"Shawty, Imma party till the sun down": A Comparative Study on Korean-English Code-Switching and Borrowing in K-pop

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Eteläkorealaisen popmusiikin eli K-popin kansainvälinen suosio on jatkuvassa kasvussa, ja korealaisten artistien kuulijakunta on laajentunut koskemaan myös muuta kuin koreankielistä yleisöä. Korealaisten popkappaleiden merkittävänä piirteenä voidaan pitää englanninkielisiä osuuksia, joita esiintyy kappaleissa lähes poikkeuksetta. Tästä syystä K-popin suosion kasvaessa myös englannin kielen globaali merkitys korostuu.

Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on tuottaa tietoa siitä, kuinka englannin kieltä käytetään korealaisen popmusiikin sanoituksissa ja millaisia merkityksiä englanninkielisillä sanoituksilla on. Vertailin tutkimuksessani kahta K-pop-yhtyettä, joista toisessa on mukana englannin kielen natiivipuhuja. Näin pyrin selvittämään, onko natiivipuhujan läsnäololla vaikutusta englannin kielen käyttöön sanoituksissa. Aineistoni koostui viidestä kappaleesta ryhmää kohden, yhteensä kymmenestä kappaleesta. Tutkin erityisesti koodinvaihtoa englannin ja korean välillä, ja hyödynsin analyysimetodina diskurssianalyysiä sanoitusten sisältämien merkitysten selvittämiseksi.

Tutkimuksen myötä selvisi, että englanninkielisten sanoitusten pituus vaihtelee yksittäisistä sanoista kokonaisiin lauseisiin ja säkeistöihin. Suurin osa sanoituksista oli lauseketta laajempia kokonaisuuksia, mutta kappaleissa esiintyi myös paljon yksittäisiä substantiiveja, jotka mukailivat korealaisia lauserakenteita. Yhtyeiden väliset erot näkyivät erityisesti englannin natiivipuhujan sanoituksissa, mutta myös kappaleiden muissa osioissa oli eroja ryhmien välillä muun muassa lauserakenteiden ja englanninkielisten elementtien sijoittelun osalta. Englannin kieltä hyödynnetään kappaleissa useimmiten tyyli- ja huomiokeinona, mutta natiivipuhujalle englannin kielen käyttäminen voi olla myös tapa ilmaista kielellistä ja kulttuurista identiteettiä. Tulosten pohjalta on mahdollista tutkia lisää muun muassa englannin kielen globaalia roolia sekä identiteettien rakentumista K-pop-sanoituksissa.

Asiasanat – Keywords
popular music, K-pop, English, code-switching, borrowing, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics

Säilytyspaikka – Depository JYX

Muita tietoja – Additional information

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1   INTRODUCTION

South Korean popular music, also known as K-pop, has grown into a global phenomenon during the last decade, and Korean artists are moving beyond East Asia, entering global music spaces that have long been dominated by English-language music. Korean idol groups are performing at American music festivals and holding sold-out world tours that expand from the Americas to Europe and Southeast Asia. The Korean language is no longer seen as an obstacle for consuming the music by the general public, and much like American popular music before, K-pop is forming into a branch of mainstream popular music in the Western countries. This phenomenon has most likely been accelerated by the strong presence of English in K-pop songs since English can make the music more accessible to listeners who do not know any Korean. However, the frequent use of English in K-pop lyrics is not only a way to attract global audiences, as it has also been used to bring forward discourses of resistance among Korean youth (Lee 2004). Thus, the reasons for using English in K-pop can stem from a variety of sources and studying them can reveal more about the role of English in South Korea and as a global language.

Studies on the use of English in K-pop have been pioneered by Lee (2004), who has explored central discourses and characteristics of English mixing in the songs. According to Lee (ibid.), English is a language of resistance against old norms and conservatism and a stylistic tool that attracts the attention of the listener. These findings have been supported by Lawrence (2010), who has studied how English is transformed to fit Korean phonetic, syntactic, and cultural patterns in K-pop. Dal and Ryoo (2014) have focused more on the cultural aspects of English mixing in K-pop, and their study revealed that K-pop is a cultural hybrid that constructs local and global cultures simultaneously through the use of English.

Findings from previous research suggest that we need to study the functions and meanings of English expressions in K-pop songs and analyze how they are incorporated into the songs in order to understand why English is so commonly used in the lyrics. The present study aims to do this by studying the syntactic structures and code-switching practices in K-pop songs and analyzing the possible meanings and functions of the English expressions using discourse analysis (DA). What separates the present study from previous research is its comparative nature. Previous studies have not concentrated on the differences between artists but rather on

the similarities in their use of English, which is why the present study aims to investigate if English is used differently between K-pop artists. The focus of the study will be on analyzing if the presence of a native English speaker affects the use of English in the lyrics, and this will be done by comparing two K-pop groups, one of which has a member who speaks English as their first language.

This study consists of five sections. The introduction is followed by the background section, where I will discuss the history and role of English in South Korea, introduce previous studies on the use of English in East Asian popular culture, and cover the key terms regarding the present study. After the background section, I will present the research questions and a description of the data and method of analysis. In the fourth section of the study, I will discuss the main findings of the present study, first introducing the different English elements found in the lyrics, followed by an analysis of syntactic functions and grammar as well as the possible meanings behind the use of English in the songs. The last section of the study is the conclusion, in which I will summarize the findings of the study, present answers to the research questions, and give suggestions for further research.

2 BACKGROUND

2.1 The role of English in South Korea

The ways in which English is perceived and used across Asia varies significantly. In Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Singapore, it has been adopted as a result of colonialism and it is commonly used on a national level, whereas in Japan, South Korea (henceforth Korea), and China, it is a tool for international communication and cultural transmission (Lee and Moody 2012: 6). On a global scale, English is often connected to globalization and the spread of popular culture (Lee and Moody 2012: 6; Flaitz 1988: 201, cited in Pennycook 1994: 20), and the term globalization is often mentioned when discussing the reasons for adopting English in countries that do not have historical connections to the language. However, Park (2009: 2) claims that the importance of English in Korea is not simply a result of globalization but rather the result of both local and global processes. Korea has never been colonized by an English-speaking

country, but the US has had a strong military presence in Korea since the end of Japanese colonial rule and American economic and cultural influences have spread to the country (Park 2009: 19). Park (ibid.) describes Korea's linguistic circumstances as unique because the country has remained essentially monolingual despite being heavily influenced by English.

According to Dal and Ryoo (2014: 119), English did not have a significant role in South Korea until the country hosted the 1988 Olympic Games. After the Olympics, Koreans began to consider the importance of the English language, and in the 1990s, "English fever" became even more prominent as a result of government-driven efforts to accelerate globalization in South Korea (ibid.). Since then, the role of English has become increasingly significant regardless of the fact that even in 2017 South Korea's foreign population was only around 4% of the entire population (Kim 2018). According to Lee (2012: 147), despite the very homogeneous Korean-speaking population, the English language is seen as an important factor in attaining success, be it academic or financial. Even though Koreans rarely use other languages than Korean in their daily lives (Park 2009: 30), the inability to speak or understand English can be disadvantageous especially in terms of education and employment (Lee 2012: 147).

The Korean government has treated English as a tool for globalization and economic success, and it has conducted numerous reforms in the national curriculum to endorse English education (Park 2009). The government has also made efforts towards attracting foreign companies and investors by establishing international cities and offering administrative services in both English and Korean (Park 2009: 39). On a grass-roots level, the importance of English can be seen in the large number of parents who enrol their children in private English institutes and tutoring classes or English-only kindergartens. They also send their children to study overseas in English-speaking countries because they want their children to achieve "native-like" English competence (Park 2009: 44). As stated by Lee (2012: 129), the English skills of Korean students are tested in schools and in college entrance exams and sufficient English skills are also required from employees in both the private and the public sector. In addition, English is used frequently as a tool in marketing and popular culture (Lee 2004; Lee 2006). However, Park (2009: 32) mentions that the presence of English in popular culture does not necessarily reflect the amount of English that Koreans use in their everyday spoken language interactions.

Park (2009) studied the language ideologies behind the importance of English in Korea and found that there are three major ideologies that can be observed among Koreans in relation to English: necessitation, self-deprecation, and externalization. According to Park (2009: 26), necessitation bases the importance of English on its economic, cultural, and political value and the role of English as a global language. Thus, English competence is seen as a requirement for success in the modern world. The self-deprecation ideology emphasizes that English is "unspeakable" for Koreans and most Koreans do not possess the English skills that are needed for meaningful communication. Park (2009: 224) argues that the combination of these two ideologies "triggers the fetishism of English in Korea". However, he also mentions the ideology of externalization, which represents the resistance towards English among some Koreans. According to Park (2009: 26, 52), this ideology may be based on the class-based inequalities that are related to English competence in Korea, as studying in private institutes or sending children to study overseas is not an option for everyone financially. Externalization may also be based on nationalistic attitudes that view Korean as a fundamental part of the Korean identity and English as the language of the Other. These ideologies represent the complex relationship that Koreans have with English, and they also offer some explanations for the use of English in such areas as marketing and popular culture.

2.2 Previous studies on English in East Asian popular culture

According to Moody and Matsumoto (2012: 105), in Japanese popular culture, English has been used so widely that it has become a defining feature of Japanese pop culture. In fact, the presence of English loanwords in Japanese pop culture is so significant that without them it would feel "markedly out of place" (ibid.). However, Moody and Matsumoto (2012: 105) state that Japanese popular culture represents the varying degrees of English proficiency in Japan and shows that the use of English is not closely related to the actual level of proficiency in English. This can be seen for example in the use of nativized loanwords, which does not require knowledge of English (ibid.). A similar phenomenon can also be seen in Korean pop music as the English used in song lyrics can range from Koreanized English (Konglish) to African-American Vernacular English (AAVE) (Lee 2004: 434).

Even though English has been used in Korean pop music already in the 1960s in translated versions of American pop songs, young artists adopted it in the late 1990s, and the Korean music industry became more diverse in terms of genre, style, themes, and language (Dal and Ryoo 2014: 113-114). According to Lee (2004), English is often used to express emotions and desires that are perceived as too private and embarrassing to be expressed in the speaker's native language. In addition, the use of English is a way for young Koreans to express themselves and to reject old norms and conservatism (Lee 2004: 446). Chan (2012: 44) argues that in Cantopop (Cantonese pop music from Hong Kong), English creates in-group solidarity between the artist and the audience despite the fact that Cantonese represents the ethnolinguistic identity of the Hong Kong Chinese. This may also be evident in the Korean setting, especially due to the impact that Korean-American artists have had on the Korean music industry. According to Dal and Ryoo (2014: 119), Korean-American artists have "extended" the use of English in K-pop lyrics and introduced "cultural resources" that those who were born and raised in Korea may not have. Thus, I will also be analyzing if the presence of a native English speaker in a K-pop group has an effect on the use of English in the group's songs.

2.3   Code-switching and borrowing

Code-switching and borrowing are the most commonly used terms in discussions surrounding the use of English in East Asian popular music. Myers-Scotton (1993: 3) describes code-switching as a "selection … of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation". In other words, code-switching means switching from one language to another and incorporating forms from the "embedded language" (a *contributing* language) to the "matrix language" (the *base* language). Borrowing, on the other hand, has been defined by Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 37) as "the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language". Thus, the definitions of the two terms are very similar and the difference between the two is not always clear, which is why the terms are surrounded by a considerable amount of debate. Gumperz (1982: 66) argues that the difference between borrowing and code-switching lies in grammar and syntax. Borrowings are single words or idioms from the embedded language that follow the syntactic structure of the matrix language, whereas code-switching creates a juxtaposition between the grammatical systems of the two languages. In addition, code-switching is often characterized as spontaneous and accidental as it usually occurs during conversations, although

the term has also been used in studies regarding intentional language mixing in song lyrics (Lee 2004; Chan 2009, 2012). Myers-Scotton (1993: 3) states that code-switching is usually done by bilinguals or multilinguals, which is relevant to only half of my data. I assume that the lyrics in my data present cases of both code-switching and borrowing since Korean has adopted many loanwords from English and the artists represent different levels of competence in the two languages. For clarity, I will mostly use the term *code-switching* to describe the language mixing in the lyrics.

Poplack (1980) suggests that there are three different types of code-switching: inter-sentential, intra-sentential, and extra-sentential switching (also called "tag-switching"). In inter-sentential code-switching, the switches between languages occur between sentences (Myers-Scotton 1993: 3-4). Extra-sentential switching, on the other hand, is the insertion of a tag (such as "isn't it?"), interjection, or a single noun from the embedded language into a sentence in the matrix language. Poplack (ibid.) claims that extra-sentential switching does not require as much grammatical knowledge as the other types of code-switching since tags and single nouns can be inserted rather freely without disturbing the grammatical structure. In comparison, intra-sentential switching, where switches occur within a sentence or a clause, requires knowledge of syntactic rules in both languages (Poplack 1980: 589).

Lee (2004: 434) argues that English mixing in K-pop is unique due to its planned and rehearsed nature, and it differs from code-switching that occurs in natural human interaction with varying participants and situations. Chan (2012: 44) adds that code-switching to English in examples from Cantopop is very different from code-switching in natural human interaction because the code-switching in Cantopop songs is inter-sentential. Chan (2012: 41) also argues that code-switching between English and Cantonese in Cantopop is a part of the 'informal' style of the songs. Because code-switching often draws the attention of the listener, it is used to emphasize the feelings and desires of the singer (Chan 2012: 49). This is supported by Lee's (2004) argument about how English is used to express more private feelings in K-pop songs. According to Chan (2012: 49-50), in examples from Cantopop songs, Cantonese is the base language and English is the 'marked' language, and the switches between these languages makes the feelings and desires of the singer clearer. Based on these observations from previous studies, I will be analyzing the possible meanings behind the English lyrics by for example identifying whether

the code-switching is inter- or intra-sentential and analyzing the relations between the matrix language (Korean) and the embedded language (English).

3   PRESENT STUDY

3.1   Research aim and questions

The aim of this study is to analyze the functions and meanings of English words and phrases in K-pop lyrics and to learn if they follow Korean grammar rules. I will also study if the functions and the appearances of the English words and phrases are different when comparing a group that has a native English speaker as a member and a group that does not have any native English speakers as its members. My research questions are as follows:

1. What kinds of English words and phrases are used in the lyrics of K-pop groups?
    a. Are the English expressions modified according to Korean grammar?
    b. What kinds of meanings and functions do these features have?
2. Are there differences in the use of English between a group with a native English speaker and a group that has no native English speakers?

3.2   Data and method of analysis

I will compare the lyrics of two K-pop groups: one that has a member who is a native English speaker and one that does not have native English speakers in it. The groups I chose for analysis are EXO and BTOB, the latter of which has a native English speaker in it. I chose these two groups for a few reasons. Firstly, EXO and BTOB are popular K-pop groups both in and outside Korea. According to Melon, Korea's biggest online music streaming service (Sohn 2018), both EXO and BTOB's albums were among the most streamed albums during the first week of 2019 (Melon n.d.-a). EXO dominated the chart, taking the first place with their 5th album *Don't Mess Up My Tempo*, which was released on November 2, 2018. In addition, the repackaged version[1] of the 5th album, *Love Shot*, placed 6th on the chart. BTOB was in the 16th place with their EP *Hour Moment*, which was also released in November 2018. Both groups have also won the Melon TOP 10 award in addition to several other Korean music awards (Melon n.d.-b, Melon

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[1] A reissue of a previously released album with additional songs and a new concept.

n.d.-c). Secondly, BTOB and EXO are both boy groups that debuted in the spring of 2012 (YES24 n.d., SBS n.d.). Thus, the present study will be a fair comparison as the groups have been active during the same time period. Lastly, I chose these two groups due to practical reasons because I had access to physical albums from both groups, meaning that I was able to ensure the authenticity of the lyrics I am analyzing.

EXO currently consists of 9 members (8 Koreans and 1 Chinese). Originally, the group consisted of 12 members and it was divided into two subgroups, one promoting in Korea and the other in China. However, after the departure of three Chinese members from the group, the remaining members began promoting together as one group. One of the original members, Kris Wu, is Canadian-Chinese and fluent in English, but since he left the group soon after its debut, EXO can be viewed as a group that does not have any English-speaking members. BTOB, on the other hand, consists of 7 Korean members, one of them being Korean-American. Peniel, who was born in Chicago (Lee 2013), speaks English as his first language and writes most of his own rap lyrics, which is why BTOB is a suitable subject for this study.

I chose five songs from each group for analysis (Table 1), choosing songs that seemed to contain the most English expressions. However, I did not conduct a quantitative study to verify this assumption. In addition, I decided to limit the data to consist of albums that were released in the years 2015-2018 and to which I had access. By doing this, I was able to avoid encountering any possible effects that Kris Wu might have had on EXO's lyrics since he was no longer part of the group in 2015. The data was gathered in December 2018 from official lyric booklets inside physical albums in order to maintain authenticity. As I am not fluent in Korean myself, I consulted a native Korean speaker[2] when translating the Korean words surrounding the English expressions. In Table 1, I have italicized the names of the members who have participated in the songwriting process since I will take these factors into consideration during the analysis. Except for the song "Open", all three rappers from BTOB (Ilhoon Jung, Minhyuk Lee, and Peniel Shin who is Korean-American) are listed as the lyricists for the BTOB songs in the data. Thus, I assume that they have written at least their own rap verses in most of the songs. As for EXO, the members are not credited as lyricists in the data apart from one song, which could possibly be reflected in the use of English in the lyrics.

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[2] Thank you to Seonggyun Kim for assisting me in translating the lyrics into English.

Table 1. Data for the present study

Artist	Song Title	Album (Year of Publication)	Lyricists
BTOB (Minhyuk, Peniel, Ilhoon)	Neverland (feat. G.NA)	I Mean (2015)	*Ilhoon Jung, Minhyuk Lee, Peniel Shin*
BTOB	Open	Complete (2015)	*Minhyuk Lee*, JERRY.L, *Ilhoon Jung*
	Movie	Feel'eM (2017)	*Ilhoon Jung*, IL, *Minhyuk Lee, Peniel Shin*
	Finale: 우리들의 콘서트 [Finale: Our Concert]	Brother Act. (2017)	Seongho Jo, Ferdy, *Minhyuk Lee, Peniel Shin, Ilhoon Jung*
	Call me	This Is Us (2018)	*Ilhoon Jung*, IL, *Minhyuk Lee, Peniel Shin*
EXO	Love Me Right	Love Me Right (Repackage Album) (2015)	Donghyun Kim, Yoowon Oh
	Monster	EX'ACT (2015)	Kor. lyrics: Kenzie, Deepflow Orig. writers: Kenzie, Greg Paul Stephen Bonnick, Hayden Chapman, Rodnae "Chikk" Bell
	내가 미쳐 [Going Crazy]	The War (2017)	JQ, 서림 (Makeumine Works)
	Forever	The War (2017)	Kenzie
	Sweet Lies	The Power of Music (2017)	Kor. lyrics: *Chanyeol Park*, G.Soul Orig. writers: Joseph "Joe Millionaire" Foster, Jeremy Davonte Jasper, G. Soul, Otha "Vakseen" Davis III, MZMC

The analysis method for the present study is discourse analysis (DA). By using discourse analysis, it is possible to study both written and spoken language and analyze the possible meanings behind language choices. Since the aim of the present study is to analyze the different meanings of the English lyrics in the songs, it is important to study the discourses that generate said meanings. By studying the discourses in the lyrics, we can learn about the ways in which the songs represent different aspects of the world and how they construct social and personal identities and relationships (Fairclough 2003: 124). For example, it is possible to analyze the construction of linguistic identities and compare the differences between different K-pop groups based on their language backgrounds. Discourses can divide people or they can support in-group solidarity and cooperation (Fairclough 2003: 124), and the central role of English in these processes can be seen in previous examples from Cantopop and K-pop lyrics. In Cantopop,

English creates a connection between the artist and the audience despite not representing the ethnolinguistic background of either party (Chan 2012: 44), and in K-pop, English has been used to highlight discourses of resistance among young Koreans (Lee 2004). Thus, discourse analysis allows us to identify the dominating discourses in the lyrics and analyze the possible meanings and functions of English expressions in the songs.

As Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009: 71) have stated, the primary focus in discourse analysis should be on studying what types of words and structures have been included in and excluded from a text instead of studying who has chosen the words and how conscious the choices might have been. Although the present study discusses the possible effects a native English speaker might have on the use of English in the lyrics, it was important to first examine what English words, phrases, and other instances the lyrics contained and why they were used instead of Korean expressions. Thus, I began analyzing the data by identifying the English expressions in the lyrics and translating the Korean lyrics into English. I divided the English expressions into single word instances and multiple word instances following Lee's (2004) method of analysis. Next, I studied what kinds of syntactic features appear in the lyrics and how exactly the English words and phrases are incorporated into the Korean songs. I focused especially on the syntactic structures and the different types of code-switching to determine whether the English expressions were modified according to Korean grammar. Lastly, I analyzed the meanings and functions that the expressions could possibly have and compared the characteristics of the English lyrics between the two K-pop groups.

4   FINDINGS

This chapter illustrates the most central characteristics of Korean-English code-switching in my data. In Chapter 4.1, I will present the main types of words and phrases that are used in the lyrics as well as the general length and placement of the English expressions in the songs. In Chapter 4.2, I will discuss the syntactic functions and grammar with a focus on how the English expressions are incorporated into the lyrics. Chapter 4.3 covers the main findings on the different meanings and functions of English lyrics in the songs.

In the numbered examples, the original lyrics are presented on the left and the translation on the right. Translations for in-text examples are provided in square brackets. English items are in italics, and the corresponding Korean and English items in the original text and the translation are bolded for clarity. This study follows the Revised Romanization (RR) system, which is preferred by the South Korean government over the old McCune–Reischauer system (Korea.net 2000).

4.1   English elements in the lyrics

The majority of English lyrics in the data consists of expressions that are longer than one phrase. These English clauses and sentences represent both inter- and intra-sentential switching, and they appear either isolated between Korean sentences or they are clustered with other English lines. In BTOB's songs, the English expressions are concentrated in the rappers' verses and in the chorus. In two of the five BTOB songs in my data, Peniel, BTOB's Korean-American member, raps his entire verse in English. In the rest of the songs, his verses are roughly equal parts Korean and English. In the verses of the other two rappers, English appears in fragments and extra-sentential switches are more common than inter- or intra-sentential switches. The English in EXO's songs also seems to be distributed unevenly throughout the verses but the pre-chorus and chorus often contain longer, more cohesive English expressions. Much like in BTOB's songs, these expressions function as "hooks" that Lawrence (2010: 54) describes as words or phrases that are repeated throughout the song in order to attract the listener's attention. It appears that these "hooks" are most often in English in the songs from both groups, and they range from single nouns and adverbs to entire clauses and multiple adjacent sentences.

Although most of the English expressions in the lyrics are phrases that contain more than one word, there are also multiple instances where a single English word is part of a Korean clause. The isolated English words may appear once, or they may be repeated throughout the song in the form of "hooks". Most of the words are nouns, including proper nouns and nativized loanwords that have originated from English. The lyrics from both groups utilize nativized loanwords (or Konglish), but only BTOB's lyrics contain proper nouns, such as *Beyoncé* and *Heaven.* Loanwords, such as 스릴 [thrill], 필름 [film], 엔딩 [ending], and 컨셉 [concept], are used in the lyrics of both groups. Vocables, which have also been referred to as "musical fillers"

by Moody and Matsumoto (2003, cited in Moody 2006: 219), such as *oh*, *yeah,* and *woo* also appear often in the lyrics along with "genre-specific attention-getters" (Lee 2004: 435) like *c'mon* or *hey*. According to Lee (ibid.), these genre-specific attention-getters are commonly repeated in K-pop lyrics, yet they carry little semantic significance.

An interesting phenomenon in the lyrics is the repetition of an expression both in English and in Korean. For example, in EXO's song "Love Me Right", the word 'universe' appears first in English and a few lines later in Korean (Example 1).

Example 1.

넌 매혹적인 나의 *universe*	You are my alluring *universe*
Just love me right (아하!)	*Just love me right* (A-ha!)
내 **우주**는 전부 너야	My **universe** is all you

"Love Me Right" by EXO

This seems to be a common feature of EXO's songs as similar instances can be found in four of the five EXO songs in the data. In the song presented in Example 2, the repeated expression is also the title of the song as well as the "hook" that is repeated in the song's chorus.

Example 2.

내가 **미쳐**	I'm **going crazy**
Going crazy (Go go going crazy)	*Going crazy (Go go going crazy)*

"내가 미쳐 [Going Crazy]" by EXO

Compared to EXO, BTOB uses this technique very rarely and when it is used, it is more indirect. In BTOB's song "Open", the chorus begins with the English line "*baby open*" which is then followed by the Korean line "내게 마음을 열어줘" [open your heart to me]. However, the rest of the chorus follows a different theme and relies more on the hook "*baby open*" than on the repetition of a certain phrase in both Korean and English.

4.2 Syntactic functions and grammar

Apart from purely English clauses and sentences, the lyrics follow Korean word order and Korean particles are used with English nouns. Korean is classified as a language that follows the Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) word order, which differs from the Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) order of English. However, in practice, the verb is the only item in a Korean sentence that has a fixed position, and most of the other elements can be rearranged without changing the meaning of the sentence. Especially in song lyrics, the word order is rather flexible due to the poetic nature of songwriting, and it can even be challenging to distinguish where one clause ends and another begins. In some instances, the Korean word order is the same as in English, and the English noun phrase can be inserted into the Korean clause without modifications. For example, in EXO's song "Love Me Right", the Korean adjective 아름다운 [beautiful] modifies the English noun *lady*, and the possessive adjective 너의 [your] modifies *universe*. In these examples, the word order is the same in both languages, and the Korean and English elements can be translated directly into the other language. However, in EXO's song "Forever", the line "**오래 전에 던진** *quarter*" [the quarter **that was thrown a long time ago**] demonstrates how in the Korean construction, *quarter* adopts a premodifier, whereas in English it is followed by a relative clause that functions as a postmodifier. Such grammatical differences between English and Korean should affect English code-switching in K-pop lyrics since the ability to create natural switches between the languages requires at least some grammatical knowledge of both Korean and English. Based on this, it is possible to assume that there is correlation between one's competence in both languages and the ability to utilize the flexibility of the Korean word order in creative code-switching.

Generally, the English noun phrases and non-clausal units are placed at the end of the line, such as in the song presented in Example 3.

Example 3.

도로 위에 여긴 *runway*   Here on this highway *runway*
날 바라보는 눈 속 *milky way*   In the eyes looking at me *milky way*

"Love Me Right" by EXO

This renders the English expressions more salient and almost disconnected from the Korean lyrics. However, BTOB's lyrics also display instances where English nouns are more intertwined with the Korean clauses because they appear with Korean particles and conjunctions. In BTOB's song "Neverland", the Korean object particle -을 is attached to the English noun *phone* ("*Phone*을 꺼내서" [take out your phone]) and the Korean conjunction -과 is used in place of *and* in "*Adam*과 *Eve*" [Adam and Eve]. Both instances create an especially striking contrast between Korean and English because of the word choices. *Phone* and *Adam and Eve* have their corresponding (and rather commonplace) expressions in Korean, but instead the English versions were used. Other examples of such instances include the use of Korean comparative marker -보다 with *bubble gum* in BTOB's song "Open" ("어눌한 말투가 *Bubble gum*보다 끈적해" [her murmuring is stickier than bubble gum]) and the use of topic marker -는 with *story* in the song "Finale: Our Concert" ("우리의 *Story*는 이제부터 시작이야" [our story starts from now]). BTOB's lyrics also contain examples of how an English adjective can be adopted by adding the Korean suffix -하다, which is usually used to derive verbs and adjectives from Korean nouns. As can be seen in Example 4, these adjectives can perform either attributively (*fly*한 modifies 새 [bird]) or predicatively (*huge*해 modifies 마음 [heart]).

Example 4.

그녀는 비욘세보다 **Fly한** 새   She is a bird that is *flier* than Beyoncé
…   …
네 속까지 채워줄 마음이 **Huge해**   My heart that is going to fill you is *huge*

                                                "Open" by BTOB

The way in which these English nouns and adjectives have been incorporated into the surrounding Korean text is an example of intra-sentential code-switching and tag-switching since the switches between the matrix language (Korean) and the embedded language (English) consist of single noun and adjective phrases that do not disturb the grammatical structure of the clause. An interesting point to mention is that the switches in Example 4 require rather advanced knowledge of English, yet they are not done by the native English speaker but the other two rappers from BTOB. Since it is not evident whether the native English speaker in the group has had an effect on these lyrics or not, this would suggest that at least in the case of single word switches, non-native English speakers are also able to produce creative switches by utilizing the structure of the matrix language in which they are fluent. However, in my data, this is only

done by BTOB members as none of the EXO songs contain such switches with the exception of nativized loanwords that have already been adopted into the Korean lexicon.

Intra-sentential switches in the songs usually occur between the clauses in a complex sentence. In Example 5, the English and Korean clauses are connected with the English conjunction *but*.

Example 5.

Every girl be sour but 누가 뭐라 해도 전혀 상관없어	*Every girl be sour but* it doesn't matter what others say

<div align="right">"Call me" by BTOB</div>

The example is from Peniel's verse in the song "Call me" and it displays an interesting switch between the two linguistic codes. The song's bridge contains a similar, though less natural, transition from Korean to English. The bridge begins with the Korean line "넌 운명이란 거 믿는지 모르지만" [I do not know if you believe in fate (but)] and continues in English: "*But I'm so serious serious no*". The Korean clause does not contain a conjunction but the verb ending -지만 is used to express contrast and connect the Korean and English clauses. However, the presence of both -지만 and *but* results in repetition and in a way disturbs the transition between the two clauses. Nevertheless, there are several other examples from both BTOB and EXO's songs which suggest that natural intra-sentential switching is possible outside Peniel's verses as well. For example, in the song "Movie" by BTOB, Ilhoon (one of the three rappers/lyricists in the group) says "어두운 거리에서 나를 유혹하려 해도 [even if you try to seduce me on a dark street] *I belong to my lady*". In this example, the Korean clause functions as the subordinate clause and the English clause is the main clause. Another instance of intra-sentential switching comes from EXO's song "Sweet Lies", which is the only EXO song in my data where one the group members, Chanyeol Park, has participated in the songwriting process. In the following line from Chanyeol's rap verse, the switch from Korean to English also happens within the sentence: "달콤한 거짓말로 너를 녹여 [I melt you with sweet lies] *like a hot cocoa in the winter*". This example demonstrates how English phrases may also function as adverbs in the lyrics. Although Poplack (1980) argues that intra-sentential switches are mainly produced by bilinguals, these examples suggest that such switches can also be deliberately inserted into song lyrics.

Another central characteristic of the lyrics from both groups seems to be the use of non-standard English. These features are common in African-American Vernacular English (AAVE), and they have become a common feature of American popular music. Since Korean popular culture is heavily influenced by American culture and hip hop, AAVE features are most likely adopted as they are perceived as a sign of street credibility. In my data, non-standard English appears for example in the form of slang and idiomatic expressions and in spelling. Similar findings from K-pop lyrics have been reported by Lee (2004) and Lawrence (2010), who list such features as copula deletion (zero copula), "habitual" or "invariant" use of *be*, deviation in subject-verb agreement, and slang and idiomatic expressions. All of these features were also visible in my data along with additional features that differ from standard English. The features were present in the lyrics from both BTOB and EXO.

The lyrics contain examples of attention-getters ("*yo*"), terms of address ("*shawty*"), copula deletion ("*she the baddest one around the town*"), contraction ("*Imma make it work*"), deviant subject-verb agreement ("*she get it all*"), "habitual" *be* ("*every girl be sour*"), non-standard spelling ("*don't say u want no liar*"), and idiomatic expressions ("*I've always got girls lined up / So I know that I've got game*"). In Example 6, the contracted form *Imma* is used twice and *shawty*, an AAVE term referring to a young woman, is used to address the love interest. The line *"Shawty, Imma party till the sun down"* is rather ambiguous because of the way *sun down* is spelled. If the intended meaning is *sundown*, the definite article is redundant. However, if the implied meaning is that the person is going to party until the sun goes or has gone down, the line represents a form of copula deletion. Either way, the example demonstrates the use of non-standard English in the lyrics.

Example 6.

무엇을 원하던 *Imma make it work* (*Yeah*)   Whatever you want *Imma make it work* (*Yeah*)
Shawty, Imma party till the sun down   *Shawty, Imma party till the sun down*

"Love Me Right" by EXO

4.3   Meanings and functions of English lyrics in K-pop

Lee (2004) and Lawrence (2010) have argued that English has been used to express sexuality and love in K-pop lyrics. It has been a way for young Koreans to resist and break old norms that have deemed the expression of sexual desire as socially inappropriate. By using English to express explicit sexual content in the songs, artists have been able to avoid being censored by Korean authorities (Lee 2004). In my data, sensuality and sexual desire were often expressed through innuendos and terms of endearment both in Korean and English. Common English terms of endearment in the songs were *girl* and *baby/babe,* and even *lady*, *shawty*, and *goddess* were mentioned in the songs. Terms such as *man* and *guy/guys* were only used to describe either the singer himself or other men or people in general. English is perhaps used to emphasize the intimacy and closeness through the use of non-standard expressions (“*I wanna…*”, “*Baby, won't you…*”), which is supported by Chan's (2012: 41) argument about how code-switching between English and Cantonese in Cantopop is a part of the ‘informal’ style of the songs. Lee (2004) has stated that English is used to express more private feelings in K-pop songs, which can be seen for example in the use of English innuendos in my data, such as in the line “*I'll rev your engine real smooth*” from BTOB's song “Neverland”.

In addition, switches between English and Korean may be used to indicate switches in attitude or way of speaking, and English can express for example uncertainty, sincerity, or confidence. In Example 7, Peniel first raps in English, asserting his confidence and popularity among women, but in the middle of the verse he switches to Korean and the attitude changes from confidence to uncertainty.

Example 7.

I've always got girls lined up	*I've always got girls lined up*
So I know that I've got game	*So I know that I've got game*
Take one look at me	*Take one look at me*
And you'll know what I mean	*And you'll know what I mean*
근데 너는 달라	But you're different
왜 나를 보지도 않아	Why don't you even look at me
네가 무슨 생각하고 있는지 궁금해	I'm curious about what you're thinking

<div align="right">“Open” by BTOB</div>

This example of inter-sentential switching demonstrates how switching from one language to another can create a subtle yet meaningful difference by emphasizing the message of the lyrics. A similar phenomenon can be seen in BTOB's song "Movie". The bridge begins with Korean lyrics expressing uncertainty and regret over past mistakes with the singer vowing not to repeat past actions. Then the language switches to English with the line "*Move your body right now*", which is then followed by "don't leave me behind" in Korean. The bridge ends with the English line "*Do it again do it again do it again yeah*". In this example, the English lines seem to have a completely opposite underlying emotion compared to the Korean lines, the latter desperate and remorseful and the former sounding like a singer on stage asking their audience to dance along to an upbeat song. The disconnectedness between the Korean and English lines results in a surprising contrast that suggests a battle of two inner voices. Lee (2004: 438) has also mentioned the expression of unsettled identities through a mismatch between Korean and English lyrics. In addition, Chan (2012: 43) suggests that code-switching can highlight different aspects of the artist's feelings and desires, which seems to be a common function of switches in my data as well.

In general, English seems to play a more superficial role than Korean in the songs. It is most likely used as an attention-getter based on the popularity of English "hooks" and titles in my data. However, in Peniel's verses, English seems to be a more genuine channel of expression and a tool for identity construction since the English in Peniel's verses differs significantly from the English used in the other parts of the songs. Slang, idiomatic expressions and even onomatopoeic words ("*ring ring ring", "brr brr"*) frequently appear in Peniel's lines, and the English lines extend beyond phrase level with the exception of a few extra-sentential switches. The length and the informal style of Peniel's English lines result in a speech-like style that highlights his linguistic repertoire and a possible preference to perform using his first language. Ilhoon and Minhyuk's lyrics display more tag-switching whereas Peniel's lines contain both intra- and inter-sentential switching, both of which are considered more common among bilingual speakers. With respect to both groups, inter-sentential switches seem to be the most common way of incorporating English across the songs in my data. English is both fragmented and clustered, and in most cases the choice to use English stems from merely a stylistic preference. The English word could be easily replaced with the Korean equivalent, but the English alternative is chosen instead to create a humorous or rhyming effect, such as in Example

4 where *Beyoncé* rhymes with the Korean word 새 [bird]. This is supported by Chan (2012: 42), who mentions that English may be added to songs for "spice" and humor. However, for Peniel, choosing English over Korean could possibly be more than a stylistic preference and rather a way to perform his linguistic and cultural identity by introducing American elements into the group's songs.

5   CONCLUSION

As the international popularity of Korean pop music increases, the role of English in K-pop becomes more prominent and K-pop lyrics offer vast opportunities for studying English code-switching and borrowing in the Korean context. In the present study, the Korean-English code-switching and borrowing was heterogeneous in its forms and the data displayed a variety of English expressions, ranging from single words to full sentences and verses in English. The majority of English lyrics consisted of expressions longer than one phrase, and most of the single words in the data were nouns, including loanwords and proper nouns. Apart from purely English clauses and sentences, the lyrics followed Korean word order and Korean particles were used with English nouns. Non-standard English also appeared to be a common feature of the lyrics. English was used to express sensuality as mentioned in previous studies (Lee 2004; Lawrence 2010) but the present study revealed that English is no longer the sole channel for expressing such desires; rather, both English and Korean are used to describe sexual desire very openly. Generally, the use of English seems to be a stylistic preference, and English lyrics often function as attention-getters in the songs. For Peniel, who is a native English speaker, using English could also be a way to express his linguistic and cultural identity.

The main difference in the Korean-English code-switching and borrowing between the groups seemed to be the English used by Peniel. His English lines were more coherent and extended beyond clause level, at times covering entire verses. In the rest of the data, English was more fragmented and mostly concentrated in the pre-chorus or chorus that contained "hooks" to attract the attention of the listener. This indicates that the presence of a native English speaker does in fact affect the use of English in the lyrics, and the differences can be seen not only between the two groups but also within one group. Although it is unclear if Peniel has had an

influence on the English used in other than his own lyrics, it can be said that BTOB's lyrics represent a more creative form of code-switching compared to EXO's lyrics as BTOB's lyrics contained more Korean-English "cross-linguistic humor" (Park 2009: 96) and English words and phrases were more intertwined with the Korean clauses because they appeared with Korean particles. EXO's lyrics mostly contained inter-sentential switches, and the English parts felt rather separate from the Korean lyrics, which demonstrates how English is used as an attention-getter in the songs. This suggests that although both groups rely on English "hooks" in the songs, the English in EXO's songs seems to have a more commercial role whereas in BTOB's lyrics, English has a variety of functions such as being a tool for identity construction and cross-linguistic humor. However, since EXO's members were not credited as lyricists in the data apart from one song, the findings might have been different if the members from both groups had participated in songwriting.

Because the role of English in the world is currently more prominent than ever, it is important to study the extent of its reach. My study will benefit further research on popular music, especially East Asian popular music, and studies on the role of English as a global language. Based on this study, it may also be possible to study how English is used to construct identities in non-English speaking countries. However, due to the small scale of this study, it is not possible to make generalizations based on the results. By studying more K-pop artists and by conducting interviews with the songwriters, it would be possible to gain more insight on the processes of Korean-English code-switching in K-pop lyrics. It would also be useful to compare girl and boy groups to see if there are differences in the common discourses that the lyrics contain. The employment of "catchy" English "hooks" and English song titles emphasizes the commercial role of English in Korean popular culture, and thus the topic of Korean-English code-switching could also be studied from the point of view of marketing and commercialization. In addition, studying the use of English in K-pop lyrics may further reveal the underlying ideologies that Koreans have towards the English language.

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BTOB (Minhyuk, Peniel, Ilhoon)	Neverland (feat. G.NA)	I Mean (2015)
BTOB	Open	Complete (2015)
	Movie	Feel'eM (2017)
	Finale: 우리들의 콘서트 [Finale: Our Concert]	Brother Act. (2017)
	Call me	This Is Us (2018)
EXO	Love Me Right	Love Me Right (Repackage Album) (2015)
	Monster	EX'ACT (2015)
	내가 미쳐 [Going Crazy]	The War (2017)
	Forever	The War (2017)
	Sweet Lies	The Power of Music (2017)

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