A Case Study of a Transnational Student's Tensions and Conflicts Focusing on Language Ideologies

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I. Introduction

The growth of globalization has challenged us to reconsider literacy education in terms of diversity because the composition of classrooms in Korea and the rest of the world is gradually changing, with increasing numbers of students from different racial and ethnic backgrounds (Ball & Ellis, 2008; Won, 2014). In this respect, literacy scholars have shown increasing interest in the newly emerging "transnational student population," who have a tendency to make back-and-forth movements between their countries of origin and the new countries where they have settled "in terms of the flow of information, resources, capital, locations, and commodities they experience" (Levitt, 2001, quoted in Yi, 2009, p. 101).

Suggesting a direction for literacy research, Jimenez (2003) notes that future literacy research should explore multi-background students who need to negotiate their lives, communications, and identities in different cultures. Ball and Freedman (2004) argue that "[r]esearchers and practitioners must seek to understand students' struggles" from cultural differences "to creatively manage those tensions and conflicts that are critical to learning" (p. 9).

In this respect, language ideologies, which are simply defined as beliefs about language, have been regarded as significant resources in

that analyzing language ideologies can help researchers and teachers to understand many parts of migrant students' tensions and conflicts relating to their use of language and relevant beliefs (Kroskrity et al., 2000; Schieffelin et al., 1998; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994).

In Korean education, there has been valuable research on culturally and linguistically diverse students including North Korean refugee students or returning students, in terms of Korean language education policies (Nam, 2015), teaching and learning of Korean speech (Jeon, 2015), developing Korean language textbook (Won, 2015). In addition, some research includes data collection such as in-depth interviews with returning students (Kwon, 2015) and discourse analysis on minority students' classroom interactions, interviews, and writing (Ryu, 2017; Won, 2013). However, there has been little research focusing on language ideologies in relation to these students' tensions and conflicts.

The purpose of this case study was to explore the tensions and conflicts from different ideologies of a transnational student, a Korean student living in the USA. The focus of the exploration was his Facebook page, where he actively communicated with not only Korean Facebook friends but also American Facebook friends. This research is particularly concentrated on the effects of age-based hierarchical language ideology on these communications because it was conspicuously revealed as a key element in his communications with Koreans and Americans.

The research questions of this study were as follows: 1) How is age-based hierarchical language ideology illustrated in the focal student's communications with Koreans? 2) How does age-based hierarchical language ideology bring tensions and conflicts in his communication with Americans?

II. Theoretical Frames

This study is informed by research on language ideology and Bourdieu's two concepts of *field* and *habitus*. This study uses Bourdieu's two concepts of *field* and *habitus* as tools for analyzing language ideologies in the collected data.

1. Language ideology

Simply defined, language ideologies are beliefs about language. However, such a simple definition can hide the complexities of the term. Although there are a number of different approaches, definitions, and emphases, I would like to adopt two definitions of language ideology by Irvine (1989) and Silverstein (1979) which have meaningful points for this research.

Irvine (1989) defines language ideology as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (p. 255). Her definition sheds light on the intersection between linguistic structures, social relationships, and relevant belief systems. In her research, she emphasizes the links between language ideology and "social rank, respect, and appropriate conduct" (Irvine, 1998, p. 52).

Silverstein (1979) defines linguistic ideology as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (p. 193). Silverstein (1979) emphasizes "language as socially purposive action—we must look at their ideas about the meaning, function, and value of language in order to understand the degree of socially shared systematicity in empirically occurring linguistic forms" (Woolard, 1998, p. 12). Thus, analyzing language ideology helps us to understand what are socially shared belief systems and how these socially shared belief systems are revealed in the use of language.

Lastly, another important issue regarding ideology is whether we see ideology as having negative connotations or not. (See Woolard, 1998, pp. 5-9). In this paper, I would like to follow Karl Mannheim's approach which attempts to "neutralize the negative connotations of the ideology concept" and see ideology as "systems of thought that are socially situated and collectively shared" (Woolard, 1998, p. 8). Of course, ideology is related to power issues. However, this paper does not see ideology as negatively produced systems of thought due to abuse of power but regards ideology as naturally occurring systems of thought in a society where power relationships always exist.

2. Bourdieu's concepts: *field* and *habitus*

In the introduction to the book *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, Woolard (1998) suggests that "[i]n much recent theory, ideology is not necessarily conscious, deliberate, or systematically organized thought, or even thought at all; it is behavioral, practical, prereflective, or structural" (p. 6). She also introduces the perspective of French structuralists and poststructuralists who cast "ideology not as a matter of consciousness or subjective representation but rather of lived relations" (p. 6) and makes a connection between this approach to ideology and Bourdieu's (1977) notion of *habitus*.

This article shares this approach to ideology. Language ideologies are parts of people's lives that consciously or unconsciously affect their language use, literacy practices, behaviors, and relationships with others. In order to explore language ideology, I decide to draw Bourdieu's two concepts, *habitus* and *field* as analytical tools because Bourdieu's concept, *habitus*, cannot be discussed without his concept of *field*.

Bourdieu develops the concept of social field "as one part of a means of investigating human activity" (Thomson, 2008, p. 69). Bourdieu uses a game metaphor to explain field. A field has its own rules for how to play like a game does (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Each

field has a "separate universe governed by its own laws" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 5). An important characteristic of Bourdieu's concept field is its ability to explain multiple fields and subfields. Bourdieu explains that a particular social place is "made up of multiple fields" and a field (larger field) could be divided into subfields (Thomson, 2008, p. 72).

Ball and Farr (2003) point out that in spite of variations, "all human beings who have been enculturated into one group or another possess enough shared linguistic and cultural competence both to communicate in the language of their group and to behave in ways generally appropriate to that group" (pp. 437-8). In this respect, based on the broadly shared language and culture of a nation, this study regarded Korea as a field and the United States of America as a field, each of which have their own shared linguistic and cultural conceptions of appropriate behavior.

However, this study is also interacted in what Ball and Farr (2003) referred to as variations. It approaches fields, especially larger fields which include lots of subfields, as variable due to not only the interactions of different larger fields but also the interactions of a variety of subfields within a larger field in the multicultural societies in which we currently live. In this respect, both Korea and United States of America as fields include many subfields that share appropriate ways and their ongoing variations.

One of the important characteristics of the concept of field is Bourdieu's explanation about social space, which is based on relational principles. Bourdieu notes that "in analytical terms, a *field* may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97). Therefore, "*field* is a structured system of social relations" (Grenfell & James, 1998, p. 16), and agents are "defined by their relative position within that space" (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 724). For example, compared to the America field, the Korean field has relative hierarchical relationships based on age differences, although there could be variations depending on subfields in the United States and Korea.

Bourdieu develops the concept of *habitus* as another analytical means for investigating human practices. Bourdieu (1994) defines *habitus* "as a property of social agents (whether individuals, groups or institutions) that comprises a 'structured and structuring structure'" (Maton, 2008, p. 51). His definition shows historical aspects of *habitus*. He explains that *habitus* is 'structured' by "one's past and present circumstances", 'structuring' "in that one's *habitus* helps to shape one's present and future practices", and a 'structure' "in that it is systematically ordered rather than random or unpatterned" (Maton, 2008, p. 51). This definition explains how we bring our past experiences into our present circumstances, and "how we then make choices to act in certain ways and not others" (Maton, 2008, p. 52).

In addition, Bourdieu points out that human beings are not fundamentally logical entities. People often "act in a certain way to grasp experience in a certain way to think in a certain way" (Grenfell & James, 1998, p. 14) that is below the level of their consciousness. As members of a group, people develop a particular *habitus* and tend to act, feel, and think in a certain way. Thus, when people enter into a new field, they may experience tensions and conflicts because of their habitus from the previous field which unconsciously influences them to act in certain ways in the new field. As Woolard (1998) made the connection between language ideologies and Bourdieu's habitus, language ideology could be a key habitus of a field that affect people's tendency to act, feel, and think in a certain way.

In this study, I analyzed the participants' language ideologies in their online communications using Bourdieu's concepts of field and habitus. I particularly explored how the habitus of a transnational student from his ongoing field (his country of origin) affected his communications with people in a new field (a new country).

III. Methods

1. Focal student

Four students who came from Korea and are living in the USA voluntarily participated in my studies on transnational students examining their use of language and identity construction. By having regular meetings with them for more than a year, I realized that what they were interacting with was not just the two Korean and American fields. Based on the subfields that they were interacting with, such as their previous and current family, school, and community fields, they showed similar and/or different tensions and conflicts in relation to the two larger Korean and American fields.

In particular, their common and different views on age-based hierarchical relationships were conspicuous. Although all transnational students participating in my studies perceived that Korea has more age-based hierarchical relationships, they revealed different views about them. Two students suggested that people are the same and age is not important, while the other two students believed that older people should be respected by younger people because of their age.

For this study, I selected Coffee as my focal student since he expressed age-based hierarchical relationships more often, not only implicitly but also explicitly in his online interactions with others and his interviews with me. Notably, when he interacted with seniors in his online interactions, he was very receptive and tolerant of their treatment of him. However, when he interacted with juniors in his online interactions, he took it for granted that he was owed more respect because he was older, and showed indignation when he felt that he was not respected enough. I judged his case to be a good example to explore how age-based hierarchy can bring tensions and conflicts to a student of Korean origin's American life and communication.

My focal student, Coffee, is a Korean bilingual adolescent living

in the USA. He is 18 years old and in his last year of high school in Columbus. He came to the USA from Korea four years ago. His parents live in Korea, and he lives in the USA with his older brother (a college student) and older sister-in-law (a college student).

My focal student's daily online activities are filled with transnational activities. In the daily online activities, he moves back and forth between his country of origin (Korea) and his country of residence (the USA). He watches American videos and Korean videos for entertainment. He searches for information on Korean search engine sites and American search engine sites for school work. He reads American news and Korean news in order to keep up with current events. He communicates with American and Korean friends through an American social media site, Facebook.

I choose Facebook as my main research site because it is the place where Coffee most often visited and actively participated in communications. He used Facebook more than once a day. He had more than 20 Korean Facebook friends and more than 100 American Facebook friends. One-third of his Korean Facebook friends still lived in Korea, including his family (father and mother) and friends of his own age who attended the same elementary or middle schools in Korea. The other Korean Facebook friends lived in the USA, were older than Coffee, and attended his church. Most of his American Facebook friends were students at his high school.

2. Data collection and analysis

In order to collect and analyze data, I drew on micro-ethnographic discourse analysis (Bloome et al., 2005, 2008), which is a research methodology combining ethnography and sociolinguistics. Based on the ethnographic approach, this methodology emphasizes that researchers select "phenomena to study ethnographically," "constructing an orienting framework to guide participant observation" and "identifying rich points as anchors for analysis" (Green et al., 2012, p. 309).

For this study, I selected my focal students' online communications revealing tensions and conflicts regarding different language ideologies as phenomena to study ethnographically. I constructed an orienting framework from Bourdieu's concepts of *field* and *habitus*. For participant observation, I observed Coffee at his home while he was engaging in online communicative activities once every two weeks or when he mentioned that he was available for around 8 months. While he was engaged in online activities, his computer screen and his audio interactions were recorded. Before and after each observation and recording, I interviewed him to help me understand what had happened during the online communications, and what meaning he attached to these interactions. In addition, Coffee gave me permission to access his Facebook page, so I analyzed his Facebook communications from when he started Facebook around 3 years ago. Table 1 provides the overview of my data sources.

Table 1. List of major data sources

Data sources		Data collection techniques
1) Observation		- Observation of the focal youth's online activities - Field notes
2) Online communications	- New postings and others' responses (Facebook)	- Observation and analysis of focal student's postings and others' responses - Screen recording of online communicative activities - Field notes
3) Interview	- Interview based on what I observed	- Audio recording of the interview - Field notes
	- Retrospective reflection on observed online communications	

Based on its sociolinguistic background, micro-ethnographic discourse analysis emphasizes the identification of important language events for in-depth analysis. There are multiple ways to identify key

language events (Bloome et al., 2005, 2008). One common method is to select a typical case that regularly reoccurs within identifiable contexts or situations. Another is to select representative cases that make visible the underlying cultural and social ideologies and processes in the situation or setting being described.

Following this methodological guidance, I selected two cases for in-depth analysis of this study based on Coffee's postings and others' responses on his Facebook page and on interview data. The first selected case is a typical and representative example of the focal student's common communications with other Koreans that reveals the participants' language ideology. The second posting was selected as a representative case that reveals the focal student's tensions and conflicts with Americans because of his habitus of the Korean field based on age-based hierarchical language ideology.

IV. Findings and Discussions

In Coffee's online communications, the most conspicuous fields were the Korean field and the American field, and especially their subfields: the Korean church that he was attending with his older brother and sister-in-law in the United States and the American high school that he was attending as a senior student.

The first case showed how age-based hierarchical language ideology is maintained when transnational students are outside their country of origin. In particular, this case showed how their communications reveal age-based hierarchical language ideology through ways of speaking, and identity positioning and construction.

1. Focal student's communications with Koreans

The first selected case started from Coffee's posting on his Facebook page, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Coffee's posting in Korean on his Facebook page (6:36 PM, June)

한국은 시험보기 2~3주전에 진도 다끝내고 자습이랑 복습시켜주는데 미국은
시험보기 바로전날까지 수업하고 자빠졋네 공부하란건가말란ㄱㄴ가

(Translated to English) In Korea, schools finished new lessons 2 or 3 weeks
before exam day and helped students to study or review what they have
learned. In the USA, schools have new lessons until right before the exam day.
Are they crazy? Do they want us to study or not?

Coffee started his posting by introducing his school experiences in Korea. His main focus is the course work schedule in schools related to final exams. After that, he compared his school experiences in the USA with those in Korea. Then, he revealed his evaluation and feelings. Based on his experiences in Korea, he complained about the course work schedule of his high school in the USA.

After Coffee posted this on his Facebook page, five people left 15 comments on the posting, and Coffee also left response comments six times for three days. The following table shows specific information about the participants in the event.

Table 3. Participants in the online communication

Initial	Number of Comments	Relationship	Residence	Age	Gender	Others
JHH	5	Members of his church	USA	Older	Male	College student
HJC	5	His sister-in-law (same church member)	USA	Older	Female	College student
HSK	2	Members of his church	USA	Older	Male	College student
HNG	2	Members of his church	USA	Older	Female	College student
HJK	1	His friend	Korea	Same	Female	High school student

People who participated in the event were all Koreans. Among the five interlocutors, four interlocutors were Korean students living in the USA. All of them were members of Coffee's church and older than Coffee. One of them was his sister-in-law, who lived with Coffee in the USA. One interlocutor was Coffee's middle school friend who lived in Korea.

The following table shows the first six comments in response to Coffee's postings and his responses to them.

Table 4. First part of the online communications on Coffee's Facebook

	Speaker	Relationship with a focal student	Contents (Korean)	Honorifics	Contents (Translated to English)
Reply 1	JH	Older male senior 1 in his church	한국을 알아? … 대학 다녀봐.. 그런건 안드로메다에 있다..		Do you know Korea? Consider universities. What you mentioned is in Andromeda.
2	Coffee	Focal student	대학말고 고등학교ⓐ↑ **요(yo)**	ⓐ↑ Morphology – elevating suffix 'yo'	High schools not universities.
3	HJ	His older sister-in-law living with him	한국 고등학교랑 미국 고등학교를 비교하다니.. 우리 커피가 호강에 빠져서 요강에 똥을 ⓑ↓ **싸는(ssada)** 구나.. ㅋㅋ 커피ⓒ↓ **아(ya)** 야자라고 들어봤니?	ⓑ↓ Lexicon – lowering verb, 'ssanda' ⓒ↓ Morphology condescending suffix 'a'	You compared the high schools in Korea with those in the USA… Our Coffee is wallowing in comfort and as a result using the 'Yogang' to have a bowel movement. kkk Coffee(a), have you ever heard of 'Yaja'
4	Coffee	Focal student	아니 ⓓ↑**저(eo)**는 진도애기하자는데 야자가 왜나와ⓔ↑ **요(yo)**;;	ⓓ↑ Lexicon – self-effacing pronoun, 'jeo' ⓔ↑ Morphology – elevating suffix 'yo'	I am trying to talk about the issues of the schedule of class work. Why do you bring up 'Yaja';;
5	HJ	His female friend from middle school who is now in high school in Korea	니가 우리 학교와봐. 그전날까지 수업해야 진도 맞춰 ㄷㄷㄷ		You should come to my school. We need to learn new materials right before the exam day to catch up to the national curriculum. ddd

| 6 | HS | Older male senior 2 in his church | ㅋㅋㅋ 커피ⓕ↓ **야(ya)** 진도를 일찍 뺄수 있는 이유는 그 수업듣는 아이들이 이미 그 진도를 1년 전에 학원에서 끝내줬기 때문이ⓖ↓ **란다 (randa)**. 우리 커피도 1년 일찍 공부해 ⓗ↓ **볼래(bolra)**? ㅋㅋㅋ | ⓕ↓ Morphology – condescending suffix, 'a'

ⓖⓗ↓ Morphology – condescending suffix 'ra' | Kkk Coffee(a), the reason why they can finish the course work earlier in classes in Korea is that students who take the classes already finished that course works in a private academy one year in advance. Does our Coffee want to study his coursework one year in advance? kkk |

↑ up direction shows the speaker's elevating of the addressee

↓ down direction shows the speaker's lowering of the addressee

1) Korean honorifics and age-based hierarchical language ideology

Irvine (1998) points out that "[a]ll sociolinguistic systems, presumably, provide some means of expressing respect (or disrespect), but only some systems have those specially conventionalized linguistic forms that linguistics have called 'honorifics'" (p. 51). Korean is one of several Asian languages which have conventionalized linguistic systems for the expression of respect. In the above online communication, linguistic structures, especially the use of Korean honorifics, were conspicuous, so in Table 4, I developed an 'honorifics' section to analyze them.

As is usual with honorifics, Korean honorifics involve both special lexical and morphological alternants. With regard to honorific lexical items, there are a few nouns and pronouns to indicate differences in status. In reply 4, Coffee uses the pronoun 저(*jeo*), which is the humble form of 'I', instead of 나(*na*) which is the more neutral form. This pronoun, *jeo*, is used when the speaker is younger or of a lower status than an addressee.

With regard to morphology of nouns, highly stratified address-reference terms are used in Korean. Common honorific suffixes in Korean are 님(*nim*) or 씨(*ssi*). They are attached at the end of the full name or simply after the given name to show respect. In contrast to

님(*nim*) or 씨(*ssi*), if a person adds 야(*ya*)/아(*a*) or ∅ (nothing) after a given name, it shows the lower position of the person who is being addressed. The suffixes 야(*ya*)/아(*a*) and ∅ (nothing) are only available when the speaker is older or of the same age as the addressee. In reply 3, HJ embellishes Coffee's name with 야(*ya*). In reply 5, HS also addresses Coffee with the suffix 야(*ya*).

With regard to morphological alternants, Korean has some affixes to elevate or lower the status of the addressee. Based on the relationship between a speaker and addressee, the speaker decides to use different forms of verb endings. In reply 2 (response to JK) and reply 4 (response to HJ), Coffee's Korean sentences end with the respectful suffix, 요(*yo*). In contrast, in replies 1 and 3, the verb endings of JK and HJ do not have such honorific suffixes. Moreover, in reply 5, HS finishes his verbs with 란다(*randa*) and 볼래(*bolra*), using verb endings which explicitly show the low rank of the addressee (Coffee).

2) Age-based hierarchical language ideology and construction of identities

After comparing different honorific languages, Irvine (1998) poses the questions: "How do speakers of these languages perceive these expressions of deference… How do they connect such expressions with ideas about respect, rank, and appropriate conduct?" (p. 56). One important issue regarding linguistic ideologies is how Koreans choose honorifics. Korean honorifics are related to many social factors such as formality of the situation (e.g., a presentation in an academic field vs. family dinner conversation), the social status between speakers (e.g., teacher and student), and familiarity of the interlocutors. Although many other factors can have effects, difference in age is one of the most significant criteria for the use of honorifics.

In the subfield of Coffee's Korean church, members often constructed their identity in relation to each other as younger people or older people, in contrast to the American field, which usually does not construct age-related identities so rigidly. When they got to know

each other, they often asked each other's ages because they needed to position themselves in relation to one another, and they needed to use different language expressions based on age. In this way, the Korean subfield that Coffee belonged to showed age-based hierarchical language ideology that affected not only their daily language use but also their identity positioning.

In the case of the above communication, which mainly occurred in relation to Coffee's church field, we could see that age-based identity positioning was conspicuous. In Table 4, the interlocutors' uses of honorifics show their hierarchical identity positioning. When the first interlocutor (JH) responds to Coffee's posting, JH does not use honorifics. By not using honorifics, JH positions himself as an older person and positions Coffee as a younger person. Coffee responds with honorifics. By using honorifics, Coffee automatically positions himself as a younger person and positions JH as an older person. Thus, the choice to use honorifics or not could be closely related to his basic identity positioning.

Not only the use of honorifics but also other ways of speaking show age-based hierarchical language ideology affecting the construction of specific identities. In his posting, Coffee positions himself as a student who knows about education in both Korea and the USA. An interesting feature is the relationship between the questions that are raised by interlocutors and their rejection of Coffee's identity positioning.

In a reply to Coffee's posting, the first interlocutor, JH, asks Coffee "Do you know Korea?" The function of the question is to doubt about Coffee's knowledge of Korea. In the last part of her comment, HJ asks him "Have you ever heard of 'Yaja?'[1] By mentioning this specific term, she also expresses her doubt Coffee's knowledge or information of Korean high schools. In the communication, Coffee was positioned by others in a way that was totally different from how he

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1   Yaja refers to a mandatory marathon study common in Korean high schools.

positioned himself. They positioned Coffee as a person who does not know much about Korea. Coffee tried to resist this repositioning and tried to emphasize his school work schedule, but others did not cooperate with him.

In reply 3, Coffee's sister-in-law (HJ) brought up the Korean proverb: *Filled with luxury and having a bowel movement in a yogang.*[2] In Korean literature, people often express something serious in a humorous way to express a sarcastic meaning. In this way, they avoid being too serious but teach a lesson. This time, Korean seniors wanted to teach Coffee that he is getting spoiled. Making a connection between Coffee's posting and this proverb shows HS's identity positioning as an older person who wants to guide a younger person, Coffee. Using the above proverb, which includes caricatures of Coffee, she revealed her language ideology to be based on age-based hierarchical relationships.

The following excerpts also show an interactional identity construction of Coffee in relation to his Korean church field and possibly his family field. In this communication, the way that identities were positioned, resisted, and constructed in the conversation was deeply related to age-based hierarchical language ideology.

Table 5. Second part of the online communications on Coffee's Facebook page

	Speaker	Relationship with a focal student	Contents (Korean)	Contents (Translated to English)
7	JH	Older male senior	호강에 빠져서 요강에 똥싸는 기분은 어떤걸까… 해보고 싶진 않다. ㅋㅋㅋ	What is the feeling of having a bowel movement in a yogang... I do not want to try it though kkk.

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2   A yogang is a bowl-shaped chamber pot that functions as a portable toilet. Korean ancestors' restrooms were usually outdoors, so they kept a yogang in their bedroom for nocturnal use. People are allowed to urinate but not defecate in a yogang. The meaning of the proverb is that a person has a comfortable life and yet wants more and more. It is used to teach people to avoid a life which only chases comfort and to avoid complaining about a comfortable life.

8	HJ	His older sister-in-law	호강에 빠져서 요강에 똥싸면 엄마에게 혼나지… 일단 쌀 땐 몰를거야~~ 그때만 좋을 듯…ㅋㅋ	If you have a bowel movement due to falling into comfort, you will be severely scolded by your mother… However, in the moment of having a bowel movement, you might not realize this~~ At that moment, you might feel good…kk
9	JH	Older male senior 1	ㅋㅋㅋ 막상 싸는 애는 요강에서 어머니께 감사의 기도라도 드릴꺼 같다는 ㅋㅋㅋ	kkk Actually, the children who have a bowel movement in a yogang might say a prayer of thanks to their mom. Kkk
10	HJ	His older sister-in-law	흠.. 중간에 끊어야지… 엄마가 주무시다가 일어나시면 혼나니까… 뚜껑도 덮고.. ㅋㅋㅋ 우리 근데 온라인에서 대화가 너무 구수해. 어떻게~~	Um…Need to stop in the middle of bowel movement…Because if a mother wakes up, you might be scolded…..Need to put the lid on the yogang...kkk By the way our conversation on online is too pleasant…What can we do~~
11	JH	Older male senior 1	ㅋㅋㅋ 그러게요. 결론은 커피가 문제네요. ㅋㅋㅋ	Kkk. That's right…In conclusion…the problem is Coffee kkk.
12	HJ	His older sister-in-law	ㅋㅋㅋ I agree	kkk I agree~~~~~
13	HN	Older female senior 1	진도 이야기 한번 했다가 논란의 장이 되어버린…	As a result of talking about course work schedule, this has become a controversial discussion place…
14	Coffee	Focal student	이런 불평한번했다가 나만 아무것도 모르는놈 됫구만 하하하하하	As a result of one complaint, I have just become a person who doesn't know anything. Hahahahaha
15	HS	Older male senior 2	말은 바로 해야지 요강에 똥싼놈 된거지	You need to say clearly. You have become a person who has a bowel movement in a yogang.

After reply 3, replies 7, 8, 9, 10, 15 are directly related to the Korean proverb. The interlocutors, especially HJ and JH, imagine the situation that the Korean proverb describes and consider the feelings and results of the actor who has a bowel movement in a yogang. Replies 11-15 are interesting. HJ and JH made a conclusion, "the problem is Coffee." Coffee recognized that his identity had been reconstructed

in the conversation and explicitly mentioned his new identity as a person "who doesn't know anything" in reply 14. In reply 15, HS even explicitly mentions Coffee's newly constructed identity as a person "who has a bowel movement in a yogang."

One of the purposes of this conversation was entertainment. They are not seriously dealing with the issue. They are playing with the Korean proverb for their own amusement and they mention the conclusion and reconstructed identity for this reason. Although the members were playing with the Korean proverb for fun, it is important to consider the impact of age-based hierarchical language ideology on their communications.

This conversation, with its identity positioning and newly constructed identities, seemed possible because Coffee is younger than the interlocutors. In similar situations, Coffee never used Korean proverbs to guide older people or make fun of older people. If Coffee as a younger person used a Korean proverb to teach an older person, other older interlocutors would not cooperate with him, and some of them might feel angry with Coffee at least in his Korean church field.

What was impressive was that although the elders of the church, including his family members, often had online communications teaching Coffee and teasing or making fun of him, Coffee did not get angry or at least did not express his anger during their communication. As we can see in line 14, he often just closed the communication with a smile or "Hahahahaha," referring to the sound of laughter.

2. Tensions and conflicts in the focal student's communications with Americans

I would like to start discussing the second selected case from Coffee's posting on his Facebook page as shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Coffee's posting on his Facebook page (10:42PM, December, 14)

> Okay, hello freshmans, i'm seriously gonna fucking destroy you if u don't stop giggling like assholes and do offensive actions behind me whenever u see me in the hallway cuz im getting so annoyed and I hope u know you im talking to

Before I visited Coffee's house to observe his online communicative activities and conduct an interview, I saw the above posting on his Facebook page. I was very surprised because it was the first time I saw him seriously use foul language. I was also worried about him because it seemed like he was being teased by some students, or at least felt himself so.

My interview with him made me think about the tensions and conflicts due to his habitus within his ongoing Korean field, including his church field, with its age-based hierarchical ideology. The following is an excerpt from my follow-up interview with him.

I: Can we go to your Facebook page? Can you go down?... Can you explain what happened at the time?

C(Coffee): I got so mad, because some two freshmen were picking on me. I mean it's not acceptable.

I: How did you know they picked on you?

C: They've been like mass(inaudible) at me since three or four weeks ago.

I: You mean when they saw you, they just laughed?

C: There was one event that happened. They were mass(inaudible) I mean lunch time, they sit next to me. I mean at the next table. They were playing with some kind of water bottle. They threw it at me. Hit me. So I threw it back. One of the stupid kids started to pick on me. I mean it was their fault.

I: So, do they do it intentionally?

C: ACCIDENTALLY.[3]

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3   In interview data, large alphabetic characters show the speaker's emphasis on the

I: It accidentally happened. And you…

C: I threw it back in their face.

(Interview w. Coffee. December, 17)

What surprised me was the part where he answered "accidentally" when I asked him whether the students had thrown the water bottle intentionally. First, I thought that intentionality might matter. But he answered "accidentally" with a loud and strong voice. It seemed as though intentionality was not important to him. Shortly after, he mentioned throwing back the bottle in their faces. His strong voice and facial expression indicated that he did not think that his behavior was inappropriate. If a student accidently threw a bottle at another student, and if the latter intentionally threw back the bottle in the first student's face, I personally would not say that the second student's behavior was appropriate. The focal student's attitude surprised me.

1) Age-based hierarchical *habitus* and identity positioning

While our interview was going on, I recognized that what really bothered him was related to the Korean field and relevant habitus. Bourdieu (1985) maintains that a "*field* is a structured system of social relations" (Grenfell & James, 1998, p. 16), and agents are "defined by their relative position within that space" (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 724). As manifested in Coffee's first posting, Koreans often construct their identities in relation to others in terms of younger or elder. In addition, the Korean subfields Coffee was interacting with comprised a relatively age-based hierarchically structured system of social relationships. Their members often inhabited relative positions based on age differences.

It is important to note that Coffee's second posting started with an address to "freshmans." Although he wrote this posting in English, it seems like Coffee unconsciously positioned the throwers as "FRESH-

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word(s).

MEN" and positioned himself as a "SENIOR." In the interview, he kept referring them as freshmen or kids. It is interesting that Coffee never positioned them as "students" who were equal to him. It seems like the age-based hierarchical habitus in the Korean field affects his identity positioning.

2) Coffee's behaviors and feelings affected by age-based hierarchical ideology

When he posted the message shown in Table 6 on Facebook, his Korean friend attending the same American high school sent an online chat. The following was their online communication:

> F: Coffee, why are you so serious! When you look at freshmen, your eyes were different. Don't look at them as freshmen!
> C: Freshmen are freshmen. They don't have respect to seniors.
>
> (*Online chat, December, 17*)

Coffee's friend was looking for the reason Coffee exhibited anger in his basic attitude toward freshmen, and was advising him to think of freshmen as equals. I had an in-depth interview with Coffee because I wanted to check whether the above event was related to the Korean field. The following is another excerpt from my follow-up interview with him.

> I: Do you think that this event could happen in Korea?
> C: NO WAY. No way. If that happens, they will be killed. But not in the USA. In the USA, freshmen do not respect seniors. There is no such thing.
> I: there is no such thing?
> C: I mean not as in Korea. They just say to 80-year-old grandfather. "Hey, you." They did that. Not in Korea.
>
> (*Interview w. Coffee. December, 17*)

In the course of his attempt to explain the cultural differences between Korea and America, Coffee brought up the language differences between Koreans and Americans. He provided an example of Americans saying "hey you" to an 80-year-old grandfather. His point is related to honorifics. In fact, what he means by the sentence, "There is no such thing" is related to honorifics. It seems as though he assumes that different linguistic structures are related to people's behaviors.

The link between his age-based hierarchical ideology and his behaviors and feelings is interesting. Bourdieu (1994) argues that as members of a particular group, people develop a particular *habitus* and tend to act, feel, and think in a certain way. The following excerpt of the interview shows how Coffee perceives the relationships between age-based hierarchical ideology and people's behaviors in the Korean field.

> C: It can NEVER happen. If that happened, those kids are DEAD.
> I: by…
> C: by seniors. I mean you cannot even LOOK them in the eyes of the sophomores when you are freshmen. ONE YEAR makes a big difference in Korea. But not in the USA. I am so mad.
>
> (*Interview w. Coffee. December, 17*)

In his interview, Coffee explicitly mentioned age-based hierarchical ideology in the Korean field by asserting that "ONE YEAR makes a big difference in Korea." He made the connection between the age-based hierarchical ideology and people's behavior by suggesting that the event that he experienced in his American high school "can NEVER happen in Korea." He emphasized that freshmen "cannot even LOOK…the eyes of the sophomores."

Moreover, it is important to pay attention to Coffee's mention of his anger after distinguishing the difference between the Korean and American fields regarding age-based hierarchical ideology. Coffee mentioned that "One year makes a big difference in Korea. But not

in the USA." After that, he confessed: "I am so mad." In this context, his reason for being angry is not clear. However, the whole interview shows that his feeling of anger is related to the effect of the Korean field being thwarted in the American context.

Another issue is how, possibly unconsciously, his reactions based on age difference affected not only his feeling but also his subsequent behavior. The following excerpt of the interview illustrates the connection between his beliefs and his behavior.

> C: Yeh:: I can sure take them by myself. I don't need any help.
> I: But you don't want to=
> C: I don't want to get in trouble.
> I: I got it. It means if you try to solve it, it will make a bigger problem?
> C: Yeh…
> I: There is no way to say something to a teacher?
> C: That's STUPID. That's embarrassing. Being picked… on…FRESH-MEN… THAT's embarrassing.
>
> (*Interview w. Coffee. December, 17*)

When I asked Coffee how to solve the problem, he told me that he could solve the problem by physical force, but he didn't want to get in trouble. I was curious about why he thought the use of physical force was the only way to solve the problem. When I asked him whether he could solve the problem by discussing it with a teacher, Coffee told me that: "Being picked on FRESHHMEN" is embarrassing. Throughout the interview, he explained that it would be shameful to ask a teacher to solve the problem of being teased by students who were younger than him. Although he acknowledged that the USA does not have big differences in respect that accompany age, it appeared that he himself very much cared about age issues in his American field. In addition, the effects of the age-based hierarchical habitus from the Korean field strongly affected his behaviors and feelings.

V. Conclusion

Based on the case of a Korean transnational student's online communications, this study shows how age-based hierarchical language ideology was maintained in his communications with Koreans, and how the age-based hierarchical habitus based on the Korean field consciously or unconsciously affected his evaluations, behaviors, feelings, and identity positioning, and as a result caused tensions and conflicts in his communications with Americans. This does not mean that age-based hierarchical language ideology is the only reason or factor in these tensions and conflicts, but it seems clear that age-based hierarchical language ideology from the Korean field had an impact on his communications with the American field.

When talking about gradual increase of language-minority children in Korea, Won (2014: 54) argues the importance of developing educational policies to help "culturally and linguistically diverse students to become valuable future human resources." As the number of students with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds is gradually increasing in classrooms worldwide, including Korea, we will need to be more careful about students' different linguistic cultural backgrounds, especially their different language ideologies, which can provoke serious tensions and conflicts.

Let us imagine a case where a teacher saw Coffee's offensive reaction to the "freshmen". After the freshmen mistakenly threw a water bottle at him, he intentionally threw the bottle back in their faces. He looked very angry. If a teacher was not familiar with Korean culture and age-based hierarchical language ideology, he or she might find it difficult to understand the student or the situation and figure out what made Coffee so angry as to engage in these offensive behaviors. The situation might degenerate because the student would not want to explain the situation to the teacher since he felt extremely embarrassed by the inappropriate level of respect of the freshmen.

By researching how language ideologies operate in different

fields, we can better understand transnational students and help teachers and students to develop a critical and flexible understanding of operational ideologies. In order to develop specific instructional plans, an important step for language education researchers is to expand our understanding of the various fields and habitus that affect students' language use, revealing their language ideologies.

This study is meaningful as a step toward such an understanding. It contributes by showing actual cases of how age-based hierarchical language ideology consciously or unconsciously affected a transnational student's behaviors, feelings, and identity positioning. This research also contributes by displaying how language ideologies and Bourdieu's two concepts of field and habitus could be rich analytical tools to explore the tensions and conflicts associated with linguistic and cultural differences.

This study analyzed the impact of language ideology in terms of related fields and habitus. In subsequent studies, it is also worth exploring instruction that provides opportunities for students to reflect on the fields and habitus related to their language ideologies. In this study, Coffee found the reason he acted and emotionally reacted to be due to his different Korean and American fields. However, Coffee did not reflect on what reaction would be best or how to react when experiencing tensions and conflicts between different fields. It is worth teaching students to reflect on their fields and relevant habitus, including language ideologies, and how to communicate with people with different fields and habitus, thereby reexamining reactions that were taken for granted. I hope a variety of follow-up studies will be conducted to develop a critical and flexible understanding of operational ideologies to further understand these phenomena and provide future education for diverse students.

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A Case Study of a Transnational Student's Tensions and Conflicts Focusing on Different Language Ideologies

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The purpose of this case study was to explore the tensions and conflicts from different language ideologies of a transnational student, a Korean student living in the USA. The data were mainly collected from online communications on the focal student's Facebook page, the participant observation of his online communications, and informal and retrospective interviews with him over 8 months. Drawing on micro-ethnographic discourse analysis, this paper mainly deals with two representative cases that show how Korean language ideology affected my focal student's communications with Koreans and Americans, especially his tensions and conflicts with Americans in relation to age-based hierarchical language ideology. This research has meaningful contributions in not only showing actual cases of how age-based hierarchical language ideology consciously or unconsciously affected a transnational student's behaviors, feelings, and identity positioning, but also in displaying how Bourdieu's two concepts of field and habitus could be rich analytical tools to explore different language ideologies.

KEYWORDS Language ideology, Transnational student, Online communication, Bourdieu, Field and habitus, Age-based hierarchy