expressions were identified in the SPOKE corpus (except for 12 cases of *a half* as part of numerical constructions, e.g., *an hour and a half*, *two and a half years*, which were excluded from the analysis). As we can see in Table 5.18, the use of these expressions in combination with a plus-definite article by Korean speakers of English is very uncommon.

Table 5.18 The use of articles with quantifying expressions in the SPOKE corpus (raw frequencies and percentages)

	No article	**Plus-definite article**	**Σ**
both of	17 (94%)	1 (6%)	18
half	50 (100%)	0 (0%)	50
most of	107 (96%)	4 (4%)	111
Σ	**174** **(97%)**	**5** **(3%)**	**179**

One of the rare cases where the definite article occurs in combination with *most of* can be found in example (14).

(14) yah I can ask my co-workers the most of my colleague can speak English <30f_26>

The only case of a definite article preceding the quantifying expression *both of* occurs after the interviewer enquired whether the speaker chose his thesis topic, which was related to jazz music, because he is interested in the music or the topic itself (the musical form and the lyrics in relationship to human nature) and the speaker replies “uh yeah the both of them” <18_m43>.

5.3.3.3 *Case study 3: Temporal expressions*

Quirk et al. (1985: 292) group temporal expressions under proper nouns and state that they occur without article “when they are used to refer to the period as a recurrent item in the calendar”. Regarding the seasons, the grammar states that “[t]he article is usually, but not always, omitted when referring to seasons generally, as distinct from referring to a particular part of a particular year" (Quirk et al. 1985: 278), see constructed example (15). Specific reference to a season (e.g., in a particular year), however, warrants the use of the definite article (Quirk et al. 1985: 279), see constructed example (16).

(15) I love spring.

(16) I loved the spring of 2012 (but not the one this year).

It was therefore necessary to manually evaluate all instances of definite article use before temporal expressions identified in the SPOKE corpus for specific reference status (in which case the respective instance was categorized as conventional definite article use). The use of temporal expressions in compounds was discarded from the analysis (e.g., *Christmas evening*, *summer vacation*, *Friday morning*). The three categories available were thus: no article (conventional), definite article (conventional), and plus-definite article (non-conventional).

As the overall frequencies of the individual lexical items are fairly low, the quantitative results presented in Table 5.19 subsume the temporal expressions under four different headings: days of the week, months, seasons, and seasonal holidays.

Table 5.19 The use of articles with temporal expressions in the SPOKE corpus (raw frequencies and percentages)

	No article	**Conventional definite article**	**Plus-definite article**	**Σ**
days of the week	90 (98%)	0	2 (2%)	92
months	145 (97%)	0	4 (3%)	149
seasons	82 (88%)	4 (4%)	7 (8%)	93
seasonal holidays	22 (88%)	0	3 (12%)	25
Σ	**339** **(94%)**	**4** **(1%)**	**16** **(4%)**	**359**

In sum, temporal expressions occurred 16 times in combination with a plus-definite article and 339 times without article (showing a plus-definite article rate of 4%). The four examples below illustrate each type of temporal expression (i.e., days of the week, months, seasons, and seasonal holidays) in combination with a plus-definite article.

(17) I'm very tired because uh from from the Wednesday (2) to yesterday I (1) traveled to Gyeongju city <115_f23>

(18) if you go sometimes in the October and sometimes you go on April sometimes you go on February and (.) it's this time here that another time here there here and there then it's not aligning <15_m28>

(19) it is very cold (.) in the winter <109_m35>

(20) I don't believe in God but the Christmas it's a holiday for me <12j_f30>

In (18), three months are mentioned by the speaker in close succession: October, April, and February. Only one of them (i.e., October) is preceded by a plus-definite article.[25] This variability in combination with the low frequency of plus-definite articles with temporal expressions indicates that this is not a very stable part of the Korean English repertoire.

5.3.3.4 *Case study 4: Proper nouns*

This case study is concerned with the use of articles anteceding proper nouns. The proper nouns taken into consideration are those designating countries, continents, place names, and names of languages.

Names of countries and continents. The list of countries (type A, conventionally used without definite article) from Section 5.3.3 was used as input in AntConc. The resulting concordance lines were then checked manually for instances where the country name was used as an adjective (e.g., "Greece restaurant" <4m_28>, "Vietnam food" <70_m29>, "Turkey wine" <19j_f30>, "Pakistan guy" <3_f29>) or as part of a name (e.g., "Captain America" <108_f22>). The 126 thus identified occurrences were consequently excluded from the analysis. The remaining concordances were categorized either as use without article or with plus-definite article. Altogether, 95% of all country names of type A occur without article and 5% occur with a plus-definite article ($n_{\text{total}} = 1{,}984$; $n_{\text{no article}} = 1{,}885$; $n_{\text{plus-definite article}} = 99$).

With only 5% of country names occurring with a plus-definite article, the occurrence frequency is relatively low. The following examples (21) to (23) demonstrate how the use of the definite article in combination with a country name, nevertheless, can be very salient in the Korean speakers' use of English.

(21) if I passed the (1) result I will go the place but if not I just stay in the Korea and I (.) will study very hard to get a job <111j_m22>

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[25] In all cases, the nouns are part of a prepositional phrase and, interestingly, the preposition used also varies (i.e., *in the October*, *on April*, *on February*).

(22) I don't know about the situation uhm back in time when the Germany was separated but in North Korea things are really horrible <6j_f34>

(23) they're talking with the grandma and grandfather in the Albania <41_f30>

Korea, as the home country of the participants, does not have a special status when it comes to use with a plus-definite article. *Korea* occurs in 14 instances with a plus-definite article and in 624 cases without article, which translates to a plus-definite article rate of 2%.

The names of the continents were checked following the same procedure as described above. As America and Australia were already included in the category of country names they were excluded from the analysis of names of continents. The remaining 142 occurrences of continent names are preceded 14 times by a plus-definite article and, correspondingly, 128 times by no article. Thus, we can attest a slightly higher percentage of plus-definite article use (10%) for continent names than for country names (5%). (24) and (25) exemplify this for *Africa* and *Europe*:

(24) one is from (.) the Africa <100_m30>

(25) uh the Europe was very fantastic <27_f37>

Having, so far, surveyed the nouns designating countries and continents which are conventionally used without a definite article, I now turn to the opposite case: Country names which (conventionally) warrant the use of the definite article (e.g., *the Philippines*, *the Netherlands*, *the United States*). Methodologically, the procedure was analogous to the previously described practice employed for other country and continent names. Each instance was subsequently coded as either using a (conventional) definite article or as minus-definite article. An overview of the results can be found in Table 5.20.

In case of country names which necessitate the use of the definite article (type B), a minus-definite article can frequently be attested in the SPOKE corpus instead. In total, the rate of minus-definite articles lies at 58% and hence indicates a slight preference for the non-conventional usage over the conventional one. In (26), for example, the speaker uses no definite article before *U.S.* and in (27) the same occurs with *Philippines*.

(26) so it was kind of my father's decision to go to ø U.S. because he really liked to travel a lot <49_f19>

(27) but I heard in ø Philippines there are uh more male nurses than yah female nurses <46j_f22>

The highest minus-definite article rate can be found for the item *U.S./U.S.A.*: 80% (i.e., 36 of 45) of all instances appear with no definite article. For all items listed in

Table 5.20 Article use with country names (type B) in the SPOKE corpus (raw frequencies and percentages)

	Definite article (conventional use)	**Minus-definite article**	**Σ**
Czech Republic	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	3
Netherlands	4 (40%)	6 (60%)	10
Philippines	3 (30%)	7 (70%)	10
*U.K.******	3 (27%)	8 (73%)	11
United States	18 (46%)	21 (54%)	39
U.S./U.S.A.	9 (20%)	36 (80%)	45
*States*******	25 (78%)	7 (22%)	32
Σ	**63** **(42%)**	**87** **(58%)**	**150**

***** The full form, *United Kingdom*, did not occur in the SPOKE corpus. Similarly, other country names commonly occurring with definite article (e.g., *Congo*, *Gambia*, *West Indies*) had zero occurrences in the SPOKE corpus data and are thus not listed in Table 5.20.

****** As in *the United States*.

Table 5.20, it is more likely to be realized with a zero-definite article than with a conventional definite article. In other words, the non-conventional usage prevails. Only one item breaks rank: *States* (as in *United States*) shows a higher rate of conventional definite article than minus-definite article use (78% vs. 22%). The two contrasting uses can be found in (28) and (29).

(28) I think it was my best experience in the States <100_m30>

(29) I've been to ø States two times actually <24_f28>

Two other names which necessitate the use of the definite article (not mentioned in Table 5.20) are *E.U.* and *European Union*. The latter is not found in the SPOKE corpus at all, but *E.U.* is mentioned in eight instances. Two of those occur with a minus-definite article, leaving six instances of conventional definite article use.

Other place names. All items in the category place names refer to cities, except *Jeju*, which is the name of a Korean island located near the southern tip of Korea (but can also refer to Jeju city, the capital of Jeju province). All place names which were part of other names (e.g., *Seoul University*, *Prague Castle*), genitive constructions (e.g., *Sydney's life* [life in Sydney]), or compounds (e.g., *New York flight*) were excluded prior to analysis. Altogether, 52 distinct lexical items were investigated (listed in their totality in 5.3.3). These 52 lexical items occur altogether 724 times in SPOKE: 680 occurrences without articles (94%) and 44 with plus-definite article (6%).

Using no definite article before place names is therefore clearly the preferred pattern overall. In 44 cases, a definite article can be found before a place name. This, however, does not seem to pattern with or cluster around specific place names as no name is found exclusively in the pattern 'definite article + name'. Altogether, 33 place names never occur in the form 'definite article + name' in the SPOKE corpus.

Zooming in on the ten most frequent place names in the SPOKE corpus, the proportion of plus-definite article use ranges between 0 to 13%. Conversely the proportion of conventional no definite article use ranges between 87 to 100%. Examples (30) to (32) below illustrate plus-definite article use plus place name for *Busan* and *New York*. Noteworthy is also the variation within individual speakers. The speaker in (31) uses a plus-definite article in combination with *New York* but does not use an article when mentioning two other place names (i.e., *Harlem* and *Brooklyn*) in the same utterance. This becomes even more notable in example (32), where the speaker uses the word *Paris* once without article and then once with a definite article in very short succession. The two instances of *Paris* are separated by only two lexical items, three lexical items if including the definite article.

(30) my uh my home is a near the Busan <13j_m30>

(31) uh most of people knows that Harlem is most dangerous area in the New York but I think Brooklyn is more dangerous <81_m26>

(32) but it was really really short time to look around Paris and enjoy the Paris so uh I really really want to go to again <55_f21>

Names of languages. Investigating whether and how the names of languages (i.e., *English*, *French*, *German*, *Japanese*, *Korean*, *Chinese*, and *Spanish*) combine with a definite article in the SPOKE corpus was only possible via manual disambiguation. The language names which occurred in adjectival form (e.g., *English weather*, *German food*, *Japanese people*) had to be omitted from further analysis. Furthermore, all instances referring to the people of a country were excluded (e.g., "we also kind of look down [on] the Chinese and Japanese" <98_m34>). The remaining concordances were checked for the occurrences of articles and were tagged accordingly as 'no article', 'plus-definite article', and 'conventional definite article' (when referring to a specific part of a language).[26] Indefinite articles were found to be used three times. Due to this low frequency, they are not discussed in the analysis. One instance of a definite article had an unclear referent and was also excluded from further discussion. A quantitative overview of article use in combination with language names is presented in Table 5.21.

Table 5.21 Article use with language names in the SPOKE corpus (raw frequencies and percentages)

	No article	**Plus-definite article**	**Definite article (conventional)**	**Σ**
English	547 (97%)	18 (3%)	0	565
Korean	125 (95%)	6 (5%)	0	131
German	61 (98%)	0	1 (2%)	62
Chinese	47 (96%)	2 (4%)	0	49
Japanese	22 (96%)	1 (4%)	0	23
French	11 (100%)	0	0	11
Spanish	11 (100%)	0	0	11
Σ	**824** **(97%)**	**27** **(3%)**	**1** **(0%)**	**852**

Overall, the conventional pattern of using no article before language names is clearly dominant in the SPOKE corpus data (95-100%). A few cases of plus-definite article use before the language names specified above were identified but are very rare indeed. Examples (33) through (35) below demonstrate one instance each of a plus-definite article used in combination with a language name.

(33) I did study the English for two months in Chicago <26_f29>

(34) some some people uh shouted [at] me [in] the Korean <105_m32>

(35) but when when (.) the Chinese man speak the Chinese (.) all of them cannot understand what he's saying <77_f21>

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[26] This only occurred once in the SPOKE corpus: "so I forgot most of the German I have learn[ed]" <108_f22>.

5.3.3.5 *Case study 5: Deverbal nouns in* -ing

Sand (2004: 291) describes the process of forming nouns from verbs by adding the suffix *-ing* as an "interesting case" for the investigation of article use in contact varieties as the deverbal nouns are often preceded by a non-conventional definite article. One of the examples Sand uses to illustrate this from ICE-Singapore is reproduced as (36) below. Here, the deverbal noun *caring* (from the verb *to care* plus the suffix *-ing*) follows a definite article.

(36) I think it's moving that way beyond the caring for the general welfare and uh rice bowl (ICE-Singapore, public dialogue; quoted in Sand 2004: 291, underlining added)

All instances of this pattern were identified in the SPOKE corpus by employing the search expression 'the *ing' in AntConc. The resulting list of concordance lines was subsequently cleaned up manually by excluding false positives such as *the anything*, *the spring*, *the thing* and all instances of compounding such as *the living standards*, *the cutting edge*, *the waiting time*. The remaining list comprised 121 items but still included items which can be interpreted as 'established' nouns even though they might have etymologically started out as deverbal nouns, such as *building*, *meeting*, *timing*. Those items were identified using the Merriam-Webster unabridged online dictionary[27] and consequently deleted from the list of results as the use of the definite article with those items is not a notable pattern (compare the use of the definite article in "The meeting was over" with "moving that way beyond the caring for the general welfare" from example (36) above). The final list of deverbal nouns in *-ing* preceded by a plus-definite article comprises 78 items, as exemplified in (37), (38), and (39).

(37) but after the coming back to Korea I didn't have any chance to speak English <3_f29>

(38) I catch the bedbug and then the body was the exploding <106_f27>

(39) I like the watching movie <74_f24>

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[27] The Merriam-Webster unabridged online edition is available via <http://unabridged.merriam-webster.com>. The procedure to identify established nouns ending in *-ing* was as follows: Items which have their own entry in the dictionary as a noun were discarded from the analysis (e.g., *building*) whereas items which did not have their own entry as a noun were retained for further analysis (e.g., *jumping* which has an entry as an adjective but not as a noun). In some cases it was necessary to control for semantic differences: for example, *making*, which has an entry as a noun either referring to a process "of forming, causing, manufacturing, or coming into being" or a process of "advancement or success" as well as indicating potentiality (Merriam-Webster unabridged), was not discarded from the list of results as the speaker was referring to neither of those senses.

The 78 tokens are uttered by 39 different speakers and are distributed across 54 different types: 38 hapaxes (e.g., *the exploding*, *the punishing*, *the contacting*), 11 deverbal nouns occurring twice each (e.g., *the graduating*, *the watching*), two deverbal nouns occurring three times each (*the making*, *the speaking*), and three deverbal nouns occurring four times each (*the getting*, *the reading*, *the traveling*).

5.3.4 The indefinite article

Turning to the use of the indefinite article by Korean speakers of English, it needs to be acknowledged that defining case studies, as established for the definite article in the previous section, is less productive. In some of the case studies for the definite article, the use of the indefinite article (as either conventional or non-conventional) was also mentioned but not explicated further as, in most cases, the occurrence of indefinite articles was of extremely low frequency or completely inexistent. In this section, I examine the use of two fixed expressions which conventionally include an indefinite article, *a lot of* and *a few*, and how these transpire in the SPOKE corpus data.

In Cogo and Dewey's (2012: 66) ELF data, the lexical cluster *a lot of* can be found reduced to two words withholding the indefinite article (i.e., *lot of*). Cogo and Dewey explain this with a process of redundancy reduction as *a lot of* is "analysable as a single determiner where the internal structure is difficult to determine" (2012: 66). Hence, the use of the indefinite article within the lexical cluster is redundant. This is supported by Quirk et al.'s statement that "there are grounds for arguing that the whole expression […] functions as a determiner" (1985: 264). In the SPOKE corpus, this redundancy reduction can also be observed. The full form (*a lot of*), as demonstrated in (40), occurs 250 times and the reduced form (i.e., with a minus-indefinite article), see example (41), appears 40 times. The minus-indefinite article rate thus lies at 14%.

(40) well I can learn a lot of (.) other things like the culture of the (.) uh American people <102_f25>

(41) I know they changed ø lot of things <69_m28>

A few is a similar lexical cluster including the indefinite article. *Few*, however, can also be preceded by *very* (see Quirk et al. 1985: 262) or by other central determiners such as *these* and *that* (Quirk et al. 1985: 263). Altogether, 64 occurrences of *few* can be found in the SPOKE corpus data. 19 items were discarded from the analysis as they do not require the use of the indefinite article (e.g., "there are very few people doing that" <69_m28>, "well the last few days I slept [when taking the subway]" <48_m19>) or the utterance is interrupted after the occurrence of *few*. 20 occurrences of *few* are preceded by a conventional indefinite article (as in (42) and (43)).

(42) a few years ago I had an accident <12j_f30>

(43) so we just waited for (.) for a few hours <111j_m22>

In most cases, *a few* collocates with temporal expressions[28] on the right: *months* (n = 7), *years* (n = 4), *hours* (n = 3), *minutes* (n = 2), *days* (n = 1). In only three instances, *a few* was followed by the non-temporal expressions *colleagues*, *times*, and *people*.

In 25 cases, including examples (44) and (45) given below, a minus-definite article is found before *few*. Not considering the items discarded from the analysis (as explained above), the minus-definite article rate before *few* thus lies at 56%.

(44) just ø few decades ago (1) uhm (2) Korean uh the president (2) take homeless then beggar to kind of jail <4_m28>

(45) usually the drinking was like on Fridays like ø few years before but nowadays uh we changed to like usually you have to (.) if you have to drink it should be at like (.) Thursday <67_m28>

Again, temporal expressions dominate as right collocates of *few*: *years* (n = 13), *months* (n = 3), *hours* (n = 2), *days* (n = 1), and *decades* (n = 1). Other collocates are *people* and *times* (2 instances each) and in one case, reproduced in (46), *few* is part of an elliptical construction.

(46) S: and did you travel to any other countries?
I: uuh yeah ø few like uhm Japan and India <112_f24>

As *years* accounts for more than half of the instances of minus-definite articles before *few*, it is possible that the whole expression, *few years*, is lexicalized without the indefinite article in the mental lexicon of Korean English speakers. Due to the low number of occurrences (13 cases of *few years* vs. four cases of *a few years*), this hypothesis needs to be tested with a larger corpus and it also remains to be seen whether this construction can also be found in the written mode.

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[28] The temporal expressions were either used in their singular or their plural form (see Chapter 5.1.2.2 on the reduction of plural redundancy). In this analysis, I do not distinguish between singular and plural forms but give the plural form as representative of all lemmas. For example, the statement that *a few* is followed frequently by the lexical item *years* includes occurrences of both *a few years* and *a few year*.

5.3.5 Discussion

As has been pointed out by Sand (1999: 125), the investigation of article use can be quite taxing in linguistic analyses, as "it is sometimes impossible to decide what is 'right or wrong'". This is mainly due to article use being at times based on shared knowledge between speakers and thus not being accessible to the researcher. Furthermore, it is not enough to simply attest 'irregular' article use, but it is essential to describe whether this includes "omission, insertion, or substitution, and also whether these processes apply to dimensions of definiteness and specificity" (Sharma 2012: 215). The analyses above, therefore, focused on rather clear-cut cases (including in-depth descriptions of context) as well as the overall frequencies of article use. The following points summarize the observations made throughout this chapter:

- Regarding the frequency of the definite article, the data from SPOKE is similar to what can be found in the SB corpus and the spoken part of ICE-GB.
- The indefinite article occurs less frequently in the SPOKE corpus than in the SB corpus and the spoken part of ICE-GB.
- Non-conventional definite article use with selected nouns and expressions is present in the data but with varying, generally low, frequencies (with the exception of list point e) below):
  a. nouns denoting social institutions: 8% plus-definite article use; 3% minus-definite article use
  b. quantifying expressions: low frequency of quantifying expressions overall; non-conventional combination with definite article very rare
  c. temporal expressions: 5% plus-definite article use
  d. names of countries and continents (type A, conventionally without definite article): 5% plus-definite article use with country names; 10% plus-definite article use with names of continents
  e. names of countries (type B, conventionally with definite article): 58% minus-definite article use
  f. other place names: 6% plus-definite article use
  g. language names: 3% plus-definite article use
  h. deverbal nouns in *-ing*: 78 occurrences in combination with a plus-definite article
- Minus-indefinite articles occur with selected expressions:
  i. *a lot of*: 14% minus-indefinite article use
  j. *a few*: 56% minus-indefinite article use

Plus-definite articles occur rarely in the SPOKE corpus but are frequent enough to catch the attention of the researcher. Across the lexical environments investigated, plus-definite articles occurred in 3 to 10% of the cases. Filppula et al.'s (2009a) research, which was one of the inspirations for the case studies of definite article use (see 5.3.3), investigated similar lexical expressions in combination with the definite article. Their study is based on several spoken corpora of standard and dialectal English as well as the spoken unscripted parts of five ICE-corpora. The percentages for plus-definite article use in the surveyed ICE-corpora range from 0.5% in ICE-GB (one instance of *the*) to 11.9% in ICE-India (34 instances of *the*). In ICE-East Africa, the percentage of *the* use in the previously described lexical contexts lies at 7.7% (22 instances), in ICE-Philippines it lies at 3.1% (nine instances), and in ICE-Singapore at 3.7% (nine instances). The percentages obtained from the SPOKE corpus are thus well within the range reported for second language varieties by Filppula et al. (2009a). Note that many lexical environments occurred more frequently in the SPOKE corpus than in the corpora investigated by Filppula et al. (2009a) and the percentages reported for the English spoken by Koreans might thus be more robust.

The use of plus-definite articles has also otherwise been reported for a number of varieties across the globe. In eWAVE, plus-definite articles are categorized as pervasive or obligatory in five, and as common (i.e., neither pervasive nor extremely rare) in 17 distinct varieties. It needs to be kept in mind that eWAVE does not specify specific lexical environments, however, and is based on an appraisal of the complete article system. Nevertheless, it can be seen that the feature can be found in different variety types such as high-contact L1s (e.g., Bahamian English, Maltese English), indigenized L2s (e.g., Hong Kong English, Indian English), English-based pidgins (e.g., Butler English, Ghanaian Pidgin), English-based creoles (e.g., Jamaican Creole, Palmerstone English), and even traditional L1 varieties (i.e., English dialects in the North of England, Orkney and Shetland English).

As the use of minus-definite articles in one of the lexical environments investigated (i.e., names of countries which warrant the use of the definite article such as *the Philippines*) was very prominent (58% of all cases), investigating both minus-definite as well as minus-indefinite articles in the English used by Koreans thus promises to be a productive research endeavor in the future. Particularly so because minus-articles (both definite and indefinite) are also attested for a plethora of varieties surveyed in eWAVE, as displayed in Table 5.22 below.

A number of studies have examined the article systems of English varieties (including ELF) in more detail. Kirkpatrick (2010: 104–105), for example, finds only very few instances of non-conventional article use in two (small) spoken corpora of English as a Lingua Franca in ASEAN. The identified instances of non-conventional article use are either cases of minus-articles or swap-articles (indef→def), but no quantifying information is offered by the author. Dröschel (2011: 170–171) detects all six conceivable types of non-conventional article

Table 5.22 Minus-definite and minus-indefinite articles across varieties (data from eWAVE)

Feature	Frequency	Varieties
minus-definite article	pervasive or obligatory: 12	Aboriginal English, Cameroon English, Colloquial Singaporean English, Hong Kong English, Indian English, Kenyan English, Malaysian English, Nigerian English, Nigerian Pidgin, Pure Fiji English, Kriol, Torres Strait Creole
	neither pervasive nor extremely rare: 18	Belizean Creole, Bislama, Butler English, Cape Flats English, English dialects in the North of England, Falkland Islands English, Ghanaian English, Hawai'i Creole, Indian South African English, Jamaican English, Maltese English, Pakistani English, Philippine English, Saramaccan, Sri Lankan English, St. Helena English, Trinidadian Creole, Vincentian Creole
minus-indefinite article	pervasive or obligatory: 12	Aboriginal English, Cameroon Pidgin, Colloquial Singaporean English, Gullah, Guyanese Creole, Hong Kong English, Indian English, Krio, Nigerian Pidgin, Pure Fiji English, Roper River Creole, Torres Strait Creole
	neither pervasive nor extremely rare: 19	Butler English, Cape Flats English, English dialects in the North of England, Ghanaian Pidgin, Hawai'i Creole, Indian South African English, Jamaican Creole, Jamaican English, Kenyan English, Malaysian English, Maltese English, Pakistani English, Philippine English, Saramaccan, Sri Lankan English, St. Helena English, Trinidadian Creole, Vernacular Liberian English, Vincentian Creole

use in her study of Swiss ELF interactions. In her data, minus-articles are more common than plus-articles, while swap-articles are the least common (Dröschel 2011: 171). Only a limited amount of the reported non-conventional article uses can be related to substrate language influence (in this case German, Italian, and French) and Dröschel (2011: 179) also excludes accommodation processes as likely explanation for the non-conventional article uses.[29] In her study on Euro-English, Mollin (2006: 129–134) also surveys article use and finds that while the indefinite article is used with similar frequencies in her corpus of Euro-English and the British component of the ICE-corpora, definite article use is considerably higher in the Euro-English corpus. She relates the higher use of definite articles to the use of definite articles with generic nouns (e.g., *the society*) and a higher frequency of deverbal nouns in combination with definite articles. In the end, however, "the evidence is not strong enough to push this case [of systematic variation of articles in Euro-English]" (Mollin 2006: 134). In a study of Educated Jamaican English, Sand (1999: 125) finds minus-definite articles most frequently, followed by plus-articles and, only rarely, swap-articles. Minus-articles, both definite and indefinite, have also been reported for Singaporean English (Platt & Weber 1980: 70) in combination with a preference for definite article over indefinite article use (Platt & Weber 1980: 71). Platt and Weber (1980) also identify a tendency to use a demonstrative (i.e., *this*, *these*, *those*) instead of a definite or zero article. In an analysis of the usage types of the definite article across several L1 and L2 Englishes, Wahid finds that no "definitive trend […] could be observed in both the Inner and Outer Circle groups" (2013: 39). The only commonality established, was in fact, the idiosyncrasy of definite article use (Wahid 2013: 39).

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[29] The overall proportion of non-conventional article use remains unclear, however, as only the number of non-conventional uses (252 cases in a corpus of roughly 167,000 words) but not the overall frequencies of article use are reported in the study.

As can be seen in Table 5.22 and the following description of previous research, which reflects only a part of the literature available (see, e.g., also Kachru 2003; Sharma 2005a, 2005b), variable article use is common in many varieties of English. This can be ascribed to the general nature of the English article system which has been classified by Williams (1987: 166–167) as one "area of vulnerability" in the language and correspondingly particularly likely to alterations by both second language as well as foreign language speakers of English. It is thus no surprise that in addition to variability in article use in the 'established' varieties (such as reported in eWAVE), a number of studies have reported non-conventional uses of articles in English as a Lingua Franca. The fact that minus-uses of articles are attested in numerous varieties and variety types of English also points to the influence of universal processes of language acquisition (i.e., acquisitional universals). One of the principles of SLA is simplification, which refers to the general preference for simpler structures by learners. A simple structure means that the construction "requires little cognitive processing effort of the learner" (Bruckmaier 2017: 30). Simplicity of structures, however, can find expression in many different forms and is hard to pinpoint exactly (cf. Schneider 2012: 102). Minus-articles definitely reduce the number of items in use and thus can be interpreted as one form of simplification due to the SLA process. The data from the SPOKE corpus hence mirrors a global pattern. Furthermore, as examined in the beginning of this chapter, Korean does not have articles (neither definite nor indefinite). It is, therefore, conceivable that the use of articles in the English spoken by Koreans is even more variable due to this absence of articles in the underlying substrate language.

The overall frequency of indefinite article use is lower in the SPOKE corpus than in the American and British reference corpora and the inspection of two lexical expressions commonly including the indefinite article (i.e., *a lot of* and *a few*) has shown that depending on the lexical expression under consideration minus-indefinite articles are common or even prevalent (cf. the 56% minus-indefinite article rate in *a few*). This points towards the reduction of fixed lexical expressions, going hand in hand with reduced redundancy and it remains to be seen whether other processes related to specificity and definiteness contribute to the lower frequency of indefinite articles in the English spoken by Koreans.

As mentioned before, articles are a "familiar problem" (Lacey 1977: 33) to the English language teacher and the article use by learners of English has been examined in a plethora of SLA studies. A number of studies have thereby focused on the use of articles by English learners who do not have articles available in their mother tongue, such as Japanese (see, e.g., Yamada & Matsuura 1982; Butler 2002) and Chinese (e.g., Robertson 2000; Díez-Bedmar & Papp 2008). Parrish (1987) argues that the interlanguage by those learners of English does not show an erratic use of articles but can also be attributed to a certain systematicity. A study of Korean learners of English in educational settings found that the accuracy of article use with abstract nouns can depend on the semantic classification of the noun (Amuzie & Spinner 2012). Participants were most accurate when using bounded independent nouns (e.g., *sentence*, *message*, *story*) and least accurate when employing non-continuous action nouns (e.g., *explosion*, *cut*, *drop*). Amuzie and Spinner (2012: 427) further propose that the notion of concreteness could have an effect on the use of articles by Korean learners of English. A semantic and concreteness analysis of nouns in combination with plus- and minus-articles in the SPOKE corpus thus might be a promising endeavor to shed more light on the use of articles by Korean speakers of English (particularly in a non-educational setting) but was outside the fundamental morpho-syntactic research scope of this study.

As the primary acquisition mode of English in Korea is through formal education in the realm of the education system, it is of course possible that the variation encountered in the SPOKE corpus is a reflection of the acquisition process. Nevertheless, the two most dominant patterns (minus-definite articles with certain country names and minus-indefinite articles in certain collocations) occur as part of fixed or at least semi-fixed expressions which are readily entrenched in the learners' language systems. For example, *the Philippines* always occurs in combination with the definite article and is thus often memorized as a two-item expression in language learning environments. It is surprising then, that the variation of article use in the SPOKE corpus is highest among items which are most accessible for language learners and most easily explained explicitly by language teachers.

Identification and analysis of non-conventional article use by linguists has always been considered "difficult" (Kirkpatrick 2010: 105). Focusing on specific lexical environments and patterns, as proposed by Sand (2004) and Filppula et al.

(2009a), made the investigation of the Korean English article system not only more accessible and feasible but also increased the objectivity of the results. The lexical contexts at the center of this investigation allowed the researcher high-accuracy coding and categorization despite being accompanied by a range of manual disambiguation. Of course, an analysis of the complete article system of Korean speakers is still needed, but the results from the case studies have highlighted some of the incipient patterns and thus provide important impetus for future studies. At this point, however, I want to move on to the next point of interest: prepositions within the spoken Korean English repertoire.

5.4 Prepositions

Differences in the use of prepositions have been briefly noted by Shim (1999: 253) on her list of morpho-syntactic features in Korean textbooks of English. She merely states, however, that "[i]n some cases, prepositions are inserted in unnecessary places" (Shim 1999: 253), neither mentioning how often this is the case, in which contexts this occurs, or whether it is a random pattern. The opposite process, that is, the non-use of prepositions, is also left unmentioned. The whole issue is illustrated with a single example: "The main *topic* of this lesson *is about* the coming of spring" (emphasis in the original), which Shim corrects to "The main topic is the coming of spring" (Shim 1999: 253). Jung and Min (1999) analyze the language of Korean English newspapers and report one instance of the preposition *in* being used instead of *at*, reproduced in (1), and cases (unfortunately unquantified) of the preposition *at* being used instead of *in*, see (2) and (3).

(1) The writer is a visiting professor of linguistics in Korea University

(2) The writer is an attorney at Newport Beach, Calif., […]

(3) An earlier meeting at Cheju set the stage for a renewed peace effort.
(Jung and Min 1999: 34, underlining added)

The researchers relate this to a possible influence of the Korean prepositional system as the same prepositional suffix in Korean can be at times used for *in* and *at*, depending on the predicate of the sentence. They concede, however, that due to the limited corpus size, no definite statement regarding this matter can be made. Nevertheless, and despite only listing the three examples above, they conclude that

> there is a probability that the grammatical knowledge of Korean affects the use of English in Korea. Then, the use of English prepositions which indicate space can be said to illustrate one aspect of the processes of nativization of English in Korea.
> (Jung & Min 1999: 35)

These vague descriptions of prepositional use by Korean speakers of English call for a more systematic investigation of the matter. Heeding this call, I explore the use of prepositions in spoken Korean English in this chapter. First, I give a short introduction to the English and Korean prepositional systems in general, followed by an overview of the general frequencies of preposition use in the SPOKE corpus. Next, distinct differences in preposition frequencies between the Korean English, American English, and British English material are explored in two case studies. I also provide an in-depth analysis of plus-prepositions, minus-prepositions, and swap-prepositions.[30] Finally, the discussion relates the findings to research in the fields of World Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca, considering potential idiolect, language acquisition, and substrate language influences.

5.4.1 Prepositions in English and in Korean

Prepositions in English

English prepositions are both very variable and very numerous. According to Kennedy (1998: 139) as much as "[a]bout one word in every eight in almost any English text is a preposition". Linguists are also far from reaching a consensus regarding a definition of this part of speech as well as which words should be classified as prepositions in the first place. While the traditional approach from Quirk et al. (1985) is utilized in this study, other grammatical frameworks address the field of prepositions very differently: Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 564), for example, compartmentalize the categories of adverbs and prepositions in another way and include items in the preposition class which are otherwise classified as adverbs.

Prepositions "[express] a relation between two entities, one being that represented by the prepositional complement, the other by another part of the sentence" (Quirk et al. 1985: 657). Most prepositions are very variable in meaning and use. Heaton, for example, lists six different meanings for *at* (1965: 2), 11 distinguishable meanings for *of* (1965: 4-5), and 19 meanings for the preposition *for* (1965: 3-4; see also Tyler and Evans 2003 for variable meanings of spatial particles in particular). Problematic in the clear-cut categorization of prepositions as a word class is the, at times, fuzzy distinction between prepositions and adverbs. Not only do some prepositions and adverbs have the same form, but they can also be similar in meaning (Quirk et al. 1985: 662). Quirk et al. (1985: 662) offer the following examples to demonstrate this:

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[30] plus-preposition = non-conventional use of a preposition (instead of ø);
minus-preposition = non-conventional non-use of a preposition;
swap-preposition = non-conventional use of one preposition instead of another;

The plus-/minus-/swap-framework has also been used in the previous analytical chapters and is introduced in detail in Section 3.4.

(4a) She looked up the hill.

(4b) She looked up the word.

(5a) She walked across the street.

(5b) She walked across. (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985: 662)

Up and *across* in the a) sentences are prepositions, whereas *up* in (4b) is an adverb particle and forms a phrasal verb together with *look*. Quirk et al. (1985: 662) classify *across* in (5b) as a prepositional adverb (i.e., a particle which functions as a preposition with an omitted complement, see Quirk et al. 1985: 713–714).

As has just been established, certain verb plus adverb combinations are called 'phrasal verbs', as exemplified by *look up* in example (4b) above or *slap on* in (6) below. Similarly, fixed verb plus preposition combinations as in (7) are called 'prepositional verbs' and we also find so-called 'free combinations', where the preposition is considered part of a prepositional phrase and not part of the verb as such. One such free combination can be found in (8). All three cases can be subsumed under the category 'multi-word verbs'[31] (Vestergaard 1977: 3).

(6) She slapped on her makeup. (phrasal verb)

(7) He spied on his friends. (prepositional verb)

(8) We'll meet on Sunday. (free combination)

Distinguishing between prepositions and particles can be less straightforward than expected (see Bolinger 1971; O'Dowd 1998: 3; Debras 2010). Determining whether a verb and preposition combination can be considered a prepositional verb or a free combination, I follow Quirk et al. (1985: 1166), who see the two categories as existing on a scale rather than a purely binary opposition. They suggest different criteria which can be used to determine prepositional verb status: that is, the possibility of building a prepositional passive and the formation of wh-questions using *who(m)* and *what* (instead of *where*, *when*, *how*, or *why*) (Quirk et al. 1985: 1164–1166). The notion of these combinations ranging on a scale rather than being absolute clear-cut distinctions should be kept in mind and I interpreted the category of prepositional verbs rather inclusive in the following analyses.

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[31] Vestergaard also includes verb plus object constructions (such as *give offence*) in this category (1977: 3). As those cases do not include a particle, they are not considered here.

Prepositions in Korean

Korean is an agglutinating language, which means that it relies heavily on affixes (more specifically suffixes) to signal, most prominently, grammatical function but also additional meaning of various kinds. These particles can also be referred to as "postpositions" (Yeon & Brown 2011: 94) because they occur after the element they refer to. As can be seen in example (9), the subject marker -가 (*-ga*) is added as suffix to the noun which is in subject position (i.e., *Minji*) and the object marker -을 (*-eul*) is added as suffix to the noun in object position (i.e., *book*).

(9) 민지**가** 책**을** 읽어요.
min-ji-**ga** chae-g**eul** il-geo-yo.
Minji-**SBJ** book-**OBJ** read-present tense informal polite ending
Minji reads a book.

Yeon and Brown (2011: 94) distinguish between two kinds of postpositions or particles: case particles and "special particles". Case particles are, for example, the markers for subject, object (see example (9)), and possessive function. Furthermore, the category includes so-called "particles of movement and location" (Yeon & Brown 2011: 102). These particles which "mark location in/at a certain place or otherwise movement towards/away from a given location/person" (Yeon & Brown 2011: 102) would in English be expressed with a separate preposition. The same applies to the other instrumental and comitative particles listed in Table 5.23.

Table 5.23 Korean case particles with equivalent English prepositions (adapted from Yeon & Brown 2011: 102ff)

Korean particle	'Corresponding' English preposition(s)	Category
-에 (*-e*)	*to/in/at*	movement and location
-에다(가) (*-e-da*(*ga*))	*in/on*	movement and location
-에서 (*-e-seo*)	*from/in/at*	movement and location
-에게/-한테 (*-e-ge/-han-te*)	*to*	movement and location
-에게서/-한테서 (*-e-ge-seo/-han-te-seo*)	*from*	movement and location
-(으)로부터 (-(*eu*)*ro-bu-teo*)	*from*	movement and location
-(으)로 (-(*eu*)*ro*)	*by/with/as*	instrumental
-(으)로서 (-(*eu*)*ro-seo*)	*as*	instrumental
-과/-와 (*-gwa/-wa*)	*with**	comitative
-하고 (*-ha-go*)	*with***	comitative
-(이)랑 (-(*i*)*rang*)	*with****	comitative

* This particle can also mean *and*, which is, of course, not a preposition.
** See previous footnote.
*** See next to last footnote.

Under the “special particle” category, Yeon and Brown (2011: 121) subsume particles which “add extra meaning (or otherwise emphasize or put focus on) the nouns to which they are attached”, including, for example, the plural marker, topic particles, and markers of extent (such as *only* or *except for*). Table 5.24 summarizes members of the special particle category which have an English preposition as equivalent.

Table 5.24 Korean special particles with equivalent English prepositions (adapted from Yeon & Brown 2011: 133ff)

Korean particle	**‘Corresponding’ English preposition**	**Meaning nuance**
-부터 (*-bu-teo*)	*from*	time, numerical sequences
-처럼 (*-cheo-reom*)	*like*	similarity
-같이 (*-ga-chi*)	*like*	similarity

In example (10) below, the preposition –에 (*-e*) is attached as a postposition to the noun 한국 (*han-gug*, ‘Korea’) to indicate that the subject (unspecified, implied as ‘I’) went *to* Korea. Sentence (11) illustrates the same process with another preposition (i.e., –에서, *-e-seo*) which is added again to the noun to designate that the studying took place *in* Korea.

(10) 한국**에** 갔어요.
han-gu-g**e** ga-sseo-yo.
Korea-**to** go-PST-informal polite ending
(I) went to Korea.

(11) 한국**에서** 공부했어요.
han-gu-g**e-seo** gong-bu-hae-sseo-yo.
Korea-**in** study-PST-informal polite ending
(I) studied in Korea.

As this short overview has illustrated, the Korean and English prepositional systems are fundamentally different and no one-to-one mapping between Korean and English prepositions is possible. In the following, preposition use by Korean speakers of English in general is portrayed by examining preposition frequencies in the SPOKE corpus, before moving to two case studies and the in-depth analysis of plus-, minus-, and swap-prepositions.

5.4.2 Frequencies of simple prepositions in the SPOKE corpus

The simple prepositions (both mono- as well as polysyllabic) given by Quirk et al. (1985: 665) were compiled into a list for investigation. These prepositions were described by Quirk et al. as "most common" in the English language (1985: 665). The complete list included the following 71 items: *as*, *at*, *by*, *down*, *for*, *from*, *in*, *of*, *off*, *on*, *out*, *past*, *per*, *pro*, *near*, *like*, *qua*, *re*, *round*, *sans*, *since*, *than*, *through*, *till*, *to*, *up*, *via*, *with*, *about*, *above*, *across*, *after*, *against*, *along*, *amidst*, *among(st)*, *anti*, *around*, *atop*, *before*, *behind*, *below*, *beneath*, *beside*, *besides*, *between*, *beyond*, *circa*, *despite*, *during*, *except*, *inside*, *into*, *notwithstanding*, *onto*, *opposite*, *outside*, *over*, *pace*, *pending*, *throughout*, *toward(s)*, *under*, *underneath*, *unlike*, *until*, *upon*, *versus*, *vis-à-vis*, *within*, *without*. However, six items are excluded from the discussion as they did not occur as preposition in any of the corpora investigated (i.e., *qua*, *re*, *sans*, *anti*, *circa*, *pace*). In the case of the SPOKE corpus and the modified SB corpus, which were both tagged with CLAWS, the search was conducted with the AntConc software and for the conversational part of the BNC the BYU web interface was used. In both cases (i.e., AntConc and the BYU web interface of the BNC), the above-mentioned lexical items were searched by using the corresponding tag indexing the word class 'preposition'. For the CLAWS tagset, for example, these included the tags _II, _IO, _IF, and _IW. This was necessary as many of the items checked can be assigned to different word classes depending on how they are used. The lexical item *as*, for example, functions as preposition, conjunction, degree adverb, and general adverb in the SPOKE corpus. For the present analysis only the prepositional uses are relevant and thus the respective word class tags for 'preposition' were used (for an instance where this is problematic see the case study presented in Section 5.4.2.2). After establishing the raw frequencies for each preposition, the results were normalized to show the frequency per 1,000 words. Table 5.25 displays the ten most frequent simple prepositions in SPOKE, the conversational part of the BNC, and the modified SB corpus.

Comparing the ten most frequent prepositions across the three corpora shows that the same lexical items are represented for each database, even though in slightly different order: *in*, *like*, *of*, *to*, *for*, *with*, *about*, *at*, *from*, and *on*. Mapping the normalized frequencies for the prepositions listed in Table 5.25 on a dot plot[32] (see Figure 5.4) helps to visualize the similarities and differences between the corpora.

As can be seen in Figure 5.4, the frequencies for most prepositions across the three corpora are very similar to each other (which does not entail that they are exactly the same). *To*, *for*, *with*, *about*, *at*, and *from* occur with closely coinciding frequencies. There are, however, also prepositions which show different occurrence

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[32] This dot plot was created with a modified version of the dot plot Excel template by Lukas Sönning (available via <http://bit.ly/malt-dotplot-excel>).

Table 5.25 The ten most frequent prepositions in the SPOKE corpus, the conversational part of the BNC, and the modified SB corpus (raw frequencies and normalized per 1,000 words)

#	Prep.	SPOKE		#	Prep.	BNC_Conv		#	Prep.	SB corpus	
		Raw	Norm.			Raw	Norm.			Raw	Norm.
1	*in*	3,891	12.9	**1**	*of*	38,103	9.5	**1**	*in*	1,427	8.4
2	*like*	2,643	8.8	**2**	*in*	36,179	9.0	**2**	*of*	1,339	7.9
3	*of*	2,135	7.1	**3**	*to*	26,783	6.7	**3**	*like*	1,053	6.2
4	*to*	2,097	6.9	**4**	*on*	23,625	5.9	**4**	*to*	1,004	5.9
5	*for*	1,874	6.2	**5**	*for*	22,625	5.7	**5**	*for*	812	4.8
6	*with*	984	3.2	**6**	*with*	16,682	4.2	**6**	*on*	797	4.7
7	*about*	802	2.7	**7**	*at*	13,838	3.5	**7**	*with*	713	4.2
8	*at*	751	2.5	**8**	*like*	12,280	3.1	**8**	*at*	565	3.3
9	*from*	583	1.9	**9**	*about*	9,332	2.3	**9**	*about*	429	2.5
10	*on*	486	1.6	**10**	*from*	6,027	1.5	**10**	*from*	310	1.9

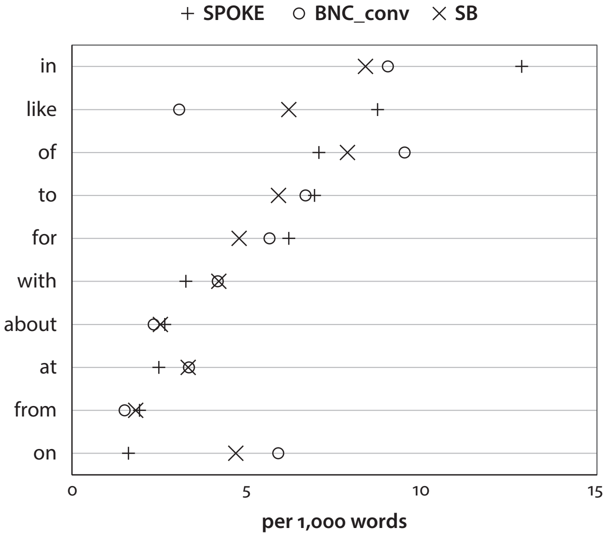

Figure 5.4 The ten most frequent prepositions in the SPOKE corpus, the conversational part of the BNC, and the modified SB corpus (normalized per 1,000 words)

rates when comparing the corpus data to each other. Even though *in*, as a case in point, is in all three corpora either the most frequent (in the SPOKE corpus and the modified SB corpus) or the second most frequent item (in the conversational part of the BNC), it is employed distinctly more often by the Korean speakers of English (12.9 occurrences per 1,000 words) than the British or American speakers

(9.0 and 8.4 occurrences per 1,000 words). In the case of the preposition *of*, the Korean speakers' usage frequency is close to the one displayed by American speakers (7.1 and 7.9 occurrences per 1,000 words respectively), but both speaker groups stay well below the British use (9.5 occurrences per 1,000 words). These quantitative differences in the use of *in* and *of*, however, do not reflect in very different rankings (*in*: rank 1 or 2; *of*: rank 1, 2, or 3; see Table 5.25). There are, however, two items which not only show the biggest differences in their frequencies in general but which are also at very different ranks in the top ten of the most frequent prepositions: *like* (rank 2, 3, and 8) and *on* (rank 4, 6, and 10).

Whereas the preposition *like* occurs 8.7 times per 1,000 words in the SPOKE corpus and thus is the second most frequent preposition employed by the Korean speakers of English represented in the corpus, it only ranks on position eight in the BNC subcorpus with 3.1 occurrences per 1,000 words. In this case, the modified SB corpus sides closer with the SPOKE corpus; for the American English data, *like* is on rank three of the most frequent prepositions with a frequency of 6.2 per 1,000 words. *On*, on the other side, is employed more infrequently in the SPOKE corpus than the BNC subcorpus: Only 1.6 occurrences per 1,000 words can be found in the SPOKE material vis-à-vis 5.9 in the British material. This difference is reflected by a high 'mobility' across the ranking as well: *On* is on position ten in the SPOKE corpus but ranks fourth most frequent preposition in the BNC subcorpus. In the modified SB corpus (which was tagged with the same tagger and tagset as the SPOKE corpus; the BNC was tagged with the same tagger but a less detailed tagset, see Section 4.4) *on* is placed on rank six. The frequency difference, however, is less pronounced as it was in the comparison with the BNC subcorpus: 1.6 occurrences per 1,000 words in the SPOKE corpus and 4.7 in the SB corpus (compared to 5.9 in the BNC). *On* and *like* thus seem to be particular cases in point as they are the most different in frequencies and ranking when compared across the three corpora.

Last but not least, the overall frequency of preposition use (not only the top ten) needs to be considered as well. Altogether, 58.0 prepositions per 1,000 words were used in the SPOKE corpus, 59.0 in the conversational part of the BNC, and 55.1 in the modified SB corpus. As a whole, the normalized rate of prepositions found in the SPOKE corpus thus lies comfortably between the British and American reference corpora and can be neither characterized as particularly low nor high in prepositions.

Due to differences in corpus make-up, the usefulness of this kind of quantitative frequency analysis soon reaches its limits. A further factor limiting the analysis is the following aspect: Finding no usage frequency differences does not mean that the respective items are not used differently in both corpora and just add up to the same number per the normalized base. Further qualitative analyses are therefore definitely necessary. Whereas the scope of this study does not allow a detailed investigation of every preposition (neither all of them nor the top ten), I proceed by having a closer look at the two prepositions which showed the biggest ranking difference across the three corpora, *on* and *like*, in two case studies.

5.4.2.1 *Case study 1: The preposition* on

Lindstromberg (2010: 51) describes how *on* is a "relatively unusual" English preposition, as it possesses "two quite distinct spatial meanings". The most basic meaning of *on* is concerned with the "[s]ubject [being] in contact with a Landmark that is a supporting surface" (Lindstromberg 2010: 51), that is, without the landmark, the subject would fall to the ground. This 'supporting' characteristic of the landmark also applies when the physical set-up is rotated or the subject is only partially supported (Herskovits 1986: 140). The subject (not used in the grammatical sense of the term) can be "any physical object, event or activity" (Herskovits 1986: 141). In some cases, *on* can be used for 'non-supportive' contact situations as well, as exemplified by the following examples.

(12) Both of these campgrounds are right on the ocean.

(13) The Luxembourg Shell station on the motorway to France happens to be Europe's largest one. (Lindstromberg 2010: 52–53, underlining added)

In both examples, the landmarks (i.e., the ocean and the motorway) do not provide support to the subject (and even the characteristic of contact seems to be exaggerated). The second spatial meaning of *on* relates to movement in the first place but also to orientation and is "approximately the opposite of [*back*]" (Lindstromberg 2010: 53). In essence, *on* is used here to mean "in the direction being faced" or "in the same direction as before", as in "Come *on*" or "Come *on* back a bit more" (Lindstromberg 2010: 53–54, emphasis in the original). Bennett (1975: 92), in his componential analysis of English prepositions, identifies the meaning component "locative surface" as particular to the preposition *on* which also distinguishes it from the other locative prepositions investigated. Lindkvist (1950: 207) summarizes seven different basic locative meanings of *on* (which can again be further divided into sub-meanings; see Lindkvist 1950: 208–300):

1. Horizontal position on an elevation […]
2. Position on a horizontal surface […]
3. Position on a non-horizontal surface […]
4. Location close to, in contact with or along a line […]
5. Relative position […]
6. Location in connection with a body or surface thought of as being used to serve a certain purpose […]
7. Motion and direction […]

The temporal meaning of *on* expresses a medium-sized time unit such as a day, or a certain occasion (Lindstromberg 2010: 69). A further use of *on* indicates "after that/this time" or "further into the future" (Lindstromberg 2010: 70), see example (14).

(14) Ten years on, he would be 22 or 23.
(Lindstromberg 2010: 70, underlining added)

Lindstromberg also mentions the wealth of combinations in which *on* can occur "followed by another preposition of linear path", such as *on into*, *on towards*, and *on up* (2010: 70). Additionally, he identifies a myriad of metaphorical and idiomatic uses of *on*:

a. metaphorical contact (e.g., *on topic*)
b. the burden metaphor (e.g., *there is pressure on someone*, *to give up on someone*, *to impose on someone*)
c. contact from any direction, including very forceful contact (e.g., *knock on*, *pounce on*)
d. the landmark as an object of slower action (e.g., *scratch your name on a wall*, *work on something*)
e. the basis metaphor (e.g., *most houses sit on a foundation*, *he damaged his car on purpose*, *getting the job depends on your performance in the interview*)
f. accessibility, availability, existence, currency (e.g., *the light's on*, *the meeting's on*, *the deal's on*, *it's on sale*)
g. not good enough (e.g., *their behavior is not on*)
h. live on (e.g., *to live on one's parents*)
i. on + 'activity' (e.g., *on fire*, *on watch*, *on guard*, *on duty*, *on patrol*, *on the run*, *on the go*)
j. visual contact (e.g., *to look on*, *to look in on*)
k. other phrasal verbs (e.g., *go on*, *keep on*, *drive on*, *get on*)
(from Lindstromberg 2010: 60–69)

In order to investigate the use of *on* by Korean speakers of English, I manually coded all 486 instances of *on* occurring in the SPOKE corpus as a simple preposition[33] into the following categories: ON-SPACE (contact and support or movement and orientation), ON-TIME (temporal meanings of *on*), ON-IDIOMATIC (idiomatic uses of *on*; including uses of *on* in prepositional verbs), and ON-OTHER (including metaphorical and other uses of *on*).

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[33] *On* additionally occurs one time as part of the complex preposition *on to*. The CLAWS tagger categorized *depending on* also as complex preposition (n = 3).

Most uses of *on* in the SPOKE corpus can be related to the spatial dimension. In fact, 33% of the occurrences of *on* are classified as ON-SPACE (n = 160), as in (15) and (16).

(15) I need to take care of them when they are on campus <39_m32>

(16) she left her phone on the table <62_f22>

Included in this category is *on* used to indicate space in the virtual dimension (e.g., the Internet, mobile phones, TV, etc.; see (17) and (18)), where the previously described 'supportive' role expressed with *on* is, strictly speaking, "irrelevant" (Herskovits 1986: 145) due to the immateriality of the subjects.

(17) she said there's a really really hilarious um video on Youtube <24_f28>

(18) I just play games on my smartphone <111j_m22>

The second biggest category are idiomatic uses with 25% (n = 123). These idiomatic uses, see (19) and (20) for two examples from the SPOKE corpus, are dominated by prepositional verbs, mainly *depend on* (n = 40; including all lemmas of *depend*, except *depending*, see Footnote 33) and *focus on* (n = 32; including all lemmas of *focus*). Other idioms were, among others, *based on*, *hit on*, and *concentrate on*.

(19) I think it depends on what kind of soymilk you use <12j_f30>

(20) I wanna work again and yeah and focus on my job goal <19j_f30>

Temporal uses of *on* make up 10% in the data investigated (n = 47). In most cases, the preposition is followed by a day of the week as in example (21), but occasionally the following noun phrase is of a more general nature such as *the next day* in example (22).

(21) tomorrow I don't have any plans but on on Sunday I I will meet my
girlfriend <82_m26>

(22) on the next day I need to travel but I didn't <101_f23>

11% (n = 54) of all uses of *on* in the SPOKE corpus can be considered swap-prepositions. In other words, conventionally a different preposition would be expected in the place of *on*. The following prepositions (in alphabetical order) have been swapped with *on* in the SPOKE material: *about* (n = 1), *after* (n = 1), *at* (n = 1), *by* (n = 1), *during* (n = 1), *for* (n = 1), *in* (n = 36), *of* (n = 5), *to* (n = 6), and *with* (n = 1). Apart from *in*, all other swap-prepositions occur very rarely. The following three examples illustrate the process for *of*, as in example (23), *at*, example (24), and *with*, see example (25).

(23) we dream on evangelizing to people not just inside of Korea <6j_f34>

(24) on that time my sister she works in Samsung electronics <93_f25>

(25) he flirts on all woman <102_f25>

In the case of *on that time* in example (24), the reason for the use of the swap-preposition might be the shared temporal aspect which is expressed. A similar explanation can be proposed for (25), *flirt on all woman*, where the conventional preposition *with* shares the semantic aspect of addressee direction with *on*, as example (26), also from the SPOKE data, demonstrates.

(26) Kim Jongil was um pretty harsh on people <7j_f27>

Here *on* expresses some kind of action or attention being directed at someone or something. This might have led to the replacement of *with* by *on* in sentence (25), expressing that the referent's flirtatious attention was directed towards many women.

Predominantly, however, *on* was used in place of *in* (67% of all non-conventional uses of *on*). One of the reasons for this surely lies in the phonetic similarity of both prepositions. Both *in* and *on* consist of a vowel plus a voiced velar nasal consonant sound. Additionally, an overlap in the semantic aspect of both prepositions can be found in many cases. The temporal aspect can, for instance, be found in the 11 cases where *on* is combined with a month: for example, 'on April' <15_m28>, 'on October' <85_f31>, and 'on May' <26_f29>. Whereas the use of *on* in combination with weekdays is considered conventional (cf. *on Monday*, *on Friday*), the use of *on* with months of the year (cf. *in April*, *in October*) is non-conventional, despite a similar semantic relationship. The locative/spatial aspect is illustrated in sentence (27).

(27) luckily my cellphone and camera was on my pocket <101_f23>

This also occurs in cases where a certain direction of attention is indicated, as explained above for sentences (25) and (26), as well as (28) below.

(28) he doesn't have any interests on me <96_f22>

Altogether, only six instances of *on* as a plus-preposition were identified in the SPOKE corpus (i.e., instances of *on* where it was conventionally not necessary to include the preposition in the sentence). This is exemplified in (29a).

(29a) [I] watered on the ground playground <65_m25>

The speaker is describing his duties during his military service, which included watering the lawn areas. *On* is used here with a locative/spatial meaning but, in conventional terms, is not necessary as it is sufficient to say "I watered ø the playground". Other verbs, however, might require *on* in a very similar context, which can be demonstrated by replacing *watered*, for example, with *peed*:

(29b) I peed on the ground. [constructed]

(29c) *I peed ø the ground. [constructed]

Another example for *on* as a plus-preposition can be found in utterance (30).

(30) I will invite on my friends <26_f29>

Here again, the preposition is non-conventional even though the expressed semantic content is covered by *on*: direction of attention towards addressee.

The low number of plus-preposition *on* occurrences indicates that the finding by Shim (1999: 253) that "[i]n some cases, prepositions are inserted in unnecessary places" only applies in a very limited way to the preposition *on* in spoken interaction. There, *on* as plus-preposition appears to be very idiosyncratic in nature.

In order to compare the previously established usage patterns of *on* in the SPOKE corpus to the American English material as found in the modified SB corpus, I coded all instances of the preposition in the modified SB corpus (n = 797) in the same way.[34] Table 5.26 gives an overview of the results for both corpora.

Table 5.26 Usage patterns of the preposition *on* in the SPOKE corpus and the modified SB corpus (percentages)

	SPOKE corpus	**Modified SB corpus**
locative/spatial	33%	55%
idiomatic expressions (incl. fixed verb particle expressions)	25%	13%
non-conventional	11%	1%
temporal	10%	7%
addressee	4%	8%
basis	1%	1%
plus-prepositional use	1%	0%
metaphorical contact	0%	2%
activity	0%	2%
negative outcome	0%	0%
repetitions, incomplete, self-corrected, unclear reference, unclassified	16%	11%

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[34] Due to reasons of feasibility only the modified SB corpus was coded in the same way and not the conversational part of the BNC (which would have meant coding more than 26,000 occurrences of *on* or working with a smaller sample taken randomly from the corpus). Using the SB corpus allowed me, however, to work with the general input variety in Korea without using artificially created sub-samples.

As can be seen in Table 5.26, the usage patterns of *on* differ to a certain degree between the two corpora, mainly in the area of locative/spatial and idiomatic uses. More than half of the occurrences (55%) of *on* in the modified SB corpus have a locative/spatial function and even though this usage is also the most common for the Korean speakers in the SPOKE corpus, the percentage is much lower at 33%. In the case of idiomatic usage, this relationship is reversed and a higher share of idiomatic expressions can be found for the Korean English speakers than the American English speakers (25% vs. 13%). More instances of *on* in the SPOKE corpus can be considered non-conventional than in the modified SB corpus (11% vs. 1%). The differences in the rest of the categories seem to be less pronounced. It can thus be concluded, that, on the one hand, Korean speakers of English use the preposition *on* rather as part of idiomatic expressions than American speakers of English, and, on the other hand, that American speakers of English use *on* more frequently with locative/spatial meanings than the Korean speakers. It should be kept in mind, however, that the differences in usage patterns, interesting as they are, cannot account for the general low frequency of the preposition *on* in the SPOKE corpus as described in Section 5.4.2, as only the realized instances of *on* were surveyed (i.e., minus-instances and swap-prepositions where *on* was replaced by another preposition were not considered). For this, Section 5.4.2.3 on minus-prepositions and swap-prepositions in general will be more conclusive.

5.4.2.2 *Case study 2: The preposition* like

The word *like* is extremely versatile in function and meaning and can fulfill several roles within the sentence: verb, preposition, suffix, conjunction, or discourse marker (more specifically approximator, exemplifier, hedge, quotation) (Jucker & Smith 1998: 183). Other functions of *like* include noun, adjective, comparative complementizer, and sentence adverb (D'Arcy 2017: 3–23). Particularly its use as a quotative has attracted considerable attention by linguists (see, e.g., Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999; Dailey-O'Cain 2000; Macaulay 2001; and Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004). In its use as a discourse marker, *like* is a high frequency item: Jucker and Smith (1998: 183) in their investigation of the speech of young adults in North America find that *like* occurs as a discourse marker "once every 21 seconds in conversations between strangers, and once every 13 seconds in conversations between friends". In the SPOKE corpus, *like* occurs 4,497 times altogether and was tagged by CLAWS as shown in Table 5.27:

Table 5.27 The different uses of *like* in the SPOKE corpus (raw frequencies as tagged by CLAWS)

Preposition	Verb	General adjective	Conjunction	General adverb	Noun
2,643	1,210	354	156	103	31

Unfortunately, the automatic part-of-speech tagger CLAWS does not tag for discourse markers. Instead, uses of *like* as a discourse marker are subsumed under the tags general adjective, general adverb, and preposition. This inflates the 'preposition' category of *like* to a considerable degree. The following excerpt, (31), from a female SPOKE corpus participant demonstrates this problematic issue (instances of *like* have been numbered in square brackets in order of occurrence to ease discussion). In bold, we can find the instances of *like* which were tagged as preposition (10 of 13 occurrences of *like* were tagged as preposition by CLAWS in this example, which equals 77%). One instance was tagged as a verb (#8; underlined and in italics) and two instances (#11 and #13; underlined) were tagged as general adjectives. Manual analysis, however, reveals that only two occurrences of *like* are indeed prepositions (#1 and #12[35] = 15%), eight instances can be classified as discourse markers (#2, #3, #4, #5, #6, #7, #9, and #10), and two occurrences occur in speech repetition (#11 and #13).[36] The eighth occurrence of *like* ("we don't really like hazing") is a verb, as correctly identified by the automatic POS-tagging procedure. Cursory checking of the 1,210 instances of *like* categorized in the SPOKE corpus as verb by CLAWS reveals high accuracy in detecting general usage of *like* as a verb.

(31) some people are **like[1]** that I think but you [XXX] oh yah that's true that's true yah I think because Korea has **like[2]** young culture some people are **like[3]** really conservative and some people are **like[4]** really open-minded so it's **like[5]** conflicting each other **like[6]** me and my sister we're **like[7]** really open and we don't really *like[8]* hazing and **like[9]** eonni and oppa thing **like[10]** it's like[11] **like[12]** it's like[13] power thing […] <17j_f24>

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[35] For the three consecutive uses of *like* in the final stretch of speech (i.e., "it's like[11] like[12] it's like[13] power thing"), one instance can be considered as prepositional use of *like* whereas the others are simply repetitions. Automatic POS-tagging identified one of those instances as preposition (i.e., #12), even though #11 could also be identified as such (which in general is the more straightforward analysis resulting in #12 and #13 being repetitious). Nevertheless, I decided to count the interpretation of #12 as preposition as accurate as from a quantitative perspective it does not matter which of the three occurrences of *like* is the preposition.

[36] See previous footnote.

A considerable difference between the results of automatic and manual POS-tagging for *like* was thus attested. For the short sample given above, automatic POS-tagging posits 10 of 13 instances as prepositions (roughly 77%), whereas manual POS-tagging only finds two prepositional usages (roughly 15%).

As all three corpora under consideration were tagged with CLAWS (more specifically, the SPOKE corpus and the modified SB corpus with the CLAWS7 tagset and the conversational part of the BNC with the CLAWS4 tagset) the question why *like* occurs with very different frequencies remains (as the tagging of *like* as preposition even when used as a discourse marker is the same in the three instances). In other words, the frequencies themselves can be considered artifacts of the automatic tagging procedure, whereas the differences in frequencies between the three corpora are not directly relatable to this. In order to investigate this issue further, it is necessary to look at the occurrences of *like* in more detail. To this end, I randomly selected 200 uses of *like* which were tagged as preposition from each corpus for further analysis[37] and manually assigned them a part of speech tag: preposition, discourse marker, conjunction, verb, noun, and unclear (other part of speech tags were not necessary). The unclear tag was mainly used in cases of incomplete utterances where it was correspondingly not possible to determine the function of *like*. Table 5.28 summarizes the results across the three corpora numerically.

Table 5.28 Manually assigned POS-tags for *like* in subsample of 200 instances automatically tagged as prepositions (raw frequencies and percentages)

	SPOKE	**BNC_conv**	**Modified SB**
preposition	55 → 28%	125 → 63%	84 → 42%
discourse marker	119 → 60%	44 → 22%	87 → 44%
conjunction	6 → 3%	11 → 6%	9 → 5%
verb	7 → 4%	3 → 2%	0 → 0%
noun	0 → 0%	0 → 0%	0 → 0%
unclear	13 → 7%	17 → 9%	20 → 10%

The accuracy of tagging *like* as preposition was 28% for the SPOKE corpus, 42% for the modified SB corpus, and 63% for the conversational part of the BNC.

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[37] Random selection was ensured for the SPOKE corpus and the modified SB corpus via the EXCEL function RAND () which assigned a random number to each concordance line. Using these random numbers, I then sorted the concordance lines from lowest to highest and selected the first 200 concordance lines for further analysis. The EXCEL RAND () function is based on an algorithm by Wichmann and Hill (1982) and "passes all standard tests of randomness" (Description of the RAND function in Excel 2011). For the conversational part of the BNC, I used the random selection function provided by the BYU interface.

Correspondingly, in many cases the occurrences of *like* which were tagged as preposition had to be re-tagged as other parts of speech, most prominently as discourse markers. For the SPOKE material, 119 of the 200 randomly selected occurrences of *like* which were tagged as preposition needed to be re-categorized as discourse markers. In other words, in the sample, 60% of the material from the SPOKE corpus was wrongly categorized as preposition and needed to be tagged as discourse marker instead. In the case of the conversational part of the BNC, only 22% had to be re-categorized as discourse markers under the same conditions (i.e., 44 of 200 occurrences of *like* tagged as prepositions can be interpreted as discourse markers). The sample from the modified SB corpus represents a certain middle ground as 87 occurrences can be considered to function as discourse markers (i.e., 44%). Based on the sample, it can be said that in the SPOKE corpus a high proportion of the uses of *like* originally tagged as preposition functions as discourse markers instead. We can also find uses of *like* as discourse marker (despite being tagged as preposition by the CLAWS tagger) in the BNC and SB corpus samples but to a considerable degree less (cf. the need to re-categorize 60% of *like* tagged as preposition to discourse marker in the SPOKE corpus, 44% in the modified SB corpus, and 22% in the conversational part of the BNC). A possible explanation for the higher occurrence of *like* as a preposition in the SPOKE corpus compared to the conversational part of the BNC and the modified SB corpus overall (as attested in Section 5.4.2; i.e., 8.7 vs. 3.1 vs. 6.2 occurrences per 1,000 words respectively), is thus the inclusion of discourse markers in the preposition category by the automatic POS-tagging procedure. The high number of *like* occurrences in the SPOKE corpus thus reflects a higher use of discourse markers rather than a higher use of prepositions which has been propagated by flaws in the automatic POS-tagging procedure.

Case study 1 and case study 2 illustrate two fundamentally different aspects related to Korean English prepositional use. Case study 1 examined the use of the preposition *on* in detail and highlighted semantic usage differences to American English. Case study 2 assessed the use of the preposition *like* in the SPOKE corpus and identified the automatic POS-tagging procedure as cause for an inflated number of *like* occurrences flagged as prepositions. Close analysis of a random sample revealed that many of the *like* occurrences tagged as prepositions need to be reclassified as discourse markers. In other words, the high number of *like* as preposition in the SPOKE corpus in comparison to the reference corpora can be traced back to residuals from the tagging procedure. As the two reference corpora were tagged with the same tagger and comparable tagsets, equivalent misclassifications of *like* should have occurred there, too. The higher number of misclassifications of *like* in the SPOKE corpus, therefore, points in the direction of a higher use of *like* as a discourse marker by the Korean speakers of English because they provided a higher number of instances for potential misclassification by the tagger. This result should be highly relevant for future studies in the use of discourse markers and the pragmatics of Korean English speech. The next section moves on to examine the use of prepositions from a more holistic approach and assesses the use of plus-, minus-, and swap-prepositions throughout the SPOKE corpus.

5.4.2.3 *Plus-, minus-, and swap-prepositions*

Taking into consideration Shim's previously mentioned statement that in Koreans' use of English "[i]n some cases, prepositions are inserted in unnecessary places" (1999: 253), the SPOKE corpus was manually tagged for plus-prepositions, that is, prepositions occurring where conventionally no preposition would be expected. In order to complete the picture of English prepositional usage by Korean speakers, cases of the opposite process, that is, minus-prepositions, were also manually identified and tagged as such. Furthermore, the corpus was tagged for swap-prepositions, that is, instances where conventionally one preposition is expected but another one employed. In order to ensure the accuracy of this tagging procedure (i.e., to reliably establish conventional prepositional use) all dubious instances were cross-checked with the other databases mentioned previously: the modified SB corpus and the conversational part of the BNC. Additionally, the spoken part of COCA was consulted in particularly dubious cases. The following sentences from the SPOKE corpus serve as illustration for plus-, minus-, and swap-prepositions.

(32) so we wanna enter to North Korea and help them <7j_f27> (plus-preposition *to*)

(33) I'm taking (.) six hours on a day <107_f21> (plus-preposition *on*)

(34) in my case I went out ø one captain <3_f29> (minus-preposition *with*)

(35) when I returned ø Korea […] <18_m43> (minus-preposition *to*)

(36) for me like you don't have to be self-conscious <11_f22> (swap-preposition *for* instead of *with*)

(37) sometimes you go on April sometimes you go on February <15_m28> (swap-preposition *on* instead of *in* [twice])

In the following, the three phenomena are investigated in detail.

Plus-prepositions

The manual tagging procedure described above allowed the identification of 254 plus-prepositions within the SPOKE corpus. Taking into account that 22,480 prepositions occur in SPOKE altogether, this translates to a mere percentage of 1%. This clarifies that plus-prepositions occur only very rarely, at least in the spoken Korean English variety.

Only 12 different plus-preposition types occur in the SPOKE corpus. All types are listed in Table 5.29 ordered by token numbers (example utterances for plus-prepositions as used by Korean speakers of English can be found in the following sections which take stock of the functional and lexical contexts where they occur).

Table 5.29 Plus-preposition types in the SPOKE corpus (raw frequencies)

Preposition type	Instances of plus-preposition use
in	79
to	59
about	26
for	25
of	20
at	18
with	11
on	6
from	6
by	2
out	1
within	1
Σ	**254**

The most frequent plus-prepositions in the SPOKE corpus are *in* (n = 79) and *to* (n = 59), which can be related to the overall high frequency of the two prepositions in general (see Section 5.4.2 or Table 5.30). Comparing the occurrences as plus-prepositions to their overall frequency in the corpus (see Table 5.30 below), it can be seen that the percentage of plus-prepositional usage lies between 1% (see *of*) and 3% (see *about*) for all prepositions, except *out* and *within* which have inflated percentages (33% and 6% respectively) due to their extremely low overall frequency (*within* occurs in total 17 and *out* only three times as preposition in the SPOKE corpus).

The following sections provide an overview of the contexts where plus-prepositions occur. Even though the overall number of plus-prepositions is too low to say that this is a clear pattern of English usage in Korea (as was indicated by Shim 1999), they might point to areas of interest for future research (e.g., studies of other modes and genres or studies complementing the present study from a diachronic perspective).

As a short aside, it should be noted that identifying plus-prepositions is not unproblematic, as can be illustrated with the following example.

Table 5.30 Comparison raw overall with plus-prepositional usage (raw frequencies and percentages)

Prep.	Raw overall	Raw plus-preposition use	% plus- vis-à-vis raw frequency
in	3,891	79	2%
of	2,135	20	1%
to	2,097	59	3%
for	1,874	25	1%
with	984	11	1%
about	802	26	3%
at	751	18	2%
from	583	6	1%
on	486	6	1%
by	191	2	1%
out	3	1	33%
within	17	1	6%

(38) I can't focus on very long time <106_f27>

The use of *on* in this utterance can be interpreted in two ways: a) it is a plus-preposition presumably to indicate a temporal aspect (i.e., *I can't focus very long*) or b) the object of the utterance was omitted (i.e., *to focus on something*). b), however, would then also entail a missing preposition as in 'I can't focus on *this task/studying/my homework* for a very long time' which tips the analysis rather to the a) interpretation. Due to the spoken nature of the data, the possibility of plus-prepositions being an artifact of incomplete sentences, false starts, etc. can also not be excluded. Ultimately, this conundrum has to remain unsolved. As a final thought on this issue, it should be considered, however, that this issue makes the analysis prone to overestimate the number of plus-prepositions. Even if a number of prepositions were wrongfully analyzed as plus-prepositions, this does not undermine the statement that plus-prepositions are quite rare in spoken Korean English but rather strengthens it.

Verb plus preposition

Looking at the functional contexts in which plus-prepositions are employed, roughly one third (n = 86; 34%) occur in combination with a verb akin to prepositional verbal use such as *invite on* in example (39) and *visit to* in example (40) below.

(39) I will invite on my friends <26_f29>

(40) yes I do have plan to visit to Switzerland for vacation <39_m32>

The 86 instances include 54 different verbs and correspondingly the number of hapaxes (i.e., combinations occurring only once) are high (n = 41). *Bully at*, *contact to*, *evangelize to*, and *experience about*, given in (41) to (44), are four examples of verb and plus-preposition combinations occurring only once in the corpus.

(41) at the first time it was really hard because like uh they bullied at me <78_m23>

(42) please contact to our cabin crew <90_m30>

(43) as a Christian we aspire like we dream on evangelizing to people <6j_f34>

(44) I never experienced about the racism in New Zealand <103_m26>

Nine verbs occur twice in combination with a plus-preposition. In some cases, however, different prepositions are used together with the same verb. For example, the speaker in (45) uses *marry with*, but the speaker in (46) uses *marry to*. Interestingly, the speaker in (46) starts out by saying *marry with* as well but then self-corrects to *marry to* (maybe following the construction *to get married to somebody*).

(45) I want to marry (.) with marry with some good person <96_f22>

(46) she's gonna marry with (.) marry to (.) another guy <97_m23>

In other cases, the two instances of the same verb plus preposition combination are uttered by the same speaker. For example, the speaker in (47) and (48) talks about the South Korean/North Korean relationship and ponders the question of South Korean involvement in North Korea. During her utterances regarding this matter she uses the combination *enter to* twice.

(47) so we wanna enter to North Korea and help them in all kind of different ways <7j_f27>

(48) South Koreans are not interested at all about entering to North Korea <7j_f27>

Combinations occurring twice can thus not be seen as indicators for patterning (even on a very low level) as they are very variable in form and/or are uttered by the same speaker (thus rather representing idiolectal variation). This of course also needs to be seen in relation to the overall frequency of the verb.

Only four verbs occur more than twice in combination with plus-prepositions: *speak* (n = 3, with three different prepositions uttered by three different speakers), *ask* (n = 5, all with the preposition *to* uttered by three different speakers), *study* (n = 7, with three different prepositions uttered by six different speakers), and *visit* (n = 12, with three different prepositions uttered by ten different speakers).

Whereas *speak* still shows considerable variation in the selected plus-prepositions, the picture is more uniform for *ask* which, if it takes a plus-preposition, clearly favors the preposition *to* as demonstrated in the two examples below.

(49) and then we always asked uhm to people how to get to there and so on <75_f22>

(50) but thing is when I asked to policeman (laughs) he said (.) he he's not shocked <101_f23>

In the case of *study*, the most frequently selected plus-preposition is *about* (n = 5). *Study* additionally occurs once each with the prepositions *in* and *with*. The verb *study* occurs in the spoken part of COCA in combination with the preposition *about* as well (n = 16), as demonstrated in (51) and (52), in order to refer to specific topics (but not general fields). The Korean speakers, however, use it to refer to whole subject fields (for example, referring to their majors in university, see (53) below). (54) needs to be seen in context as well: The speaker is not referring to studying research about writing in English but rather describes how he did not have any targeted writing practice in English in school. It could be argued, however, that these instances represent cases of minor semantic shift and thus do not represent full plus-prepositions.

(51) it turns out that I -- from my observations and from everything that I have studied about this case, I do believe that […] (COCA 1994 SPOK Ind_Geraldo)

(52) […] an Oprah-sponsored scholarship to travel to South Africa to study about AIDS in that country. (COCA 2005 SPOK CNN_Zahn)

(53) for four months I studied about business marketing in the university in in Canada <75_f22>

(54) in Korea we didn't study about writing in English <33_m25>

The verb *visit* plus plus-preposition is the most interesting case to consider as it not only occurs more frequently than the others (n = 12), but its use is also spread across ten different speakers. In one case each, *visit* occurs with the plus-prepositions *at*, as in (55), and *for*, see (56); in the remaining ten cases the selected preposition is *to*, as demonstrated in (57).

(55) he weres the visited at Korea the last last year <54_m44>

(56) I just visited for my cousin <105_m32>

(57) yes I do have plan to visit to Switzerland for vacation <39_m32>

In the spoken part of COCA, *visit* only occurs in combination with the preposition *to* when *visit* is a noun (erroneously tagged as verb) as in (58) or when *to* functions as infinitive marker and is followed by a verb, see (59).

(58) It could be torn from the pages of a mystery thriller with clues gathered from bloodhounds, love letters, and even visits to a graveyard. (COCA 1993 SPOK CBS_Street)

(59) It remained over the years a place that he would frequently visit to seek refuge and comfort (COCA 2009 SPOK CBS_Early)

The Korean speakers, however, use *visit to* to indicate a motional meaning as exemplified by (57) above or (60) below. In those cases, *visit to* is followed by a noun and not a verb.

(60) and then (.) he he visit (.) to er America to see me <63_f21>

Plus-preposition plus adverb

Roughly another third of the plus-prepositions (n = 83; 32%) occurs in combination with an adverb. The majority of cases are again either hapaxes or only occur twice and can thus not be interpreted as patterning (see previous section). Four preposition plus adverb combinations stand out, however, due to their higher frequency: *home* (n = 6), *here* (n = 8), *abroad* (n = 9), and *there* (n = 37).

In the case of *home*, all six instances represent the phrase *go to home*, as demonstrated in (61).

(61) I should go to home <103_m26>

In comparison, the combination *go/gone/went/goes/going home* (without *to*) occurs 28 times in SPOKE altogether.

Here is preceded by two different prepositions, *to* (n = 2) and *in* (n = 6), as illustrated in (62) to (64).

(62) ooh so when you were in the university you came to here and did something (laughter) <112_f24>

(63) it was so hard to live in here <81_m26>

(64) I work in here <112_f24>

Crucial to the interpretation of (63) and (64) is again the context. In (63), the speaker does not refer to a specific bounded location but instead refers to his living in New York in general. In (64), the speaker is talking about working in the same area as the interview was conducted in (but not saying that she was working in the café where the interview took place).

Abroad occurs in combination with *in* (n = 2), *to* (n = 5), and *for* (n = 1) and, similar to the case of *go to home*, frequently builds a phrase-like construction with *go* (n = 5) as demonstrated in utterances (65) and (66).

(65) they couldn't go go to abroad <90_m30>

(66) it's go to abroad to explore our subject like <81_m26>

However, other lexical items can also occur in pre-prepositional position, for example, the verb *live* in example (67) or the noun *experience* in (68).

(67) she have a lot of experience living in abroad <99_f27>

(68) so I really wanted to have uh various experience in abroad in the other countries <23_f27>

The most frequently used adverb after a plus-preposition is *there*, occurring with the prepositions *from* (n = 1), *of* (n = 1), *at* (n = 3), *to* (n = 7), and *in* (n = 25).

(69) ah I went to America for an exchange students and I met him at there <110j_f22>

(70) I went to there because of uh business trip <66_m31>

In the case of example (69), the use of the plus-preposition *to* can be explained by a possible approximation to the pattern *go* + *to* + noun (e.g., *go to Australia*, *go to school*, etc.).

Most prominent, however, is the pattern *in* + *there* (n = 25). It occurs frequently when referring to actions that took place in a general geographical location (such as a country, a continent, or a city). The speaker in (71), for example, talks about her experiences in Vietnam and the speaker in (72) about her travels in Europe.

(71) I can eat many kinds of fruit in there <38_f27>

(72) but it can be the chance to meet other people in there <107_f21>

Plus-prepositions in other contexts

The remaining plus-prepositions occur in varying contexts or the context cannot be clearly identified. Due to the high variability of the context and the lexical items employed, no patterns could be detected. The following three examples illustrate typical instances of this kind of plus-preposition.

(73) so I apply here in six months ago <92_m28>

(74) well since I was at twen- twenty ko- Korean age <67_m28>

(75) so (sharp intake of breath) maybe in my dream is to working (.) the other countries <55_f21>

Minus-prepositions

As stated previously, plus-prepositions are rather sparsely found in the SPOKE corpus. More numerous is the opposite process, that is, minus-prepositions, which occur nearly three times as often. Altogether, 671 instances of minus-prepositions have been identified in the SPOKE corpus. This is illustrated by the minus-preposition *to* in (76) and the minus-preposition *at* in (77).

(76) when I returned ø Korea […] <18_m43>

(77) yah I can just walk to the a house ø two two a.m. <9_f33>

The most frequent minus-preposition in SPOKE is *to*, followed by *in*. A complete list of all minus-preposition types (ordered by token frequency) is given in Table 5.31.

Table 5.31 Minus-prepositions in the SPOKE corpus (raw frequencies)

Minus-preposition type	Raw frequency
to	267
in	124
for	80
at	53
with	38
about	35
on	34
of	26
from	7
into	3
like	2
by	1
over	1
Σ	671

By far the most frequent minus-preposition is *to* (n = 267; 40% of all minus-prepositions), which warrants a closer look at this specific item. In most cases (n = 201; 75%), the minus-preposition *to* occurs after verbs of motion (*go*, *come*, *move*, *return*, etc.), as in example (76) above or (78) below.

(78) when I was in Germany it was for me easier to go ø other countries <30_f26>

Conspicuous here is the predominance of cases involving the verb *go*. The minus-preposition *to* occurs after lemmas of the verb *go* (cf. (79) and (80) for two further examples) in 165 cases.

(79) we went ø the golf course <54_m44>

(80) I go ø gym for boxing <66_m31>

Comparing this to all lemmas of the verb *go* occurring in combination with the preposition *to* (n = 776), the minus-preposition rate of *to* after the verb *go* can be determined to lie at 18%.

The other cases of minus-preposition *to* can be grouped as follows: after verbs of communication such as *talk*, *listen*, and *say* (n = 26), after other miscellaneous verbs (e.g., *introduce*, *apply*, etc.; n = 38), and non-verb contexts (n = 2). (81) demonstrates one instance of minus-preposition *to* after *talk* (note also the minus-preposition *in* at the beginning of the utterance). In (82), the minus-preposition *to* occurs after *donate* which is one of eighteen different verbs in the miscellaneous verbs category.

(81) ø my free time uh (.) I I talk ø my girlfriend <72_m24>

(82) I donate (.) ø organization that helps uhm abandoned animals <9_f33>

Surveying the remaining cases of minus-prepositions (i.e., not of the type *to*; n = 454), 194 of them are part of prepositional verbs occurring in the SPOKE corpus without a preposition. Many of those are hapaxes (n = 50), however, and occur only once in the corpus, as, for example, *talk on* which is reduced to a single-word verb in (83).

(83) I'm talking (1) ø the phone <109_m35>

The following table (Table 5.32) summarizes all prepositional verbs (lemmatized) which occur without preposition more than once. In other words, hapaxes are not displayed in Table 5.32. The numbers in brackets after the prepositional verb indicate how often it occurred *with* a preposition in the SPOKE corpus.

The minus-preposition *for* after the verb *care* stands out due to its high frequency. In the SPOKE corpus, 17 instances can be found as illustrated in (84) and (85). In (84), the speaker is contemplating the negative sides of getting a dog, that is, having to spend a lot of time taking care of it. In the next example, a nurse is talking about E.R. practices where patients with severe symptoms or injuries take precedence over patients who go to the E.R. with a simple case of the flu.

Table 5.32 Minus-prepositions in prepositional verbs (raw frequencies)

Prepositional verbs (raw frequency with preposition in brackets)	**Raw frequency without preposition**
care for (2)	17
look at (26)	10
go on (32)	8
stay in (90), *think about* (80)	7 (each)
care about (26), *register for* (3), *talk about* (41)	6 (each)
prepare for (17)	5
stay at (10), *think of* (35), *work in* (116)	4 (each)
apply for (15), *take care of* (23), *help with* (1), *invest in* (1), *learn about* (20), *major in* (34), *pay for* (21), *serve in* (3), *stay with* (9), *wait for* (17), *work for* (68), *work at* (38)	3 (each)
ask for (4), *ask about* (3), *communicate with* (6), *focus on* (36), *graduate from* (8), *live with* (32), *live at* (3), *mix with* (4), *participate in* (17), *send for* (0), *study for* (21), *wonder about* (3)	2 (each)

(84) you know caring ø a dog is the uh (4) yah time killer <20j_m34>

(85) so yah we need to neglect them to care ø other yah severe patients <46j_f22>

The 17 instances of the minus-preposition *for* after the verb *care* are uttered by ten different speakers and thus seem to be too widespread to be explained with mere idiolectal variation. Furthermore, checking the SPOKE corpus for occurrences of *care for* (including all lemmas of *care*), only two instances of the full prepositional verb (i.e., verb + preposition) can be found (see (86) for one example).

(86) I was new to work and I had to learn from someone but there was kinda nobody to care for me <51_f29>

The verb *care* can conventionally also occur in combination with the preposition *about*: that is, *to care about*. In the SPOKE corpus, *about* is a minus-preposition in six instances after the verb *care* as in (87) below where the speaker clarifies that she does not mind what other people think about her.

(87) I just don't care ø the other people <55_f21>

However, this prepositional verb occurs more frequently in its 'full' form (i.e., verb + preposition; see (88)) than with a minus-preposition (26 instances of verb plus preposition vs. six instances of verb without preposition). In (88), the speaker recounts going on vacation and sharing a room with a male friend which led hotel staff to assume that they were a gay couple. The speaker here adds that he and his friend did not mind this assessment by the hotel staff.

(88) we don't care about that <81_m26>

The lexical item *care* features as a noun in another multi-word verb which comes up in the SPOKE corpus: *to take care of*. For this item, three instances with minus-preposition can be attested in the corpus (vs. 23 instances with preposition).

In five cases, minus-prepositions are part of a phrasal-prepositional verb. The phrasal-prepositional verbs concerned are: *check up with* (see (89) below), *go out with*, *let out of*, *look down on* (see (90) below), and *stay away from* (each once).

(89) just I check up ø the (.) the other guys […] <95_m26>

(90) we also kind of look down ø the Chinese and Japanese and or (.) definitely we dislike Japanese <98_m34>

Go out with and *stay away from* occur in their conventional form (as verb + adverb + preposition) four and one time respectively, whereas the other cases (*check up with*, *let out of*, *look down on*) do not occur in their conventional form in SPOKE at all.

The remaining 260 cases of minus-prepositions which are not part of a prepositional verb occur in miscellaneous contexts and are much harder to group. They are usually part of a noun phrase referring either to location or time. (91) and (92) illustrate two typical instances of minus-prepositions referring to a location and (93) and (94) represent two cases of minus-prepositions in time reference.

(91) and ø cafés you can ask for soymilk if you want <12j_f10) (minus-preposition *in*)

(92) because ø Egypt there is no snow (laughs) <93_f25> (minus-preposition *in*)

(93) I went to army ø two years <92_m28> (minus-preposition *for*)

(94) I told them I will go like ø two a.m. <112_f24> (minus-preposition *at*)

Swap-prepositions

Altogether, 395 prepositions were tagged as swap-prepositions in the SPOKE corpus. This means that instead of the preposition used by the speaker another preposition would have been the conventional choice. In (95), for example, the speaker uses the preposition *in* instead of *on* in combination with the noun *weekends* to describe her work schedule.

(95) because uhm since you know I have to work five days a week and even in weekends <51_f29>

This tagging had to be completed manually and posed several procedural challenges. As explained previously, all dubious cases were checked against other databases (i.e., the spoken part of COCA, the conversational part of the BNC, the modified SB corpus). Furthermore, there are cases where the swap-preposition stands instead of more than one possible conventional preposition. For example, in (96) below, the speaker employed the preposition *on* when explaining that she is often not on time for work meetings. The swap-preposition *on* in this case conceivably replaces either *to* or *for*, as demonstrated in (96a) and (96b).

(96) but I usually [am] late on the meeting <21_f31>

(96a) but I usually [am] late to the meeting [constructed]

(96b) but I usually [am] late for the meeting [constructed]

In those cases, the conventional preposition was picked according to frequency in the spoken part of COCA. For the concrete example above, the conventional preposition was determined as *for* because *late for* plus noun (e.g., *late for lunch*) or plus placeholder and noun (e.g., *late for the meeting*) is more frequent than *late to* plus noun (e.g., *late to rehearsals*) or plus placeholder and noun (e.g., *late to the party*) (199 vs. 88 instances in COCA).

Another problematic case concerns repetitions. If the speaker self-corrected a conventional preposition to a swap-preposition, the swap-preposition was tagged as such and included in the analysis. This happened, for example, in (97) below where the speaker self-corrected from the conventional *in German* to the swap-preposition *with German*.

(97) one man talked [to] me in German uh with German <61_f18>

If, however, the speaker self-corrected from a swap-preposition to a conventional preposition, the original swap-preposition was discarded from the analysis. This would have happened in the case of the constructed example (97a) below to the swap-preposition *with* in the prepositional phrase *with German* as it is immediately self-corrected to the conventional *in German*.

(97a) one man talked [to] me with German uh in German [constructed]

Table 5.33 summarizes the use of swap-prepositions in the SPOKE corpus. It is ordered by the overall raw frequency of the swap-preposition (the number in brackets in the first column). The numbers after the prepositions in the second column designate how often the swap-preposition given in the corresponding first column is used instead of the respective conventional preposition. Prepositions in the second column are listed in order of descending frequency. In case of equal frequencies, the prepositions are ordered alphabetically. Each swap-prepositional use is illustrated with selected examples. The table only displays swap-prepositions which have been used more than ten times (a cut-off point randomly selected for the sake of readability and brevity).[38]

Table 5.33 Swap-prepositions in the SPOKE corpus (raw frequencies)

Swap-preposition	Standing instead of conventional preposition	Selected examples	
in (100)	*on* (41), *at* (21), *to* (12), *with* (10), *from* (3), *into* (3), *after* (2), *about* (1), *between* (1), *by* (1), *during* (1), *for* (1), *of* (1), *through* (1), *under* (1)	(98)	in in Saturday I I just ta- took a rest <42j_f24> (→ *on*)
		(99)	maybe uh watch a movie in home <46j_f22> (→ *at*)
		(100)	so is there anyone who came in your place? <21_f31> (→ *to*)
to (67)	*for* (27), *with* (12), *in* (8), *about* (7), *on* (5), *at* (2), *along* (1), *by* (1), *from* (1), *into* (1), *towards* (1), *until* (1)	(101)	they think it's too dangerous to me <107_f21> (→ *for*)
		(102)	he was sorry about being angry to me <85_f31> (→ *with*)
		(103)	I worked to the government branch <54_m44> (→ *in*)
on (54)	*in* (36), *to* (6), *about* (1), *at* (1), *of* (5), *by* (1), *for* (1), *during* (1), *with* (1)	(104)	so uh this company based on Switzerland <38_f27> (→ *in*)
		(105)	I have to move on another district <88_f28> (→ *to*)
		(106)	we dream on evangelizing to people <6j_f34> (→ *about*)
for (42)	*to* (18), *in* (8), *about* (5), *as* (4), *with* (2), *at* (1), *by* (1), *from* (1), *on* (1), *through* (1)	(107)	he's strict for PhD student <32_m28> (→ *to*)
		(108)	for my job I think there's no many chance no many chances [to meet foreigners] <21_f31> (→ *in*)
		(109)	every day I I fight with him and uh just (.) for small things <84j_m24> (→ *about*)
at (33)	*in* (19), *on* (9), *with* (3), *of* (1), *to* (1)	(110)	I just uhm seen that café at magazine <88_f28> (→ *in*)
		(111)	I should come this (.) s- col- college at Saturday <113_m23> (→ *on*)
		(112)	they applied at their resume at university <47_f19> (→ *with*)

(*continued*)

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38. The swap-prepositions used less than ten times are *by* (n = 8), *as* (n = 7), *into* (n = 4), *through* (n = 3), *after* (n = 1), *among* (n = 1), and *within* (n = 1).

Table 5.33 (*continued*)

Swap-preposition	Standing instead of conventional preposition	Selected examples
about (25)	*in* (9), *of* (6), *for* (5), *on* (2), *to* (2), *with* (1)	(113) so well actually before I wasn't interested about girls <78_m23> (→ *in*) (114) but he (.) a little bit (.) likes me and she was jealous about this <94_f22> (→ *of*) (115) I really appreciate him about his help <32_m28> (→ *for*)
with (22)	*to* (7), *in* (5), *as* (2), *at* (2), *by* (2), *from* (2), *about* (1), *on* (1)	(116) Korean is more sensitive with cold <35_f39> (→ *to*) (117) we was the same st- exchange student with Germany <55_f21> (→ *in*) (118) I like to (.) go see a movie with myself <114_m22> (→ *by*)
of (15)	*about* (4), *for* (4), *in* (4), *from* (1), *over* (1), *to* (1)	(119) so it taught me a lot of French food <4_m28> (→ *about*) (120) Jeollanamdo is famous of their delicious food <77_f21> (→ *for*) (121) students of Korea doesn't feel like that <58j_m26> (→ *in*)
from (12)	*to* (4), *in* (3), *on* (2), *at* (1), *by* (1), *of* (1)	(122) Gyeongju is really close from Busan <30_f26> (→ *to*) (123) yah I learn [how to bowl] from America <63_f21> (→ *in*) (124) but I don't like watch it from TV <64_f24> (→ *on*)

As can be seen in Table 5.33, the use of swap-prepositions by Korean speakers of English is very variable and dispersed. One variation stands out, however, via its frequency: *in* instead of *on* (41 of 100 instances pertaining to non-conventional *in* usage; 41%) and the other way around, *on* standing instead of *in* (36 of 54 instances pertaining to non-conventional *on* usage; 67%). This can, on the one hand, be related to the semantic similarity of some usages of both items (especially concerning temporal use: cf. *on the weekend*, *on Monday*, *on the second day of June* vs. *in July*, *in the afternoon*, *in the middle of the day*). On the other hand, an additional facilitating factor can be found in the phonetic similarity of both prepositions which only differ in the initial vowel (see also Section 5.4.2.1 which reported a case study on the use of *on* by the Korean English speakers represented in the SPOKE corpus).

5.4.3 A note on word order

As explained previously in Section 5.4.1, prepositions are realized in Korean as postpositions (i.e., after the noun), which led me to investigate whether this is transferred to the English spoken by Koreans. Following Korean word order, for example, the English prepositional phrase 'in three years' would instead be 'three years in' and 'on the weekend' would be 'the weekend on'. All in all, only eight instances of a transposed Korean word order including prepositional usage were found in the SPOKE corpus. The eight instances were uttered by five different speakers and in three cases the affected preposition can be categorized as plus-preposition. In (125), the Korean speaker is talking about the characteristics of Korean music throughout the last decades. Previous to the utterance in (125), he passionately described Korean music in the 1980s and 1990s as having "beautiful sound" and being "like a gold flower" (<18_m43>). Much to his dismay this has changed to the worse, however, and he claimed that after this time (i.e., the 1980s and 1990s) Korean music has become unimaginative, sounding all-identical. The preposition *after* can here be found after the noun phrase it modifies ("nineteen eighty or nineteen ninety after"). A similar process can be observed in (126) which was uttered in response to the question whether the parents joined the speaker on a previously described trip to New Zealand.

(125) nineteen eighty or nineteen ninety after the (.) all music is distillized all music is just the dance <18_m43>

(126) yes my parents with <70_m29>

(127) is one of the cases of plus-preposition use which displays the Korean positioning of prepositions transferred to English. Besides being a plus-preposition, *to*, in (127), is transposed to a position after the object ('give me to') instead of the conventional placement before the object ('give to me').

(127) they give me to a (.) nice score <113_m23>

5.4.4 Discussion

The analysis in this chapter has made a number of observations regarding prepositional use by Korean speakers of English which can be summarized as follows:

- Even though the usage frequencies differ when considering prepositions individually, the overall ranking of the most frequently used prepositions remains largely the same across the three corpora investigated.

- Two detailed case studies demonstrated that 1) semantic usage differences can be identified (case study *on*) and 2) some frequency differences can be related to artifacts of the automatic POS-tagging procedure (case study *like*).
- Despite being previously listed as emblematic for Korean English (Shim 1999), the use of plus-prepositions cannot be regarded as typical for the English spoken by Koreans as they occur very rarely.
  - If they do occur, plus-prepositions are most likely to either form part of innovative prepositional verbs or combine with adverbs.
- Minus-prepositions occur more frequently than plus-prepositions.
  - The most numerous minus-preposition is *to* and is most likely to occur after verbs of motion.
- Swap-prepositions can be found but are very variable and dispersed.
  - The two processes reported by Jung and Min (1999), replacing the preposition *at* with *in* and vice versa, occur in the corpus as well (*in* instead of *at* n = 21 and *at* instead of *in* n = 19), but, considering overall preposition numbers, these instances remain at very low rates of occurrence.
- The different morphological status of prepositions (i.e., as suffix) in Korean as the substrate language does not have a pronounced effect on preposition placement within the English utterances.

In general, innovations in the use of prepositions have been identified in previous research across the fields of World Englishes, English as a Lingua Franca, and English as a Foreign Language. Zipp establishes prepositions as "valid research subjects for the study of variation across varieties of English" (2014: 89) due mainly to their general high frequencies across text types and registers. According to eWAVE, for example, the feature 'omission of Standard English prepositions', is pervasive and obligatory in 13 varieties of English (Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013). Minus-prepositions are most frequently attested for English-based pidgins or creoles (e.g., Cameroon Pidgin, Krio) but can also be found in other variety types of English: high-contact L1s (Colloquial Singaporean English), indigenized L2 varieties (Indian South African English), and traditional L1 varieties (Newfoundland English). Additionally, they can be categorized as common (i.e., neither pervasive nor extremely rare) in a further 27 varieties, among them Australian English, several dialects in England and Philippine English (Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013). Other studies aim at providing comprehensive insights into the prepositional systems of specific English varieties, for example, Mwangi (2003) who finds quantitative differences pertaining to specific prepositions (rather than prepositions in general) in Kenyan English, including processes of simplification and semantic restriction (see also Mwangi 2004). Comparing overall word frequencies, Zipp (2014: 59) observes that the rankings of the most frequently occurring prepositions in the five corpora under investigation (i.e., ICE-India, ICE-Great Britain, ICE-New Zealand, and her own corpora of Indo-Fijian and Fijian English) are remarkably similar which corresponds to the observation made in comparing preposition frequencies between the SPOKE corpus, the modified SB corpus, and the conversational part of the BNC. Working with Jamaican Creole, Sand (1999: 94) reports that even though she identified "numerous occurrences [of prepositions] that were uncommon in international standard English" it was not possible to establish "clear patterns" of non-conventional preposition use. The identified uncommon occurrences of prepositions include "alternative collocation" (Sand 1999: 95) and "usage accident[s]" (Sand 1999: 94). 'Usage accidents', for example, slips of the tongue, can be expected to occur in every variety type of a language and it is thus likely that some of the plus-, minus-, and swap-prepositions identified in the SPOKE corpus can also be related to this process. Research by Mukherjee (2009), using ICE-India, finds a number of innovative prepositional verbs in Indian English (e.g., *discuss about*, *comprise of*, *visit to*) due to the use of plus-prepositions. These are, however, used very infrequently (between two to 14 times for the items investigated) (Mukherjee 2009: 123), which warrants the compilation and subsequent use of larger corpora to investigate these structures (Mukherjee 2009: 131). Mukherjee argues that the innovative prepositional verbs are "licensed by semantic and formal templates", "[follow] a rational impetus", and are cases of "nativised semantico-structural analogy" (2009: 124). Thus, the innovative prepositional verb *visit to* is interpreted as being modeled after or licensed by the expression *go to* (Mukherjee 2009: 124). This explanation can also be applied to the instances of *visit to* identified in the SPOKE corpus.

Innovative prepositional use has also been attested in the literature on English as a Lingua Franca. As the material compiled in the SPOKE corpus is, strictly speaking, ELF data, it makes sense to review some of the main results in the field and draw parallels to the findings in this study where possible. Seidlhofer (2004: 220), in her seminal paper on researching and teaching ELF, mentions the insertion of plus-prepositions rather in passing when giving a list of morpho-syntactic patterns which in general "appear to be […] unproblematic and no obstacle to communicative success". Cogo and Dewey (2012: 52–61) go into much more detail and discuss minus-prepositions and other innovative preposition uses in an eight-hour corpus of spoken ELF. They find minus-prepositions in dependent contexts, that is, instances "where the selection of one preposition over another is entirely dependent on its collocation with a preceding lexical item" (Cogo & Dewey 2012: 52), especially noteworthy. Unfortunately, the largely qualitative study leaves unclear how frequently this occurs, apart from stating that there are "several cases" and that this pattern can be identified "on numerous occasions" (Cogo & Dewey 2012: 53). This corresponds, for example, to the high number of minus-prepositions in the SPOKE material pertaining to prepositional verbs as reported in the SPOKE study. Cogo and Dewey suggest that “a fairly wide range of options” (2012: 56) exist for ELF speakers in prepositional choice with certain verbs, which is then the reason for their “flexibility in use” (2012: 56). Regarding the use of plus-prepositions (Cogo and Dewey subsume plus- and swap-prepositions under the category ‘innovative preposition use’), they find occurrences which can be related to extensions of existing patterns to other contexts (Cogo & Dewey 2012: 56) such as *to influence on* analogous to *to be an influence on* and *to contact with* following the pattern *to be in contact with*. This could potentially also be the case in the SPOKE data, but more in-depth semantic analysis, which is not within the morpho-syntactic scope of this study, is necessary to corroborate this specific finding. Kirkpatrick (2010: 113–114) emphasizes the variability of preposition use in native varieties of English but finds only little variation in this regard in his ASEAN ELF data. However, some speakers apparently used *about* as “a general all-purpose preposition” (Kirkpatrick 2010: 114). A number of plus-prepositions was identified as well but remain unquantified by Kirkpatrick (2010).

Due to their variability, fine-grained semantic shading,[39] proneness to change (Rastall 1994), and “peculiar features” (Lindkvist 1950: 13), prepositions are one area where learners of English are expected to encounter difficulties. Prepositions have, dramatically, even been described as “a trap for the unwary, and something of a nightmare for the foreign learner” (Connell 1999: 42). They are, in other words, an area notorious for giving a headache to both learners and teachers of English as a foreign language, sometimes considered “impossible to teach and impossible to learn” (Gilquin & Granger 2011: 60). Learners are thus described as “plagued by the problem of finding the correct preposition” (Rastall 1994: 231). Recognition of the differences in which “languages divide up and lexicalize spatial configurations and functions” (Alonso Alonso et al. 2016: 95) has led to the investigation of cross-linguistic influences in the use of spatial prepositions by second language learners. As Alonso Alonso et al. (2016: 98–99) succinctly summarize, cross-linguistic influences regarding the use of spatial prepositions are to be expected in learner language, even though the exact source of interference is usually hard to determine. Substrate language influence from Korean as well as effects from the language learning process are thus likely to play a role in the variation of preposition use as observed in the SPOKE corpus. The higher frequency of minus-prepositions than plus-prepositions in the SPOKE corpus, corresponds with one of the results reported in Kao, for example, who finds a propensity by Japanese speakers of learner English to omit "communicational redundant prepositions" (2001: 195). This result is based, however, on the investigation of sentences displaying either pied-piping (e.g., *To which contract did he agree?*) or preposition stranding (e.g., *Which contract did he agree to?*) and it remains to be studied whether this will also occur in non-pied-piping and non-preposition stranding contexts.

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[39] Particularly when considering that despite a general overlap in ranking of the most frequent prepositions (Mindt & Weber 1989), preposition use also varies between the main input varieties in English teaching, American and British English, especially regarding co-occurrence patterns (Algeo 1988). See also Estling (1999).

It also needs to be emphasized again that the prepositional system of Korean is indeed very different from English prepositional use. This is primarily due to the status of prepositions as bound morphemes in Korean, which, however, is generally not reflected in the word order of spoken Korean English. Many Korean prepositions also have a different semantic range and shading (see Section 5.4.1) and thus do not correspond one-to-one to English prepositions. The most frequent established non-conventional use of prepositions in SPOKE, i.e. minus-prepositions, however, is hard to relate to general Korean substrate language influences as prepositions are in many cases realized (albeit as postpositions) in the Korean counterparts of the Korean English sentences. For example, the prominent verb of motion plus minus-preposition plus destination pattern found in SPOKE, corresponds to a verb of motion plus destination plus postposition pattern in Korean, as demonstrated in (10) at the beginning of this chapter, reproduced below.

(10) 한국**에** 갔어요.
han-gu-g**e** ga-sseo-yo.
Korea-**to** go-PST-informal polite ending
(I) went to Korea.

Therefore, the question, why Korean speakers of English resort specifically to minus-prepositions, is still open. Ultimately, however, it has to be said that the non-use of prepositions leads to a less complex language system in use and can be subsumed under the category of simplification in SLA. This would also explain the shared occurrence of this feature with English-based pidgins and creoles, ELF, as well as other variety types of English.

Idiolectal variation cannot be excluded as potentially influencing the results identified in the corpus, despite the large amount of speakers sampled. Especially patterns which occur only infrequently are bound to reflect idiolectal variation to a certain degree. However, as has been pointed out in the analysis, a range of patterns are either too frequent (e.g., minus-prepositions) or occur across a number of speakers and are thus unlikely to be the result of mere idiolectal variation. The use of prepositions by Korean speakers of English hence remains a fascinating field for morpho-syntactic investigations as this first large-scale systematic overview of prepositional use in Korean(ized) English has shown. Counter to previous reports, not plus-prepositions but rather minus-prepositions can be seen as characteristic of the English as used by Koreans, at least in the spoken mode.

Up until now, the empirical chapters have shed light on Korean English uses related to a range of word classes: nouns and plural marking, pronouns, articles, and prepositions. The following chapter concentrates on verbs and how they are employed by Korean speakers of English.

5.5 Verbs

The verb phrase offers numerous starting points for linguistic investigation in the study of World Englishes such as the use and non-use of tense and aspect marking (of any kind) (see, e.g., Paulasto 2014 for the progressive; Werner 2014 for the present perfect), passivization (see, e.g., Hundt 2009; Bao & Wee 1999), the use of modals and auxiliaries (see, e.g., Biewer 2011; Collins 2009), agreement between noun and verb (see, e.g., Asante 2012; Hay & Schreier 2004), etc. In an error-analysis study of translations from Korean to English by Korean students, Cha (1983: 104) finds minus-copular *be* “most notable” and thus inspired the focus of this study on the use of verbs by Korean speakers of English. The use and non-use of copular verbs was also identified as promising research endeavor due to the long-standing discussion of this feature in variational linguistics, which makes it a particular point of interest. Walker even claims that the copula is “probably the most studied but least understood variable in sociolinguistics” (2000: 35). The scope of this study was consecutively widened to include lexical and auxiliary verbs in addition to copulas. This chapter first provides a short overview of the English and Korean verbal systems before summarizing the types of minus-verbs present in the SPOKE data and explicating each type in more detail. The discussion then relates the results to possible substrate language influences, the World Englishes literature at large, as well as other possible explanations for the patterns observed.

5.5.1 The verb systems of English and Korean

The English verb system

The verb is, besides the subject, one of the two obligatory elements of declarative English sentences. Quirk et al. (1985: 96) distinguish between three major verb classes: full/lexical verbs (lexical verbs hereafter), primary verbs, and modal auxiliary verbs. The primary verbs of English are *be*, *have*, and *do*. *Be* can either function as a copular verb (e.g., *She is smart*, *She is a teacher*), as an auxiliary for the progressive aspect (e.g., *I am laughing at his joke*), or as a passive auxiliary (e.g., *I was run over by a car*) (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 129). Copular verbs can be followed by a subject complement or an adverbial (Quirk et al. 1985: 54), and even though *be* is the most common copular verb in English, a range of other verbs can be used with this function, as, for example, *become*, *appear*, and *look* (Quirk et al. 1985: 1172). Semantically, copular verbs either assign a "current attribute" or a "resulting attribute" to the subject (Quirk et al. 1985: 1171) and have, therefore, also been called 'linking verbs'. *Have* can fulfill the role of a lexical verb (e.g., *I have two dogs*) or an auxiliary in perfective aspect constructions (e.g., *I have eaten two pizzas*) (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 130). *Do* can again occur as lexical main verb (e.g., *I did the dishes today*) or as "'dummy' operator" in *do*-support (e.g., *I do not like where you are going with this*, *Do you like Italian food?*) (Quirk et al. 1985: 133). For the analysis in this chapter, lexical verbs and primary verbs are particularly relevant.

The Korean verb system

The minimal Korean sentence consists of a single verb and no other elements are necessary to form a grammatical utterance. Korean verbs can be classified as main verbs (lexical verbs) and auxiliary verbs (Sohn 1999: 209). All Korean verbs must inflect, but, in contrast to English, no copulas are necessary in order to employ predicative adjectives. In other words, no copular verbs are necessary when using adjectives in Korean, as the adjective itself can bear the verbal inflection markers. Indeed, adjectives are very much like verbs in Korean and only very few attributes distinguish between the word classes. Auxiliary verbs in Korean are verbs which have to be preceded by a second verb. The auxiliary verb 버리다 (*beo-ri-da*, 'finish up'), for example, has to occur after another verb such as 먹다 (*meok-tta*, 'eat'), and consequently forms the phrase 먹어 버리다 (*meo-geo beo-ri-da*, 'finish eating') (example from Sohn 1999: 209). Apart from the main verb/auxiliary verb distinction, Korean verbs can be grouped into the categories locomotive, processive, inchoative, cognitive, emotive, causative, passive, and common (Sohn 1999: 209) based on syntactic and semantic aspects. 이다 (*i-da*) is the Korean copula which combines with nouns to form an inseparable unit (see Lee & Ramsey 2000: 86). 이다 (*i-da*) carries verbal inflection, but, as Lee and Ramsey (2000: 86) explain, the copula is commonly not treated as an individual word by Korean grammarians, who "prefer to think, rather, that the entire noun-plus-copula phrase […] is the predicate". As mentioned above, the copula does not combine with adjectives in Korean as they bear their own verbal inflections.

5.5.2 Minus-verbs in the SPOKE corpus

The complete SPOKE corpus was manually annotated for minus-verbs which resulted in the identification of 391 instances. All minus-verbs were again manually analyzed for the respective environment they occurred in and their part of speech was determined as either copular verb, lexical verb, or auxiliary verb. I distinguish in the following overview between copular verbs followed by an adjective (e.g., *She* *is smart*) and copular verbs followed by any other part of speech (e.g., noun (phrase): *She* *is a teacher* or adverb (phrase): *The party* *is tomorrow*). Auxiliary verbs were either the auxiliary *be* or the auxiliary *have* (see the note on minus-auxiliary *do* below Table 5.34). Auxiliary *be* can be further subclassified into the use as progressive aspect or passive auxiliary (see Quirk et al. 1985: 129; also Section 5.5.1 above), and this was also considered in the coding process. For the purpose of this study, verbs which are arguably of semi-auxiliary status such as those listed by Quirk et al. (1985: 143) were categorized as lexical verbs (e.g., *be able to*, *be about to*, *be supposed to*, *have to*, *be obliged to*, etc.). Furthermore, it was noted for each instance whether the minus-verb was used in a present or past context (i.e., whether, if a verb had been used, this verb would have present or past tense marking), occurred after the infinitive marker *to*, or in an *-ing* form context (i.e., whether, if a verb had been used, this verb would have been in the *-ing* form). This tense information was established via close analysis of the surrounding speech and no unclear cases were reported. Table 5.34 gives a summary of all minus-verbs in the SPOKE corpus and their raw frequencies. Each type will then be explicated in the course of this chapter.

Table 5.34 Types of minus-verbs in the SPOKE corpus (raw frequencies)

	Copular verbs		**Lexical verbs**	**Auxiliary verbs**		
				be		***have***
	followed by adjective	**followed by other POS**		**progr. aspect**	**passive**	**perfect**
present tense	94	41	34	33	4	15
past tense	49	19	14	21	7	2
infinitive	10	9	36	0	1	0
-ing form	0	0	2	0	0	0
Σ	**153**	**69**	**86**	**54**	**12**	**17**

In two additional cases (not represented in Table 5.34 due to the low frequency of total occurrences), minus-*do* can be found in *do*-support. This materializes once in the present tense, see example (1), and once in the past tense, as in example (2). A third case not listed in the table is one minus-modal verb *would*. Otherwise, no further minus-modal verbs or minus-auxiliaries of the form *do* were identified in the SPOKE corpus.

(1) why ø they do that? <90_m30> (present tense minus-*do* in *do*-support)

(2) but uh of course they (.) uh ø not win <68_f23> (past tense minus-*do* in *do*-support)

The following sections detail each minus-verb type as listed in Table 5.34, starting with minus-copular verbs.

5.5.2.1 *Minus-copular verbs*

Minus-copular verbs in the SPOKE corpus are either trailed by an adjective phrase (n = 153) or by other phrase types (with non-adjectival heads; n = 69).

5.5.2.1.1 *Minus-copular verbs plus adjective phrases.* If the minus-verb is copular *be*, it is most likely followed by an adjective (n = 153). For minus-copular *be*, 94 present tense, 49 past tense, and ten infinitive contexts were identified. Furthermore, the adjective can be either unmodified (see *amazing* in (3) and *pregnant* in (4)) or premodified by an adverb (e.g., by *very* in (5) or *really* in (6)). The following four examples illustrate minus-copular *be* before adjective phrases in the present tense.

(3) ah actually I really ex- uh respect her like she ø amazing <78_m23>

(4) and I ø pregnant now <19j_f30>

(5) my mother ø very busy <56_f23>

(6) he ø like really tall <17j_f24>

The same applies to past tense contexts, where the adjectival forms are either bare (see (7)) or preceded by an adverbial modifier (see (8) and (9)).

(7) when we ø young uh we have a lot of (sharp intake of breath) uh fight <74_f24>

(8) yah so I ø just nervous and worry about that <92_m28> [about a bear warning note]

(9) we ø very shy <23_f27> [part of a longer narrative on a bike trip through Japan]

In some cases, the minus-copular verb is accompanied by a minus-subject (see example (10) in present tense and (11) in past tense). Talking about the currently difficult job market in South Korea, the speaker of utterance (10) below demonstrates both a minus-subject pronoun *it* and a minus-copular *be* in the present tense (i.e., *is*). In (11), a minus-subject pronoun *I* and minus-past tense copular *was* occur before the adjective phrase *quite amazed* (consisting of a premodifying adverb and the adjective). This establishes that minus-copulas and minus-subject pronouns can occur hand in hand (for more information on minus-pronouns see Chapter 5.2.3).

(10) because nowadays ø [it] ø [copular *is*] very difficult to get a job <38_f27>

(11) it made me some kind of think again about lots of thing so (.) ø [I] ø [copular *was*] quite amazed about that <78_m23>

In a few cases (n = 10), the minus-copula follows an auxiliary verb such as *will*, for example in (12) or *can*, as in (13), and thus can be categorized as infinitive form.

(12) maybe my parents will ø upset <75_f22>

(13) I can I can ø proud of it <113_m23>

Minus-verbs in the SPOKE corpus can clearly be established as predominantly of the type 'copular *be* before adjectives' (cf. the quantitative overview of all minus-verb types identified in the data presented in Table 5.34). In order to establish the pervasiveness of this minus-verb type in the data at large, it is necessary to establish how many adjectives in the corpus were preceded by copular *be* and compare this to the minus-copula uses. Only predicative adjectives but not attributive adjectives need to be considered. Unfortunately, the CLAWS tagset which was used for automatic POS-tagging does not distinguish between predicative and attributive adjectives but only provides tags for general adjectives (n = 14,313), general comparative adjectives (n = 420), general superlative adjectives (n = 165), and catenative adjectives[40] (n = 21). Therefore, a roundabout method had to be adopted to arrive at an estimate of the number of copular verb *be* plus adjective constructions in the data. Using regular expressions and the tags available from CLAWS, the SPOKE corpus can be searched for adjectives preceded by a form of the verb *be* to identify predicative adjectives. This method is, however, not entirely accurate as potentially a string of lexical items of unspecifiable length can be inserted between the verb form *be* and the predicative adjective. This is particularly the case in spoken language, where filler items, hesitation markers, discourse markers, etc. are frequently used (see the list A)-F) below, which could be continued ad libitum).

A. she's smart (0 items between copular *be* and adjective)
B. she's very smart (1 item between copular *be* and adjective)
C. she's like very smart (2 items between copular *be* and adjective)

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[40] The only adjective type identified in the SPOKE corpus by the CLAWS tagger as catenative adjective is *able* in *be able to*. In Quirk et al. (1985: 143), *be able to* is classified as a semi-auxiliary and shares this categorization with a range of other "verb idioms" such as *be due to*, *be meant to*, and *be willing to*.

D. she's like really very smart (3 items between copular *be* and adjective)
E. she's uhm like really very smart (4 items between copular *be* and adjective)
F. she's like uhm like really very smart (5 items between copular *be* and adjective)
…

It is also necessary to exclude cases where the adjective is followed by a noun or indefinite pronoun as otherwise cases such as (14), (15), and (16), where the adjective is in an attributive position, would be included:

(14) Germany is nice *country* <1j_f27>

(15) it was lovely *place* <112_f24>

(16) it's popular *one* <44_m26>

These cases were excluded using the noun and indefinite pronoun tags from CLAWS. Case A (see list above) is easily and quite reliably identifiable in the corpus and occurs in SPOKE 1,907 times with general adjectives, 120 times with comparative adjectives, and five times with superlative adjectives (total n = 2,032). Searching for forms of the verb *be* plus intermittent random item plus adjective (corresponding to case B in the list above) yields a large number of false positives, however. For general adjectives the number of hits is 2,563, but examining only the first twenty concordance lines shows that merely eleven are indeed predicative adjectives as this kind of search also finds forms where the adjective is in attributive position, such as *that is the* ***main problem*** and *it's very* ***strange thing*** (both from <1j_f27>). It was thus necessary to exclude cases where the adjective was followed by a noun or indefinite pronoun (e.g., *something* in (17) or *one* in (18)).[41]

(17) there's special traditional *something* <25_f43>

(18) it's a small *one* <12j_f30>

This method for identifying predicate adjectives was only reasonable for cases where one item was inserted between the copular *be* and the respective adjective (i.e., cases C to F plus all following possibilities are not considered in this analysis). In the end, I identified an additional 1,903 cases of predicative adjectives in combination with a form of the copular verb *be* (general adjectives n = 1,858, comparative adjectives n = 29, superlative adjectives n = 16, catenative adjectives n = 0). It can thus be estimated that the SPOKE corpus contains *at least* 3,935 instances of predicative adjectives preceded by a copular verb (only types A + B). Comparing this to the number of minus-copular *be* instances before predicative adjectives (n = 153) means that the minus-copula rate lies at a mere 4%. This number is of course only an informed estimate (as types C and following were excluded), but it can be stated confidently that the minus-copular *be* rate before predicative adjectives in the SPOKE corpus is below 4% as the number of predicative adjectives plus copular *be* combinations were rather underestimated in the adopted method. This means that, despite an undeniable presence in the corpus data, minus-copular *be* before predicative adjectives is only realized with limited frequency.

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[41] This approach unfortunately also (wrongfully) excludes a number of cases where the adjective is in predicative position, such as "I really like that [it] is so cheap everything is so cheap" <86_f24>. *Cheap* is indeed a predicative adjective but as the next utterance starts (without a pause) with the indefinite pronoun *everything*, the search identifies this as an item to exclude from the results. Cursory checking of the excluded concordance lines, however, suggests that this occurs rather infrequently. Nevertheless, it needs to be kept in mind that the numbers given for predicative adjectives only approximate the accurate number of predicative adjectives.

Minus-copular verbs plus other phrases (non-adjectival). So far, cases of minus-copular *be* followed by other phrases than adjective phrases have not yet been considered. Those are indeed rarer than minus-copular *be* before adjectives but can still be found in the SPOKE corpus (n = 69) as demonstrated in the following three utterances.

(19) ooh my wife company ø in Shinchon <72_m24>

(20) they have (.) a lot of hotel so (1) there ø many Chinese <63_f21>

(21) it ø very soon <103_m26>

Most of the minus-copulas before non-adjective phrases are in the present tense (n = 41; see (19) to (21) above), but minus-copular *be* in the past tense (n = 19; see example (22)) and infinitive form (n = 9; see example (23)) also occur.

(22) when I ø in the States I tried the many yu- U.S. beer <37_m23>

(23) uuh I didn't decide yet but I I just (sharp intake of breath) want to ø uh (1) uh university student <74_f24>

After this overview of minus-copular verbs and their occurrence in different environments, the next section focuses on the use of minus-lexical verbs in the SPOKE corpus.

5.5.2.2 *Minus-lexical verbs*

86 minus-lexical verbs have been identified in the SPOKE corpus. 34 of the minus-verbs are in the present tense, 14 in the past tense, 36 in the infinitive, and two in the *-ing* form. Minus-lexical verbs are, clearly, not very prevalent, due to their low frequency within the data. Considering them in detail, nevertheless, will not only

complete this overview of minus-verb use by Korean speakers of English but also illuminates some interesting morpho-syntactic processes such as conversion.

(24) and (25) below are two examples for minus-lexical verbs as found in the SPOKE corpus. (24) illustrates the minus-lexical verb *party* in the past tense. The next example, (25), lists a range of activities done by the interviewee and her friends on a past occurrence: going to a certain area in Seoul, consuming food, going back to the clubroom (all of the friends were part of a discussion club and had a designated clubroom at the university), and playing a board game. The activity of going back to the room at university is narrated without a respective verb in the past tense.

(24) ah my wife also ø yesterday night <72_m24>

(25) we went to Myongdong and take a took a lunch eat Thailand food and ø back to the our clubroom and and did some board game <42j_f24>

In a few cases, minus-lexical verbs in utterances in the present tense can potentially be analyzed as the result of a conversion process. In the following examples, (26) to (29), it can be claimed that instead of a minus-lexical verb a new verb is constructed via conversion from another part of speech.

(26) I just work and [ø?] paperwork like and doing typing some documents <81_m26>

(27) people never [ø?] trash on the street <80_f31>

(28) my parents [ø?] tennis very well <70_m29>

(29) many people can't [ø?] tennis <70_m29>

(26) can either be interpreted as minus-verb *do* (i.e., *do* *paperwork*) or the verb slot is filled by the innovative verb form *paperwork* (*paperwork*, noun → *to paperwork*, verb). Similarly, *trash* in (27) could either be the result of conversion from noun to verb (*trash*, noun → *to trash*, verb) or the utterance is lacking a verb completely (i.e., *people never* *throw**/**leave**/… trash on the street*). In (28), *tennis* is possibly the result of a noun to verb conversion process as well (*tennis*, noun → *to tennis*, verb), especially because this construction is later repeated by the same speaker (see (29)). Nevertheless, both cases, (28) and (29), can also be interpreted as minus-verb *play*.

The lexical items which are potentially the result of conversion are of low frequency, however, and each type occurs either only once (e.g., *paperwork* in (26) and *trash* in (27)) or is uttered several times by the same speaker (e.g., *tennis* in (28) and (29) above). The only exception is *back* which occurs nine times throughout the SPOKE corpus in the form of a possible innovative verb resulting from conversion (see (25) and the following two examples).

(30) so we usually work [during] (.) the daytime and then [ø?] back to school [in the evening] <106_f27>

(31) I went to army [for] two years and then and I [ø?] back to university <92_m28>

An argument against the interpretation of *back* as a lexical verb formed via conversion is the fact that none of its instances showed past tense inflection (i.e., *backed*) even though five of them were standing in a past tense context (see (25) and (31)).

Another aspect that stands out regarding minus-lexical verbs is the large number of cases in the infinitive: 36 of 86 cases of minus-lexical verbs are in the infinitive, which translates to roughly 42% in this category. In comparison, the percentages of minus-copular verbs in the infinitive is much lower: Only 6% of all minus-copular verbs followed by an adjective and 13% of all minus-copular verbs followed by other parts of speech were in the infinitive.

Table 5.35 (ordered by number of occurrences) details the contexts of minus-lexical verbs in the infinitive in the SPOKE corpus. In case of the infinitive the preceding context is particularly important since this conditions the use of the verb in the infinitive. For example, in (32), the use of the modal *can* requires the following lexical verb *lift* to occur in the infinitive form. The infinitive of a verb is also called for after the infinitive marker *to* has been employed, as in (33).

(32) I can *lift* 50 pounds. [constructed sentence]

(33) I like to *lift* heavy stuff. [constructed sentence]

A third of all cases of minus-lexical verbs in the infinitive are following the construction full verb *want* plus *to* (12 instances of a total of 36). It is possible that because the construction already contains a lexical verb (i.e., *want*) no second verb is selected despite the infinitive marker *to* conventionally needing to be completed with a further verb. This is supported by the other constructions of full verb or primary verb *be* plus *to* followed by a minus-verb in the infinitive listed in the Table 5.35 (i.e., *love to*, *try to*, *be hard to, have to*, *be best place to*, *be better to*, *be difficult to*, *be time to*, *need to*, *suggest to*).

In only two cases the minus-lexical verb is in the *-ing* form as demonstrated in (34).

(34) yes I work (.) in [name of institution] mmh (.) because I'm ø [doing] master degree <70_m29>

Table 5.35 Left collocation of minus-lexical verbs in the infinitive in the SPOKE corpus (raw frequencies)

Left collocates of minus-lexical verbs in the infinitive	Raw frequency	Examples
want to	12	(35) I want to ø [visit] America <73_f26> (36) I want to ø [get] a job as soon as as soon as possible <71_m28>
can't, don't, love to, try to	3 (each)	(37) I tried to ø [do] some test to be lawyer <82_m26> (38) I don't ø [know] this name <72_m24> (39) I love to ø [do] this <113_m23>
be hard to, have to	2 (each)	(40) so it was hard to ø [make] conversation <97_m23> (41) so they have to ø [do] (.) mmh homework <104_f33>
be best place to, be better to, be difficult to, be supposed to, be time to, need to, should, suggest to, will	1 (each)	(42) it is difficult to ø [see] the the deer and animal <109_m35> (43) German is the best place to ø [study] philosophy <95_m26> (44) oh she will ø [come] back next year <34_m26> (45) if we want to catch your bedbug you should you should ø [set] fire on your house <106_f27>

Minus-lexical verbs thus occur most commonly in the infinitive when the construction preceding them already includes another verb. They can also be connected to innovative conversion processes. Nevertheless, the overall occurrence rate of minus-lexical verbs in the SPOKE corpus is rather low.

5.5.2.3 *Minus-auxiliary verbs*

Most minus-auxiliary verbs are *be* auxiliaries in progressive constructions (n = 54), followed by *have* auxiliaries in perfective constructions (n = 17) and passive *be* (n = 12).

Minus-be auxiliaries in progressive constructions. Considering minus-*be* auxiliaries first, as they are the most frequent type of minus-auxiliaries, it can be seen that they occur both in the present tense and are thus part of a present progressive (n = 33) and in the past tense as part of a past progressive (n = 21). It should be noted that in the case of progressive constructions, the corpus was only tagged for minus-*be* auxiliaries before *-ing* forms of verbs (e.g., *I ø studying for a test* [constructed]). Instances of verbs which are in the present tense but conventionally should bear progressive marking (e.g., *I study for a test at the moment* [constructed]), are not considered in this analysis of minus-*be* auxiliaries as they can also reasonably be explained by a different use of tenses in general (i.e., present tense use in present progressive and past tense use in past progressive contexts). The following three examples illustrate minus-auxiliary *be* in the present progressive. Depending on the subject, the minus-auxiliary form can be determined as *am* in (46), *are* in (47), and *is* in (48).

(46) when I ø watching the Hollywood movie I'm not comfortable <34_m26>

(47) they ø always playing golf <65_m25>

(48) she ø learning [to play the drum] <85_f31>

Fewer minus-auxiliary *be* forms can be attested for past progressive forms, as illustrated in (49) and (50).

(49) but I I I ø also wearing a swimming pants <52_m35>

(50) because she and I ø attending different school <94_f22>

In (49), the speaker is recounting his experience going to a sauna in Switzerland and being surprised by some of the other (older) visitors not wearing clothes, whereas he and some younger visitors were wearing either swimming trunks or bathing suits. In the course of this narrative, the minus-auxiliary *was* occurs before the progressive *wearing*. Likewise, the interviewee in (50) does not use the auxiliary *were* before the progressive *attending* when recounting her living experience in a shared flat and a particular problematic episode with her roommate.

Minus-have auxiliaries in constructions with the perfect. Of the 17 minus-*have* auxiliaries in the SPOKE corpus, 15 are in the present and only two in the past tense. The construction of the perfect with minus-*have* auxiliaries occurs very frequently (n = 11) in combination with the verb *be* in the perfect tense (i.e., *been*), as demonstrated in (51) and (52). Five of the constructions include the adverb *never* before *been* (see (52)). The rest of the verbs in the perfect but not preceded by the auxiliary *have* are *grown* (n = 1), *seen* (n = 1), and *taken* (n = 4; all four instances uttered by the same speaker).

(51) [I] can't remember the all the cities I ø been through <98_m34>

(52) I I ø never been to a- another country <71_m28>

Minus-be auxiliaries in passives. Minus-passive auxiliary *be* is the rarest minus-verb in the SPOKE corpus and occurs in only 12 instances. (53) and (54) illustrate this once in the present tense and once in the past tense.

(53) yah every day he yah go out nowadays (.) and then my mother ø left alone in home <85_f31>

(54) but it was not kind of you know travel because I s- I ø sponsored by my university <94_f22>

In (53), the speaker recounts how her recently unemployed father spends most of his time outside of the house, leaving her mother all by herself (i.e., *he leaves her alone → she is left alone* [by him; implied]). In the construction of the passive, minus-auxiliary *be* can be found in the utterance. The next example, (54), concerns a trip to Europe which was payed for by the interviewee's university and thus, she argues, should not be considered traveling for leisure. Stressing that she was 'sponsored' by the university, minus-auxiliary *be* in the past tense (i.e., *was*) occurs in the passive construction (*My university sponsored me → I was sponsored by my university*).

5.5.3 Discussion

Regarding the minus-use of verbs by the Korean speakers of English represented in the SPOKE corpus, the following observations were made in the previous analysis:

- Minus-copular, minus-lexical, and minus-auxiliary verbs can be attested in the speech of Korean speakers of English but are rather infrequent when compared to their realized counterparts.
- Most minus-verbs are copular verbs followed by an adjective (accounting for 39% of all minus-verbs); there are fewer cases of minus-copular verbs followed by other parts of speech than adjectives.
  - These minus-uses can occur both in present tense and past tense contexts (and to a lesser degree concern infinitive forms).
- Some minus-lexical verbs are possibly the result of innovative conversion processes.
- A remarkable number of minus-lexical verbs is in the infinitive (42% of all minus-lexical verbs); this is potentially relatable to other verbs present in the constructions where the minus-verb occurs (e.g., want *to X*; where X is a placeholder for the minus-verb).
- Minus-auxiliary verbs are most commonly of the type *be* marking progressive aspect.

As discussed in Section 5.5.1, Korean predicative adjectives do not take a copular verb but are instead inflected like a verb themselves (with very few tests available to distinguish between adjectives and verbs as word classes; see Sohn 1999: 210 and Sohn 1999: 275–277). It is thus a possibility that this behavior of predicative adjectives as if they were lexical verbs is transferred to English by the Korean speakers. This would explain the cases of minus-copulas before predicative adjectives found in the corpus data. However, as shown in the analysis, comparing the frequency of minus-copulas before adjectives to the number of predicative adjectives used in the corpus with a realized copula, reveals that the ratio of minus-copula cases is relatively low (below 4%). Nevertheless, this does not mean that minus-copula use before adjectives (and in general) needs to be interpreted as a pure learner error. The ability of speakers to switch between use and non-use of copulas has been evaluated by Leuckert and Neumaier (2016: 97) as an indication against the learner error interpretation because this actually "demonstrates the speaker's ability to use these constructions". This variability between use and non-use of copulas, often in the same speaker, leads Leuckert and Neumaier (2016: 97) to reject the suggestion that copula deletion could be a vernacular universal as proposed by Chambers (2004). Instead, they opt for a feature pool explanation (see Chapter 3.2): English contributes the copular *be* in obligatory contexts and the L1 contributes its respective copula system (which can be quite different from the English one) and the speakers then 'select' which of the systems to apply. For multilingual contexts, Leuckert and Neumaier (2016: 99–100) conclude that

> [z]ero copula constructions therefore have to be regarded as multilingual speakers accessing their full linguistic repertoire. Rather than treating them as mere learner errors, they are contact-induced features which are consciously or subconsciously employed based on the individual requirements of the specific conversation.

The Korean language can thus be interpreted as providing the necessary input to the feature pool for Korean speakers of English to select from, despite the selection occurring mostly in favor of overt copula realization.

Nevertheless, Korean English minus-copular verbs are, like most minus-features, also explainable via simplification as SLA process. After all, the language system is simplified by reducing the number of available building blocks. The pre-dominance of this pattern before adjectives when compared to other parts of speech can, in the case of SPOKE, be readily explained when considering substrate language effects as complementary to SLA processes. Korean adjectives take verbal inflection, and no copula plus adjective construction is available in the Korean language system, which maps to the way adjectives are at times used in Korean English speech.

In Korean, adjectives do not only occur without copula, but they also carry verbal markers. It was thus conceivable that the SPOKE corpus speakers showed respective influences as well. The predicative adjectives used in the SPOKE corpus without copular *be*, however, never show inflection themselves and thus cannot be interpreted as cases of conversion where adjectives are transformed into verbs via a morphological process (i.e., zero-derivation). One would expect that if adjectives preceded by minus-copular verbs were fully used as lexical verbs, they would also occasionally show third person present tense or past tense verbal inflection as in the following constructed examples:

(55) she smarts (standing for *she is smart*)

(56) she smarted (standing for *she was smart*)

Predicative adjectives not preceded by copular *be* but inflected in such a way are, however, not found in the SPOKE corpus. Thus, one finds utterances such as "my mother very busy" <56_f23> but not *my mother very busies* or "I always late" <50_f22> but not *I always lated*. In 45 cases, the predicative adjective without copular *be* stands in a third person present tense context and in 49 cases the predicative adjective is in a past tense context. Opportunities for inflection thus existed but were not taken up by the Korean speakers. It remains possible, however, that the Korean language structure has a certain (even if not substantial) effect on the occurrence of this particular feature and promoted the use of minus-copular *be* before predicative adjectives.

According to eWAVE, minus-copular *be* before adjectives is quite frequently found in English varieties around the world and its incidence in the Korean English repertoire is thus far from unique. The atlas lists 24 varieties where this feature is pervasive or obligatory and 12 varieties where this is at least common (but neither pervasive nor extremely rare). Examining the varieties where the feature is found more closely shows that many of them are English-based pidgins ($n_{total} = 6$; $n_{pervasive} = 5$, $n_{common} = 1$) or creoles ($n_{total} = 18$; $n_{pervasive} = 15$, $n_{common} = 3$). The feature is given, for example, as pervasive in Cameroon Pidgin, Ghanaian Pidgin, Jamaican Creole, and Belizean Creole and as common in Norfolk Island/Pitcairn English and Hawai'i Creole (see also Sharma & Rickford 2009 on minus-copulas in creoles). It is not found in any of the 'traditional' L1 varieties listed in eWAVE but plays a role in some high-contact L1 and indigenized L2 varieties. Minus-copular *be* before adjectives is, for example, thought pervasive/obligatory in Aboriginal English (L1), Colloquial Singaporean English (L1), Urban African American Vernacular English (L1) (see also Labov 1969), and Pure Fiji English (L2). It is also listed as common for two other indigenized L2 varieties from the South/Southeast Asian region, that is, Hong Kong English and Malaysian English.

Minus-copular *be* before other parts of speech was attested less often than minus-copulas before adjectives in the SPOKE corpus. This corresponds to the fact that, unlike minus-copulas before adjectives, minus-copular *be* before other parts of speech cannot be related to substrate language influence by Korean, as in cases such as *That man is a teacher* a verb is also realized in Korean (at utterance final position, however; in the following example in bold):

(57) 그 남자는 선생님**입니다**.
geu nam-ja-neun seon-saeng-ni-m**im-ni-da**.
that man-TOP teacher-**be**-present tense polite style ending
That man is a teacher.

Minus-copular *be* before non-adjectival phrases still occurred in the SPOKE corpus, albeit with very low frequency. Altogether, the use of minus-copulas can be mapped roughly to substrate language structures: patterns which do not exist in Korean (i.e., copula + predicative adjective) are more frequent than patterns which do exist in Korean (i.e., copula + other part of speech).

Again, minus-copular *be* before non-adjectival phrases occurs across a range of varieties and variety types and has been reported in the Word Englishes literature. It has also been documented in eWAVE which differentiated between minus-use before noun phrases and minus-use before locative phrases. Both cases (i.e., before noun phrases and before locative phrases) are again not attested in traditional L1 varieties. For noun phrases, the feature is found pervasively in 11 and commonly in 12 varieties. Minus-copulas before locative phrases are even more prevalent and are attested 16 times as pervasive and 12 times as common. For both syntactic environments (i.e., before noun phrases and locative phrases) the feature can be found across all variety types considered in eWAVE (except, as previously mentioned, in traditional L1 varieties): that is, high contact L1, indigenized L2, English-based pidgins, and English-based creoles.

Minus-copular *be* in general has also been described in studies of other Expanding Circle Englishes, such as Saudi English (Al-Rawi 2012) and Russian English (Davydova 2012). Davydova (2012: 379–380) noted, for example, that minus-copular verbs *be* occur to variable degrees in mesolectal English as spoken in Russia, with a predominance in present rather than past tense form (due to Russian substrate language influence), and consistent minus-use in the basilectal variety. In combination with the reports from eWAVE, it can be concluded that the occurrence of this feature is again not unique to the Korean context.

It is thus no surprise that minus-auxiliaries are also attested in eWAVE, distinguishing between minus-auxiliary *have* ($n_{total} = 13$; $n_{pervasive} = 7$, $n_{common} = 6$) and minus-auxiliary *be* before the progressive ($n_{total} = 36$; $n_{pervasive} = 22$, $n_{common} = 14$). Again, the features can be found in a range of variety types but are conspicuously absent from traditional L1 varieties (except minus-auxiliary *have* which is reported as common in English dialects in the Southwest of England). In the SPOKE corpus, minus-auxiliary verbs occur but with rather low raw frequencies. The most frequently occurring minus-use in this case is minus-auxiliary *be* before the progressive. This can be interpreted as a form of redundancy reduction, "as speakers perceive progressive […] predicates as bearing sufficient marking of verbal features" (Sharma & Rickford 2009: 84–85).

In conclusion, the most visible minus-use of verbs, minus-copular *be* before adjectives, is most readily related to Korean substrate language influences in combination with SLA effects. The other minus-uses of verbs (i.e., minus-copular *be* before non-adjectival phrases, minus-lexical verbs, and minus-auxiliary verbs) are difficult to ascribe to the same process due to their low occurrence rates. As they occur rather infrequently their instantiations are also more malleable to be explained by idiosyncratic uses by individual speakers. Their analysis, however, still showed the potential of innovative conversion processes and verb-verb combination reductions as viable research areas in future investigations of the Korean English repertoire.

CHAPTER 6

Discussion

The broad aim of this study was to provide a first description of the form of English as used by South Korean speakers. This fills an important gap in the research literature on World Englishes, as studies of the English used in Korea are few and far between and corpus-based research on the subject is nearly non-existent. Apart from the aim to conduct fundamental research of the English use in this East Asian country of high economic and political regional influence, this study was driven by recent developments in the World Englishes paradigm, which called for more attention to Expanding Circle Englishes and their use(r)s.

This chapter brings the empirical insights from the previous chapter together and examines the implications these have on theorizing Korean(ized) English. After shortly summarizing the main results, I will sketch the Korean English morpho-syntactic feature pool. The congruence between variants available in the feature pool and those variably selected in the output by Korean speakers of English shows that Korean English is still an emerging variety, the development of which will be fascinating for linguists to observe in the future. But these Korean English morpho-syntactic forms do exist and thus I will also update the assessment of the EIF Model phases to South Korea, which was originally presented in Chapter 3. Last but not least, I will lay out the implications for legitimizing Expanding Circle Englishes and present how the material and results from this study set up the foundation for further research into English in Korea.

6.1 Morpho-syntactic patterns of spoken Korean(ized) English

A range of morpho-syntactic areas were analyzed in this study with a focus on the following parts of speech: nouns, pronouns, articles, prepositions, and verbs. Regarding nouns, the use of plural marking was investigated in detail. For pronouns, articles, prepositions, and verbs, the investigation concentrated on plus-, minus-, and swap-uses, the latter process only attested in the realm of prepositions (i.e., swapped prepositions). The corpus upon which the analyses were based consisted of spoken interview-conversations with young to middle-aged Koreans representing the rather well-educated part of Korean society.

The first major finding of the empirical analysis was the reduction of plural redundancy on the noun. Korean speakers of English have two options: to mark or not to mark the plural on the noun. Certain factors influence this selection; the presence of a quantifier or numeral before the noun, for example, makes it more likely that no plural marking is selected than when no quantifier or numeral occurs before the noun. The second field under investigation was the use of pronouns in referential contexts. SPOKE, overall, contains fewer pronouns than the reference corpora and particularly minus-third person pronouns can be attested in the data. Additionally, the minus-pronoun *I* was identified as occurring close to previous realizations of the first person pronoun and can thus be considered a measure of linguistic economy. A number of case studies provided a very detailed profile of article use by Koran speakers of English. For example, minus-definite article use is particularly frequent when it comes to fixed article plus country name combinations (as in, e.g., *the Philippines* and *the United States*) and minus-indefinite article use has been attested in the expressions *a lot of* and *a few*. Regarding the use of prepositions, the Korean English repertoire subsumes the use of both conventional and non-conventional prepositions. The most frequent non-conventional pattern are minus-prepositions, followed by swap- and, last but not least, plus-prepositions (which are, after all, rather rare). The final area investigated was the verbal range, more specifically, the employment or minus-use of certain verb types (i.e., copular verbs, lexical verbs, and auxiliary verbs). Most interesting in this field is definitely the use of minus-copular verbs which is conditioned by predicative adjectives. Other non-conventional uses (i.e., minus-lexical verbs and minus-auxiliary verbs) can also be found in Korean(ized) English but to a far lesser degree.

Previous research on the form of English in Korea has often assumed the existence of indigenized features based on either anecdotal evidence or rather small corpora of data (predominantly written). Using the SPOKE corpus, it was possible to not only identify 'old and new' potential features but also to quantify and exemplify them substantially. This has the advantage of moving away from abstract theorizing regarding nativization, on the one hand, and a procedure akin to guessing, on the other, by instead providing concrete evidence for the presence or absence of features. Shim (1999: 253), for example, posited the use of plus-prepositions as a feature of Korean English, as she found at least one instance of a plus-preposition in the official textbook used in Korean schools at the time of her study. The detailed analysis of prepositional use in the SPOKE data, however, unearthed a different picture. While plus-prepositions occur, they do so rather rarely. Far more frequent are indeed minus-prepositions. Working with a corpus of conversational material additionally allowed for a systematic description of the environments where variants occurred.

Altogether, the findings suggest that a range of features of spoken Korean(ized) English does exist. A particularly strong case in point is the reduction of plural redundancy in the non-use of plural marking on nouns in specific lexical and semantic contexts. The level of entrenchment of this and the other features in the language system of Korean speakers of English, however, is still dubious as overall usage rates range between low to medium high frequencies. Nevertheless, these patterns are without doubt present in the Korean English repertoire and are selected for use, if not predominantly, at least regularly. I suggest visualizing the Korean English feature pool of the morpho-syntactic features investigated in this study as in Figure 6.1, following the work by Percillier (2016). The input by the Korean language system to the Korean English feature pool is marked in red and the contribution by the English system in blue. Other influences on the feature pool are marked in grey and are depicted at the bottom left of the figure. These influences include ELF communicational processes, SLA effects, and other universal factors and processes (e.g., varioversals), and will be explained in more detail in the following sections. Important, and easy, to notice here is that the available features in the feature pool and the observed output in Korean(ized) English are the same. This is due to the fact, that English in Korea is a relatively new, and one might hypothesize, not yet very stable variety of English. Korean speakers of English thus still select widely from the available variants across their feature pool. The visualization explicitly shows that besides conventional forms, other forms are also selected. Adding this to the information of usage numbers provided in this study, allows the conclusion that English in Korea does indeed have a ‘unique identity’. Updating this part of the feature pool with a diachronic follow-up study will show which features of Korean English stabilize, while others might drop out of use. Those variants then remain in the feature pool of potential Korean English forms, but, as they cease being selected, they vanish from the Korean English variety.

It has been proposed in the literature on variety studies that the differentiation between so-called *innovations* and *errors* cannot be based on the form of the variants themselves. The findings from this study support this notion insofar as the variants identified in the spoken Korean English data were always also identifiable in the eWAVE database, which characterizes the morpho-syntax of traditional L1 varieties, high-contact L1 varieties, indigenized L2 varieties (most relevant to this study), and English-based pidgins and creoles. Koreans generally do not acquire English as L1, but, nevertheless, their feature pool includes variants which in other contexts would be considered nativized. Considering only form, it is not possible to maintain the distinction between the status of variants as either innovation or error. If the linguistic system itself does not allow us to distinguish between the

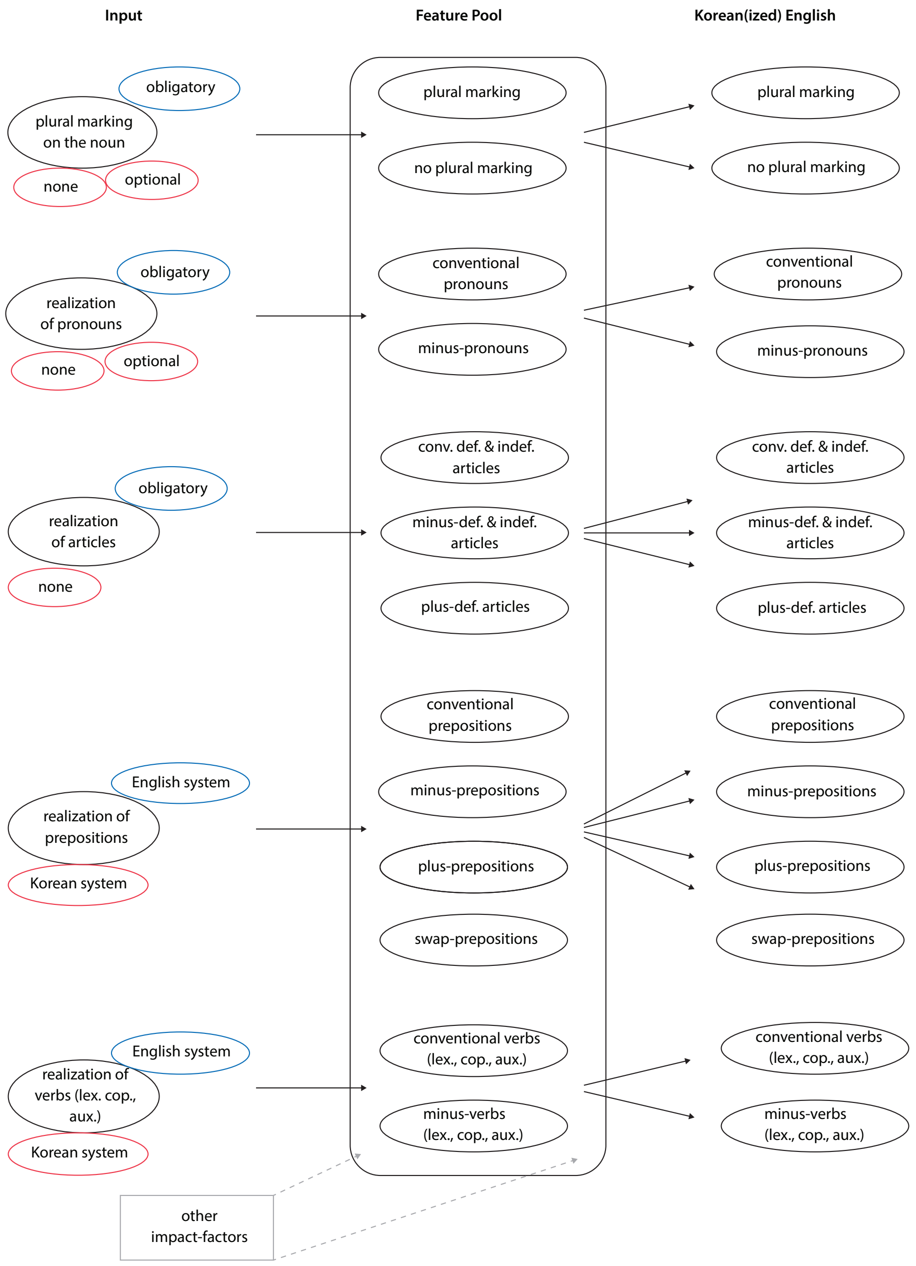
Input
Feature Pool
Korean(ized) English
obligatory
plural marking on the noun
none
optional
plural marking
no plural marking
plural marking
no plural marking
obligatory
realization of pronouns
none
optional
conventional pronouns
minus-pronouns
conventional pronouns
minus-pronouns
obligatory
realization of articles
none
conv. def. & indef. articles
minus-def. & indef. articles
plus-def. articles
conv. def. & indef. articles
minus-def. & indef. articles
plus-def. articles
English system
realization of prepositions
Korean system
conventional prepositions
minus-prepositions
plus-prepositions
swap-prepositions
conventional prepositions
minus-prepositions
plus-prepositions
swap-prepositions
English system
realization of verbs (lex. cop., aux.)
Korean system
conventional verbs (lex., cop., aux.)
minus-verbs (lex., cop., aux.)
conventional verbs (lex., cop., aux.)
minus-verbs (lex., cop., aux.)
other impact-factors

Figure 6.1 A sketch of the Korean English morpho-syntactic feature pool

two, we, therefore, have to consider extra-linguistic factors. The crucial aspects are both the language attitudes by speakers towards their own variety of English and the acceptability of both the language system in general and of individual features. The recognition that "[t]he line is thin between errors and creative uses" (Gilquin & Granger 2011: 72) is an important one. Nevertheless, it also needs to be recognized that this line is drawn artificially and arbitrarily and is based on extra-linguistic factors.

In the course of this study, a range of explanations have been offered to account for the patterns detected: substrate language influence from Korean, SLA effects from the foreign language acquisition process, and context effects from the Lingua Franca setting. Other smaller, but also potentially influential, factors such as idiosyncratic speaker behavior were also considered. As a further approach, the occurrence of the pattern was traced in other varieties of English (regardless of categorization as ESL or EFL). Hilbert cautions against generalizing explanations of syntactic phenomena across varieties even if the pattern or feature appears to be "*one and the same* phenomenon" (2011: 125, emphasis in the original), as a "feature may have different causes in different varieties" (Hilbert 2011: 141) and this has been extensively acknowledged in the detailed discussion at the end of each empirical chapter.

Substrate language influence explanations in particular have been identified as difficult to prove, as the resulting features can usually also be ascribed to SLA processes and connected cognitive strategies:

> judging a given feature to be 'potentially substrate influenced' cannot be deemed satisfactory if one wants to assess the importance of L1 transfer versus universal learner errors, or L1 transfer versus innovation in the context of nativisation. In the end, the fact that a given feature is plausibly explainable by substrate influence does not mean it is actually the result of L1 transfer. […] However, neither can substrate language influences be entirely excluded on that basis […].
>
> (Percillier 2016: 193)

The problem with this argument is that it treats the different explanatory approaches for observed variants as mutually exclusive: It is L1 transfer *versus* universal learner errors or *versus* innovation. It might be more productive, however, to conceptualize these as mutually complementary processes which all contribute to the observed end result. In the end, as Percillier (2016: 193) proposes, the possible influence of the substrate language(s) can neither be excluded nor asserted when merely based on the plausibility of a substrate language explanation. The question is whether this is strictly necessary when describing the variants and patterns found in a variety of English. Showing up systematic variation and providing explanatory approaches was, after all, the main goal of this study. The interrelatedness of different factors and processes which lead to the respective patterns observed in this study cannot be denied and has been acknowledged previously. Furthermore, the interweaving of different processes which lead to the observed linguistic variation has no diminishing effect on the reality of existence of these variants and their 'describability' as characteristic for a certain variety.

What sets this study apart from many other studies on varieties of English is the utilization of a spoken corpus collected within a very specific framework: the cuppa coffee method. The cuppa coffee data collection method is not a strict regime of rules for the fieldworker to follow. Instead, it aims at providing both participants as well as the researcher(s) with an atmosphere which is conducive to the data collection procedure in general. To this end, an artifact of modern societies is exploited: the ritual of coffee drinking, which is inherently linked to modernity and a communicative mindset. It was thus possible to collect a corpus of spoken interactions which is more akin to naturally occurring conversations than hierarchical interviews between a researcher and a research participant. Ranta (2009) is one of the few studies to date approaching non-L1 English from a spoken language perspective and instead of comparing her results to norms based on a written standard, she looks to spoken language grammar as a point of comparison. Comparing certain verb-syntactic features (i.e., hypothetical if-clauses, existential *there is* plus plural and embedded inversions) found in spoken ELF to the spoken output of L1 speakers of English, the findings show that these features "are not only frequent in ELF data, but are also readily observable in (L1) spoken English varieties all around the world, including the speech of educated native speakers" (Ranta 2009: 101). This "forces us to reconsider the claims according to which these features are mere learner errors (caused by L1 interference)" (Ranta 2009: 101). Ranta suggests that some features of ELF are thus relatable to a general "spoken English grammar" (2009: 102) instead of deviations or errors. This should remind us of two important aspects mentioned previously in this monograph: 1) spoken language data offers a special environment to study variants in World Englishes and 2) in identifying variants it always needs to be acknowledged how this can only be achieved by comparing them, usually against another variety (traditionally one which has been termed *standard*).

Moving on from the matter of variant labeling to the bigger picture of World Englishes classification systems, I want to return to the EIF Model (Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017) introduced and applied to the Korean setting in Chapter 3. Besides a concise overview of the extra- and intraterritorial forces as pertinent to the case of South Korea, I proposed to place Korea into the stabilization phase (phase 2) of the model, considering our current knowledge of the variety from previous research. At this point, the lack of methodologically sound studies prevented the evaluation of a possible progress into the nativization phase (phase 3). New insights from the study at hand, that is the existence of a number of Korean English morphosyntactic forms, might lead us now to suggest that Korean English has indeed reached the nativization phase in the non-postcolonial development strand of the

EIF Model. However, we need to keep in mind that the data for this study came from a specific demographic sample of the population (i.e., young to middle-aged educated Koreans) and, moreover, only concerned the spoken mode of communication. We also know that new variants are more likely to surface in spoken than in written language (cf. Miller 2006). On the one hand, this means that we are likely to detect processes of language change at the very outset, on the other hand, this also demands a certain caution when it comes to the evaluation of the results. Not all of the patterns detected in the spoken language material are likely to be carried over into written practice and it remains to be seen to what degree this actually is the case. While this remains the subject of possible follow-up studies, which could consist of collecting a written counterpart of the SPOKE corpus (i.e., focusing on non-classroom and non-educational texts) and testing whether the patterns observed in this study can also be found in the English writing of Koreans, this also leads me, for now, to place Korea 'only'[1] in between phase 2 and phase 3 of the EIF Model. The evidence from this study shows that Korean English has clearly developed further than phase 2 of the model, but to really firmly place the variety into phase 3 needs confirmation with further data, from more varied data sources. I claim that what we are observing here is the ongoing development of indigenized Korean English forms in the spoken mode, which has the potential to also spread to other modes of communication and genres (or which has potentially already started to spread and we currently simply lack the studies showing this).

That some of the patterns identified in this study can also be observed in writing can be demonstrated with an example from the Facebook presence of the Korean English-medium newspaper *The Korea Herald* (presented below). This indicates that it is not a 'far shot' to claim that some forms from spoken Korean English have found their way into writing (or simultaneously developed there) too. It also provides further evidence for the progress made by Korean English towards phase 3 of the EIF Model (pending corroboration with a larger data sample from different computer-mediated communication [CMC] genres of course). It needs be kept in mind, however, that the use of language online holds a special position when it comes to language use, as it has often been argued that CMC can display both written and spoken features of language (depending on the affordances of the media; see, e.g., Yates 1996; Androutsopoulos 2006; Herring 2007). But maybe it is exactly this dual status which makes it an ideal point for further investigating the spread of morpho-syntactic patterns from the spoken Korean English repertoire to other areas of language use. As is common for most social media data, the identity of the writer of the example post is unclear and Korean nationality can only be assumed but not clearly established. This short example shall merely serve as a pointer to one of the riveting possibilities to continue research on Korean(ized) English and, therefore, these obvious drawbacks are neglected here, together with the fact that we are dealing with a single artifact only. The post links to an article on the website of the newspaper about the assassination of Kim Jong-Nam, was published on February 15, 2017, and reads:

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[1] I want to be very explicit at this point and emphasize that varieties do not become 'better' or more legitimate the further they progress in the phases of the EIF Model. All varieties of English should be considered legitimate and there is no ranking list of varieties specifying which varieties are the 'best' and which the 'worst'. The purpose of the EIF Model is to provide a descriptive, value-free framework for variety modeling and development.

> Kim Jong-nam was arrested with two poison guns, a poison pen with a toxic tip and the poisonous pills which could kill a victim in 3 second after ingested.
> (Korea Herald Facebook Page, February 15, 2017)

Interestingly, the text of the Facebook post displays some of the features discussed in this study. Minus-plural marking after a numeral (i.e., reduced plural redundancy) can be observed in the phrase *3 second*[2] and a plus-definite article occurs in *the poisonous pills*. *After ingested* can be interpreted as a minus-verb (i.e., *after being ingested*) or, alternatively and not analyzed in this study, as a verb-noun swap (i.e., *after ingestion*). The small sample demonstrates that some of the patterns observed in this study in the spoken mode are also identifiable in writing (or at least in computer-mediated communication) and testifies to the potential of further investigations of morpho-syntactic variation of Korean(ized) English in other modes and genres than spoken informal conversations. The patterns already established in this study can thereby contribute to further research by providing not only starting points for linguistic analyses but also a basis for comparison. It will be exciting to see which variants can also be found in other realms of Korean(ized) English use and how they relate to the usage patterns identified in this study for the spoken Korean English repertoire.

6.2 Implications and outlook

This study is, to the best of my knowledge, the first systematic corpus-based account of the morpho-syntax of English as spoken by Koreans. The research undertaken enabled a description of many areas of morpho-syntax which have so far been under- or even completely un-described for the Korean context. As depicted above and in the analytical chapters, the Korean English repertoire is fluid and dynamic and the description of such a system in flux consequently challenging and demanding. This begs the question why it, nevertheless, is not only worthwhile but also necessary to attempt such a description.

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[2] This could of course also be an instance of a typographical error.

First of all, the description of Expanding Circle varieties of English is a strategy to counterbalance the propagation of unequal Englishes (cf. Tupas & Rubdy 2015) through linguistic research. The concentration of linguistic research on certain varieties (e.g., Indian English, Hong Kong English, Singaporean English) and certain variety types (typically Inner and Outer Circle varieties) disseminates the notion that some varieties are more legitimate than others by being more worthy of linguistic attention. It is not the linguist's aim to judge the 'legitimacy' of varieties and variants, however. The goal is rather to provide descriptive accounts of the language system under observation and to generalize from those to general processes of language contact and change. As such, all variants and all varieties are 'legitimate', depending ultimately on their context of use. Focusing on previously marginalized varieties of English (mainly from Expanding Circle contexts), encourages the acceptance of these varieties as 'legitimate' for *their* specific context and helps to equalize the notion of World Englishes in academia. This can then be employed to further a notion of 'equal Englishes', for example, via public outreach programs. In this line of thought, the results from the analysis of the SPOKE corpus are also of use to language educators and policy makers in the South Korean context.

The results from this study are also crucial in the design of acceptability studies and provide vital information for language attitude surveys. These studies are needed to complement our understanding of the English variety in South Korea. Whereas the functions of English in Korea have been investigated in depth by a range of scholars using a number of approaches, large-scale studies of language attitudes, particularly of the population in general and not focusing on particular groups within the society (cf. Ahn 2014 and 2017 on language attitudes of Korean English teachers), are still amiss. The results from this study of the form(s) of English in Korea can thus be used to tailor language attitude questions for the Korean participants of a prospective survey. Participants cannot only be asked to provide their opinions on the English and the Korean language, as well as their interaction, but can also be prompted with examples of Korean(ized) English to divulge reflections on their own way of using English. For acceptability studies, the usability of the results from this study becomes even more obvious. For efficient acceptability studies, it is vital to have a valid starting point as not to 'muck around in the dark' until one comes across something noteworthy. The results from this study do not only provide an ideal starting point, but the data from the SPOKE corpus can also be used to draw 'authentic' examples to be judged by the participants of such a study.

The results of this study are, as just mentioned, invaluable for future acceptability studies of Korean(ized) English which are the next logical step in investigating English within the South Korean context. In combination with the results of the present study, these can be used, for example, to direct the attention of policy makers and educators in the Korean context to the realities of English use in South Korea. As pointed out in the literature review section, Korean language attitudes towards English revolve, among others, around notions of self-deprecation and externalization. Studies, such as the one at hand, provide important pointers to the legitimacy and identity-reflecting function of Korean(ized) English. The insights into the Korean English repertoire gained in this study should therefore not only be of interest to scholars focusing on the interaction between Korean and English (i.e., within the field of English linguistics and/or Korean studies) but also to researchers working with other traditionally Expanding Circle varieties, particularly in the Asian context. The compilation of corpora within other regional contexts such as China or Japan employing the same methodological approach and comparison of the results to the study at hand will allow linguists to shed even more light on the variation of Expanding Circle Englishes by adopting a previously unrealized comparative perspective. Additionally, the study provides baseline data for future research into the Korean English repertoire which will enable the study of Korean English variation from a diachronic angle.

Last but not least, the value of the SPOKE corpus as rich research instrument for other investigations into the Korean English repertoire should not be forgotten. The corpus can be employed to study a plethora of phenomena across a range of linguistic levels and I will point out here a (random) selection of possible research ideas. Besides further investigating areas of morpho-syntax which were neglected in this study (e.g., the use of tenses), the SPOKE corpus material can be used as basis for research on Korean(ized) English pragmatics (e.g., the use of hedges and discourse markers), politeness phenomena in general, lexis and semantics (e.g., specialized vocabulary and/or semantic shift), and even basic phonological studies (restricted only by the lower recording quality which is due to a trade off with the casual atmosphere).

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

The overarching aim of the study at hand was to identify, examine, and discuss morpho-syntactic variation in spoken English by Koreans. Despite the extraordinary status of English within South Korean society, the form of English has been surprisingly under-researched from a World Englishes perspective. A systematic description of Korean English forms based on credible corpus material was thus direly needed in order to put Korean English variation on the map of World Englishes research and theorizing. The data and results are also valuable in informing policy makers and educators within the Korean, and other comparable, contexts about the realities of language use within the national community.

The underlying research questions in this study were:

> Does the English spoken by Koreans show morpho-syntactic variation? Can the patterns previously described anecdotally be found in a large corpus of English use by Koreans?
>
> Q-a If yes, can this variation be described systematically?
> Q-b If yes, what does this mean for the Korean English repertoire?
> Q-c If yes, how can this variation be explained in terms of substrate language influence, ELF and EFL processes, Angloversals, or other explanatory approaches?

To tackle the fundamental research questions, I compiled a corpus of conversational English by Korean speakers, the SPOKE corpus. I developed and employed the cuppa coffee approach to data collection, which capitalizes on the cultural connotations and social routines of the coffee drinking ritual (Rüdiger 2016) in order to ensure an informal conversational setting. This was of particular importance as the evocation of a language learning and language testing environment was to be avoided in the interest of better placing the data and the ensuing analysis into a World Englishes framework. The analysis was based on a mixed-method approach drawing on the quantification of features to establish their pervasiveness within the Korean English repertoire and the qualitative analysis of individual examples and case studies. The investigated items included nouns, pronouns, articles, prepositions, and verbs.

The analysis of the corpus material identified a range of morpho-syntactic variants of spoken Korean(ized) English which are systematically selected from the Korean English feature pool by the speakers. This is particularly the case for minus-plural marking on the noun in redundant contexts, minus-prepositions in general and in particular after verbs of motion, minus-definite, and minus-indefinite articles in specific fixed constructions, and plus-definite articles in combination with specific nouns. A paucity of pronouns was also attested in the data. Furthermore, specific usage profiles were established across the items investigated:

- minus-plural marking on noun after quantifier ≈ minus-plural marking on noun after numeral > minus-plural marking on noun if plurality given otherwise in the context
- main types of minus-pronouns: *I* in subject position, *it* in subject position, and *it* in object position
- non-conventional (plus- and minus-) definite article use in combination with a range of selected nouns and expressions; minus-indefinite article use with selected expressions
- minus-prepositions > swap-prepositions > plus-prepositions
    - minus-prepositions: most likely after verbs of motion and most likely of the form *to*
    - plus-prepositions: most likely part of innovative prepositional verbs or combined with an adverb
- minus-copular verbs followed by adjective > minus-lexical verbs > minus-copular verbs followed by other part of speech than adjectives
    - minus-lexical verbs most likely to occur in the infinitive or as result of innovative conversion processes

These features occur at low to medium-high generalized frequency ratios between 5 to 30%, rising above only for individual items (e.g., minus-plural marking after the partitive construction *one of* at 53%, minus-definite article before certain country names at 58%, minus-indefinite article in the fixed expression *a few* at 56%). For some other investigated items, the establishment of Korean usage patterns was questionable (e.g., countable uses of non-count nouns) or excluded (e.g., 'Koreanized' preposition placement within the utterance).

Pinpointing the reasons for morpho-syntactic variation is a challenging task as a number of processes, such as substrate language influences, universal language learner strategies, and idiolectal variation function as catalysts. For each area of investigation, the potential application of these processes to explain the findings at hand were examined in detail with a particular focus on substrate language influences from Korean. This has shown that usually a number of processes can be held accountable for exerting influence on the identified variants. I, furthermore, argued that the morpho-syntactic variants identified in the SPOKE corpus are not unique to the Korean context but can also be found realized in other varieties of English, usually across a range of variety types (as established with the eWAVE database). This supported the argument from previous WE research (e.g., Kachru 1982; Gut 2011; Davydova 2012) that from a purely descriptive perspective on language variation no difference between 'legitimate' innovations and 'illegitimate' errors can be observed. Without the inclusion of extra-linguistic factors, a differentiation between the aforementioned variant types is not possible.

This study is the largest and most rigorous examination of the Korean English repertoire to date. It is thus the first research to not only provide "a qualitative listing of variable or categorical linguistic features" (Davydova 2012: 382), which is the first step in accounting for the variability of linguistic forms found in varieties of English (particularly in New Englishes) but also to quantify most of the identified variants within the Korean English language system. As such it presents fundamental insights into Korean English variation on the level of morpho-syntax and proves the existence of systematic selection of the variants from the feature pool. The description of variants within the Korean English repertoire is of utmost importance in the recognition process and acceptance of Korean(ized) English as a legitimate variety of English. As Kachru (1982: 39) points out, "[a] variety may exist, but unless it is *recognized* and *accepted* as a model it does not acquire a status" (emphasis in the original). Empirical studies, such as the one at hand, are important first steps which need to be undertaken before considering the recognition and acceptance of a variety. This study thus set the foundation for further work on Korean(ized) English in the context of WE theorizing.

Of course, as the results from this study are based on a specific genre and speaker group, generalizations to other communicative settings and the Korean population at large should only be drawn cautiously. Sand (2004), for example, has shown that morpho-syntactic variation between different text types of the same variety can be greater than the variation between different varieties of English. Kirkpatrick views this finding as "a salutary lesson not to draw overall conclusions about the linguistic features of specific varieties of English based on data of single text types" (2010: 102). As the present study is exclusively based on spoken informal conversations, this is an important cautioning to heed. I have shown, however, in the discussion (Chapter 6) how the results from this study can also be applied to other contexts (i.e., communication via social media). It is up to future generations of research on English in Korea to complement the research at hand with investigations of the form of English in other genres or settings as well as speaker groups from other demographic backgrounds.

Turning to the future development of Korean(ized) English as a variety provides the closing words in this matter. Despite the debate of making English (one of) the official language(s) in South Korea, this scenario remains highly unlikely. Nevertheless, monitoring the development of the variety closely is a fascinating endeavor. A decline of the Korean(ized) English forms identified in this study or a further solidifying of the observed patterns are both a possibility and we may not only “brace ourselves for more diversity” (Mufwene 2010: 47) but, hopefully, also for more acceptance of this diversity.

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Appendix: Transcription conventions

Due to the nature of the overarching research question (i.e., morpho-syntactic patterns), very basic, mainly orthographic transcription conventions were adopted. Several characteristics typical of spoken language are thus not visible in the transcripts, for example, speaker overlap. This makes the SPOKE corpus not suitable for studies of turn-taking and detailed conversation analytical research. Prosody was also not transcribed, except for rising intonation in questions. Single Korean words or phrases addressed to the interviewer were transcribed and transliterated. Utterances or parts of utterances addressed to other people present at the interview setting (e.g., waiters and waitresses, passing friends, etc.) were not transcribed but marked as such.

(.)	short pause (less than a second; exact length unspecified)
(2)	pause (number of seconds in parenthesis)
[XXX]	unclear passage
(laughs)	speaker laughs
(laughter)	all participants of the conversation laugh (simultaneously)
()	other non-linguistic or additional information is given in round brackets (e.g., coughing, phone ringing, sharp intake of breath, longer passages in Korean spoken to aside, tongue clicking)
fo-	incomplete word
?	rising intonation (in questions)

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Morpho-Syntactic Patterns in Spoken Korean English presents fundamental research on the use of English by South Korean speakers. Despite the extraordinary and vibrant status of the English language in South Korean society (demonstrated, for example, by the notion of English Fever), research on the forms of English in the South Korean context has been sadly neglected in the study of World Englishes. This monograph is the first to provide a rich and contextualized description of the Korean English morpho-syntactic repertoire. It draws on the specifically compiled Spoken Korean English (SPOKE) corpus to shed light on Korean uses of plural marking, articles, pronouns, prepositions, and verbs, and demonstrates that English is indeed the language of those who use it. This volume will be highly relevant for researchers interested in Expanding Circle Englishes, Asian Englishes, spoken language corpora, and morpho-syntactic variation.

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