

Differences Between Men and Women in Korean Conversation: A Case Study

Jonas Robertson

Paper originally submitted November 2013 to the Department of English of the University of Birmingham, UK, as an assignment in Sociolinguistics, in partial fulfillment of a Master of Arts in Teaching English as a Foreign / Second Language (TEFL / TESL).

Assignment: SO/13/06

It is sometimes claimed that women's speech differs from men's in a number of observable ways, for example:

- 1 that women use more standard forms of language than men do;
- 2 that women's speech is less direct and assertive than men's;
- 3 that women talk less than men do;
- 4 that women talk more than men do;
- 5 that women break the 'rules' of turn-taking less frequently than men do.

Record a sample of natural conversation, in any language, involving both men and women. What evidence do you find either to support or challenge such claims? Discuss the issues with reference to your data.

Contents

1 Introduction	3
2 Theories of Gender and Language	3
3 Gender and the Korean Language	5
4 A Sample of Korean Conversation	6
5 Observations	7
5.1 Politeness	7
5.2 Expressiveness	11
5.2.1 Gender-specific words	11
5.2.2 Personalization	12
5.2.3 Hyperbolization	13
5.2.4 Intonation	14
5.3 Turn-taking	15
5.4 Participation	17
6 Discussion	18
7 Conclusion	20
8 References	22
9 Appendix: Conversation Transcript	25

1 Introduction

This paper discusses the extent to which gender plays a role in language, primarily considering a sample of a natural conversation in Korean between men and women. Both the discernable differences and similarities found between the men and women in the sample are used to argue that although differences may exist, when compared to earlier research (e.g. Bak 1983), Korean culture in particular appears to be rapidly casting aside masculine and feminine language differences in favor of a much more balanced language. While this trend tends to contradict earlier claims which purported numerous significant gender differences in language, more recent research better explains the observations made in the sample conversation which indicate that elements of masculine and feminine language are used by both males and females (Cameron 2005).

After briefly introducing a theoretical background to the relationship between language, gender, and Korean culture, the conversation sample will be introduced and discussed as to how closely it agrees with previous research.

2 Theories of Gender and Language

The last several decades have seen much research related to the idea that women and men use language in different ways. Observations by Lakoff (1973) noted differences in the lexicon and syntax of women, supporting a ‘dominance’ perspective to gender differences in language, which asserted that differences were caused by the subordination of women (Cameron 2005). An alternate ‘cultural’ or ‘difference’ approach later gained prominence through the research of Tannen (1993), who describes men and women as belonging to separate subcultures. Both Tannen and Cameron underscore that these dominance and difference approaches are not in opposition and consider both important (Ibid; Cameron 1998).

The years after Lakoff's postulations saw much research which attempted to find differences in speech due to gender. Wardhaugh (2010) identifies many of the areas of these perceived gender differences, including: phonology, vocabulary, speaking styles, grammar, intonation, paralinguistics, titles, obscenities, duration, and intensity. Fishman (1978), for example, observed that women performed much more in conversations with men by asking the majority of questions and maintaining conversations. Other researchers claimed that during cross-gender talk, women were more polite (Brown 1987), kept to standard grammar, rarely interrupted men, and were less assertive than men (Montgomery 2008). These differences were mostly attributed to male dominance, with women forced to use such differences to achieve social status, pass on social values, perpetuate subordination, or avoid sounding masculine (Holmes 2013). The last of these explanations begins to hint at the difference view, in that both women and men compete amongst their own gender for social status by using gender differences (Eckert 1989). Thus, women may be prone to cooperate and empathize with other women to display their woman-ness, while men typically compete and argue to assert masculinity (Wardhaugh 2010).

However, scholars generally agree that it is very difficult to define the exact differences in language which are attributable solely to gender (Wardhaugh 2010; Cameron 1998; Kim & Bresnahan 1996). Cameron et al. (1988), in testing Lakoff's observations, conclude that the situation is much more complex than made out to be, citing variables other than gender and casting doubt on male dominance as the cause of certain phenomena. Likewise, Kim & Bresnahan (1996) report that women are just as likely as men to have concern for clarity as well as avoiding situations which may hurt the feelings of either interlocutor. Additionally, men and women alike may use speech which may be considered 'masculine' or 'feminine,' both terms that are increasingly no longer viewed as two binary concepts, but holding diversity within themselves (Cameron 2005). This diversity has increasingly blurred the

linguistic tendencies of women and men, and Korean provides a relatively good example of this ambiguity.

3 Gender and the Korean Language

Compared to English, Korean has a general absence of gender-specific pronouns, grammar, and vocabulary, freeing it from many of the problems arising from “he / she” or “actor / actress,” for example, by using gender neutral equivalents (in this case *ku* and *baywu*, respectively). However, vocabulary reflecting male dominance is still occasionally found, such as words for females which hold negative connotations (Kim 2008). Korean also has a complex hierarchical politeness system, making relative age, social position, and closeness important (and often troublesome) variables which can greatly affect the language forms that are used. Historically, males have considered themselves to be in a higher social position than women, resulting in major differences in speech between women and men (Bak 1983; Han 2006). Although Korean society has undergone extremely rapid change over recent decades, Han notes that misuse of honorifics by men toward women can still be found and can even approach sexual harassment (Ibid.).

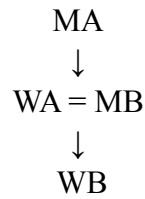
Several studies have been done which have investigated differences in using Korean between men and women. Wang (1999) concluded that there were no significant gender differences between young Koreans when disagreeing (see also Kim & Bresnahan 1996). However, Wang did note that women tended to include themselves somehow in their arguments (e.g. using “I / we” and personalizing topics), and a more recent study found that in expressing gratitude, Korean women were more likely to use intensifying markers than men, implying that “Korean men are expected to restrain from expressing their emotions and/or from emphasizing ... gratitude” (Kim 2012: 136). Thus, a common factor in both of these articles is the greater expressiveness and personalizing of women in their speech over the more emotionally distanced men. This is in agreement with Bak (1983), who also highlights

politeness and expressiveness as two aspects in which Korean and English similarly note gender differences. However, a concluding remark from Bak notes that younger Koreans are moving toward balance and becoming less formal through equal usage of low-level informal speech forms (known as *panmal*) and relatively intimate titles (e.g. *hyeng* / *enni*, literally “brother / sister”). This prediction by Bak, made some thirty years before this current paper, accurately describes the tendencies of younger generations when talking between themselves, which is the context of the sample conversation now considered in detail.

4 A Sample of Korean Conversation

To investigate the accuracy of these claims on gender and language, a sample of conversation (see Appendix) was collected from a group of four willing participants, who were two recently married couples. Both couples knew each other well as friends, and they were all near the age of thirty. The participants were left in a small room in a cafe and were told to simply carry on their conversation while video and audio recording equipment were left on. The recording lasted approximately thirty minutes, from which a segment slightly less than ten minutes was examined in detail. Personal observations and interactions before and after the recording indicated no detectable difference in the recorded conversation from the non-recorded conversation, and it appeared that after the equipment was initially turned on, the participants quickly forgot the fact that they were being recorded and engaged themselves in a lively conversation. Based on these observations, the sample appeared to capture a very natural and normal conversation between all participants.

Participants are referred to as MA, WA, MB, and WB, where M denotes ‘man,’ and W denotes ‘woman.’ A and B refer to the two couples, where A is the older couple and B is the younger couple. Both husbands are older than their wives, and WA is the same age as MB, creating the hierarchy:



As a natural conversation, participants freely conversed about topics of their choice as they came up in speech. Incidentally, most of the sample which was chosen for observation revolved around a cooking blog produced by WB, which made her the primary participant in the conversation. By the end of the selection, the topic had begun to change to personal health, as initiated by MA; however, throughout their entire time together, WB and her cooking blog were a recurring theme.

5 Observations

The conversation sample used in this paper offers an opportunity to observe several particular aspects of the language which have been claimed by some researchers to potentially be used differently by men and women (see Sections 2-3). Among them, politeness, expressiveness, turn-taking, and active participation are primarily considered in detail, with other minor aspects briefly mentioned throughout.

5.1 Politeness

One of the most unique and fundamental aspects of Korean is the highly structured system of politeness, which offers significant insight into the hierarchy of interlocutors. The language features various sentence endings to show politeness and formality, as well as honorifics, which esteem people spoken to or spoken about, and humilifics, which lower the status of the speaker. Some basic examples in Table 1 offer a simplified representation of this politeness system. Generally speaking, when one wishes to show politeness to another, *contaymal* is used, and when one has no need to show such politeness, *panmal* is used. Typically, situations justifying *panmal* in modern Korea are when speaking casually to people known to be the

same age (i.e. same birth year) or younger. In all other situations, *contaymal* is usually expected, but in very close relationships, *panmal* may be used by the younger person (e.g. child to parent or between spouses).

Table 1: Basic forms of politeness in Korea

	Formal sentence endings	Informal sentence endings	Honorifics	Humilifics
<i>contaymal</i> (polite)	-pnita -pnikka -sipsio -psita	-yo	-si (w/ verbs) <titles> tulita (to eat) tulita (to give)	ce (“I”) cehui (“we”)
<i>panmal</i> (intimate)	-ta -nya -la -ca	<no ending>	<no particles> <names only> mekta (to eat) cwuta (to give)	na (“I”) wuli (“we”)

In the conversation sample, all participants generally exercised standard hierarchical usage of informal speech between friends. The elder couple A both used *panmal* exclusively, due to their age and friendly relationship with couple B. Conversely, WB usually made use of *contaymal*, signifying that she was the youngest. However, when speaking directly to her husband (MB), she used *panmal*, showing the closeness of her relationship. MB generally tended to use *panmal*, although he used the -yo ending and the humilific *ce* when directing his speech toward MA, his elder.

The sample clearly showed evidence supporting the claim that married couples now view each other as equals, using *panmal* reciprocatively (Bak 1983). This can be seen in Example 1, where WB suddenly switches to *panmal* when she turns to her husband (MB). Here, WB can be seen using a common expression in *contaymal* form, *kuchyo* (literally “isn’t it?”), in response to a previous statement by WA. However, as MB and WB begin talking to each other, WB immediately switches to *panmal*, and at the end of the example uses the same expression, *kuchi*, this time in *panmal*. Thus, despite the fact that her husband is older than her, WB breaks out of the hierarchy and uses *panmal*, treating her husband as an equal.

Example 1: WB uses *panmal* with MB

WB: (responding to WA) *ung, ung... kuchyo.* (-yo ending, *contaymal**)
 “Yeah, yeah... that’s right”
 MB: *kuntay mantwuphi-pota-nun, ku... talun ke mwe iss-ci?* (no ending, *panmal*)
 “But there was something other than the dumpling dough... what was it?”
 WB: *mwe?* (no ending, *panmal*)
 “What?”
 MB: *mantwuphi-ka sasil-un tayyong-iess-canha.* (no ending, *panmal*)
 “You know, the dumpling dough was really a substitute.”
 WB: *ung, kuchi.* (no ending, *panmal*)
 “Yeah, that’s right.”

*The affirmative *ung* (“yeah”) is considered *panmal*, giving the statement mixed politeness levels.

The standards of hierarchical politeness also appeared to be challenged in other relationships. Example 2 shows WB responding to WA in *panmal* by removing the -yo ending, even though most other similar instances show her including a polite ending. This is not done to offend WA, but rather to show mutual understanding. She is also seen in Example 3 to use the -yo ending, but to refer to herself without using the humilific *ce*, using instead the *panmal* form, *na*, in the constructions *nay-ka* and *nay*. Thus, these observations may indicate that WB is pushing for equality with WA, and it would not be surprising to see WB using more *panmal* with WA if they were talking alone. Interestingly, WB even responds blatantly in *panmal* to MA as seen in Example 4, although it appears that WB is using *panmal* to speak contemptuously to MA in fake disgust following a cheeky remark.

Example 2: WB uses *panmal* with WA

WB: *enni, enni! mephinthul isse-yo? cip-ey?* (*contaymal*)
 “Sister, sister! Do you have a muffin tin? At home?”
 WA: *kukey mweya?* (*panmal*)
 “What’s that?”
 WB: *hu... (laughter) ku iss-canha.* (*panmal*)
 “Uh... You know.”
 WA: *a...*
 “Ah...”

Example 3: WB uses *panmal* first person forms, bolded

WB: *kunyang **nay-ka** sincheng-ul hay-yo.* [**nay-ka** sincheng-ul ha-myen-un]

“I can just apply for it.

If I apply for it,”

WA:

(cutting in) [*a, ni-ka pat-ko siph-un ke?*]

“Ah, what you want to get?”

WB: ***nay-ka** **nay** pulloku-ey saram-dul-i manhi o-nikka... senthek-i tway-yo.*

“I get a lot of people visiting my blog, so I have the choice.”

Example 4: WB responds to MA using *panmal*

MA: *ya, sahoipokcihak-un kongpwu an-hay-to toi-nun hakmwun-inikka kongpwu an-ha-ko...* (laughter)

“Hey, social welfare is not something that you have to study for, so I didn’t study...”

WB: *kulen-key eti-sse?* (laughter)

(*panmal*)

“How’s that possible?”

While this use of *panmal* by WB may appear to provide evidence supporting the claim that women are more collaborative, MB is also observed to deviate from the politeness standard in dialogue with MA. In Example 5, MB quickly attempts to clarify the statement made by WB, and in the process omits the *-yo* ending that he normally uses when talking to MA. This example shows the erosion even among men of what was once a strict rule to be followed, and although men may keep to this standard more in certain situations (e.g. military service or the workplace), it is seen to be more relaxed in this informal setting.

Example 5: MB uses *panmal* to respond to MA

WB: *ku myen-ul phayngipeses-ulo pakkwesse-yo.*

(*contaymal*)

“I swapped the noodles for mushrooms.”

MA: *phayngibeses?*

(*panmal*)

“Mushrooms?”

MB: *phayngibeses-man isse.* [*bokkass-nuntey.*]

(*panmal*)

“Just mushrooms. Fried, though.”

WB: (overlap) [*phayngibeses-i myen-iey-yo.*]

(*contaymal*)

“The mushrooms are the noodles.”

In fact, it appears as though the use of *contaymal* (particularly the *-yo* ending) is being strategically avoided by leaving sentences unfinished. As Korean speakers tend to avoid gaps in speech (Stivers, et al. 2009), pausing on the end of a dependent clause or phrase invites another speaker to take over (Kim 1999), thus the *-yo* ending may not be used simply because

the end of the sentence is not reached. In Example 6, MB manages to avoid placing the *-yo* ending by running sentences and clauses together, and ultimately ending on a dependent clause, using only the humilific *ce* to imply a degree of politeness. This ambiguous usage supports the idea that there is a gradual shift taking place toward equality, not simply between men and women, but between friends of similar ages.

Example 6: MB avoids polite sentence endings by ending on a dependent clause

MB: *kukes-to... iss-ko, mak, kulenikka, yenkwu-lul manhi hay. ce-to icey neyipe cikwen-inikka, a, ilehkey, ilehkey, ceymok-ul cal cenghay noh-umyen eccaysstun neyipe kemsayk sangwi-ey nochwul-i toi-ketun, ceymok-ul cal cengha-myen...*

“There’s... also that, just, because of that, there’s a lot of research being done. I work at Naver too, and, like, if you have a really good title for your post, anyway, it’ll come up on the top search results at Naver, if you have a really good title...”

MA: *a... a...*

“Ah... ah...”

5.2 Expressiveness

A common theme among researchers is that Korean women particularly seem to be more expressive than men, using more adverbs to hyperbolize statements and express emotions (Bak 1983; Kim 2012). A recent corpus study by Kim and Kang (2011) supports these claims regarding the use of intensifying adverbs by women. More generally, Wang (1999), in studying disagreements, claims that Korean women are more inclusive and tend to draw themselves into situations, while men tend to keep their distance and take a more neutral stance.

5.2.1 Gender-specific words. In the conversation sample, comparisons of word frequencies for several intensifiers and discourse markers between men and women revealed few cases where these words were only used by one gender (Table 2). A prominent example was the frequently occurring *cincca*, an intensifier which is often used as an exclamatory response (e.g. “Really?”). While Kim and Kang (2011) assert that *cincca* tends to be favored by women, it was MA who used the word most frequently (12 times), while WB only used the

word once despite speaking the most. Given MB also used the word in one instance, *cincca* does not necessarily appear to be avoided by men or replaced by alternatives, and as such is not a gender-specific word in this sample. In fact, the only evidence in the sample supporting the Kim and Kang study are that the words *com* and *mwe* (as a filler) are both indeed favored by men, and that *toykey* is preferred by women. Overall, the word frequencies seem to suggest that there were few words that either gender specifically avoided, although an important exception is the use of titles, such as *enni* (“sister”), an honorific term only used by females.

Table 2: Word frequencies of several common intensifiers and discourse markers

	MA	MB	MA + MB	WA	WB	WA + WB
cincca	12	1	13	7	1	8
cengmal		1				
nemwu		1			3	
isscanha	0	1	1	1	1	2
issci	0	1	1	1	1	2
com	5	4	9	0	2	2
mwe*	2	4	6	0	2	2
toykey	0	0	0	2	1	3
wuwa	8	0	8	1	0	1
maca	2	2	4	1	0	1
kuchi	2	2	4	0	3	3
kuleyse	1	1	2	0	3	3
kuley	0	0	0	5	1	6
e	4	1	5	6	1	7
a	15	7	22	7	10	17
kunyang	3	2	5	0	7	7
kuntay	4	3	7	8	3	11
kaciko	1	0	1	3	3	6

* used as filler, not as a literal ‘what’

5.2.2 Personalization. To investigate claims made by Wang (1999) on the personalization of statements by women and the converse distancing and neutrality by men, comparisons were

made between participants on their usage of first person pronouns. Explicitly stating the first person in Korean is normally only done when necessary and underscores that a statement is specifically the opinion of the speaker. Table 3 shows that both genders used the first person to the same extent, indicating that the women did not personalize statements more than men, although usage of the first person naturally depended on whether the conversation topic related to the speaker.

Table 3: Frequencies of first person forms

First Person Form	Korean	MA	MB	MA + MB	WA	WB	WA + WB
Generic	<i>na, ce</i>	1	1	2	0	3	3
Personal Opinion ("To me...")	<i>nan, na-nun, cen, ce-nun, na-hanthey, ce-hanthey</i>	1	2	3	2	3	5
Inclusion ("Me, too")	<i>na-to, ce-to</i>	1	2	3	2	1	3
Subject ("I")	<i>nay-ka, cey-ka</i>	3	2	5	0	4	4
Possessive ("my")	<i>nay, cey</i>	1	0	1	0	1	1

5.2.3 Hyperbolization. In considering the extent to which the participants hyperbolized and used adverbs of expression, slight gender differences were observed. In Example 7, various instances of *cohta* ("good") are used to illustrate its usage among participants. The women both use intensifying words (*toikey, cincca*) with *cohta*, and although the men also use similar adverbs (*cincca, nemwu*), they both seem influenced by the women. For example, MA (sentence 3) echoes WA (sentence 2), as both sentences occur together in the conversation, while MB (sentence 4) is referring to the opinion of WB. Sentence 5 provides a more typical example of men, which uses a sentence ending signifying acknowledgement (*-kwuna*) and no adverbs. Similarly, in Example 8, it is WA who uses *masissta* ("delicious") the most, and conversely, her husband MA is also actively responding to the conversation about the recipes made by WB, yet he never mentions anything about them being delicious. Although MB uses *masissta* once, it is without any intensifying adverbs. This is interesting, since he is recommending a recipe made by his wife (WB), yet his claim is not particularly expressive, but simply "delicious."

Example 7: Selected examples of *cohta* (to be good)

1. WB: *toikey... coha-yo*.
“Really... good.”
2. WA: *wuwa, cincca coh-ta*.
“Wow, that’s really good.”
3. MA: *cincca coh-ta*. (echoing WA)
“That’s really good.”
4. MB: *mek-nun ke-lul nemwu coha ha-ko...* (referring to WB)
“She really likes food...”
5. MA: *wun-i cohass-kwuna*.
“So you were lucky.” (literally “Your fortune was good.”)

Example 8: The usage of *masissta* (to be delicious)

1. WA: *cincca masisskeyss-ta*.
“That sounds really delicious.”
2. WA: *kuntay masiss-ul kes kath-untay?*
“That seems like it would be delicious, though.”
3. WA: *masisskeyss-ta*.
“That sounds delicious.”
4. WA: *toikey masiss-key...*
“Really deliciously...”
5. WA: *masisskess-ta*.
“That sounds delicious.”
6. WB: *ney, masisse-yo*.
“Yes, it’s delicious.”
7. MB: *masisse*.
“It’s delicious.”
8. WA: *masisskeyss-ta*.
“That sounds delicious.”

5.2.4 *Intonation*. Noticeable differences in the intonation between genders were observed, with both women in particular tending to hold final syllables during pauses and at the end of sentences in an almost musical way, rising and then falling. Sentence 1 in Example 9 shows WA speaking a longer passage and taking pauses as she thinks about what to say next. The bolded words at the end of each part of the statement are stressed and elongated with a rolling rising and falling intonation. This contrasts with MB (sentence 2), who also stresses words preceding pauses, but does not hold them and instead cuts them off quite quickly. The intonation is also less dynamic than the women, ending on a slightly higher intonation at each pause. However, there was also a considerable amount of fluctuation seen between such ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ intonation. For example, MA, when responding to WB, often had

nearly identical rolling intonation to WA, giving him a slightly feminine sound. However, when talking about himself later in the conversation, he was observed to have flatter intonation similar to MB.

Example 9: samples of two longer statements, stress bolded

1. WA: *ne cincca **taytanha-ta---** ani... na cincca **kwungkumhan key---**... ilen **yoli-lul---**...
... ilen **thaluthu-lul...** al-ko po-myen... **thaluthu-ui kaynyem-i isscanha---**...*

2. MB: *ku kes-to **iss-ko...** mak... **kulenikka...** yenku-lul manhi hay. ce-to icey, neyipe
cikwen-inikka... a, ilehkey, ilehkey, ceymok-ul cal cenghay **noh-umyen...***

5.3 Turn-taking

Researchers have shown a range of opinions regarding gender differences in turn-taking. While early studies showing that men constantly interrupt women have been strongly criticized due to methodology and interpretation, the phenomenon has not necessarily been denied, even though it may be difficult to prove (Lakoff 2003, in Holmes & Meyerhoff). However, unique to Korean conversations are phrasal unit boundaries which invite the listeners to collaboratively respond before sentences are completed (Kim 1999). This rapid changing of turns is not seen as competitive interrupting, but rather as the speaker offering the listeners a chance to collaborate, aligning this form of turn taking with traditionally feminine language.

Generally, all four participants were observed to interrupt, overlap, and provide acknowledgement while listening. The relationships of the participants meant that the conversation generally oscillated between couples, meaning that each couple would work together during a turn, with the spouse of the main speaker providing support by adding extra information and assisting in communicating certain points.

One case where this was prominent was with couple B. With the majority of the conversation

focused on WB, MB seemed to provide a supporting role by responding when WB was not able to give an adequate response, and he often added information or prompted her by speaking during her turns. In Example 10, MB can be seen to echo a statement made by WB after WA appears to need clarification. Interestingly, WB continues to talk over MB, also reacting to the clarification request but from a different perspective, yet neither WB nor MB appear to be bothered by responding simultaneously. This can also be seen in Example 11, in which both WB and MB support each other's statements. WB begins with a statement but trails off as she looks at her phone. MB continues with a further explanation, then WB steps in again, only for MB to cut back in with more clarification. This particular sequence is done without any turns ending as complete sentences, making both WB and MB almost appear to share a single turn in the conversation as a couple. Neither are using interruptions to their own personal advantage, and overlapping does not appear to be viewed by the couple as negative.

Example 10: MB echoes previous statement by WB; both MB and WB overlap significantly

WB: *kuke... enni thwuphyo hay cwu-sey-yo.*

"Oh, that... Vote for me, please."

WA: *e?*

"huh?"

MB: [*maca, maca, thwuphyo com hay cwe.*] (MB and WB talk concurrently)

"Right, right, you should vote for her."

WB: [*tayhoi naka-ketun-yo.*] (MB and WB talk concurrently)

"I'm participating in a contest."

Example 11: WB and MB supporting each other in their statements

WB: (looking at smartphone) *yeki ike po-myen... a, igen philling mandu-nun pep. pakk-ey an-nawassta... ige... sasil-un ta yeyyak phosuthing-ie-se ney si pan-i-myen ollaka-nun...* (laughter)

"If you look at this here... ah, this is the recipe for the filling. It didn't get published yet... this... actually it's all set to publish automatically, so it'll go up on the blog at 4:30."

MB: *WB-ka sihem kikan-ila papp-ul ttay-ka manhi iss-unikka...*

"It's because it's exam season for WB, so she's pretty busy these days..."

WB: *han... il cwu-cen kke-kkaci ta yeyyak phosuthing-ul...*

"I usually write it about... one week before it gets published..."

MB: *yeyyak phosuthing-ul hay nwa-se halwu-ey han kay-ssik phosuthing-i ollao-key toie isse...*

"It's all automatically published so that one post gets published every day."

Couple A also demonstrated teamwork by offering dual responses that usually concurred. MA seemed to facilitate the conversation the most, often asking questions and prompting participants to speak, while at other times simply responding and filling in silence. Even the quieter WA showed support in handling the situation by readily agreeing with MA and at times facilitating the conversation herself. In Example 12, MA and WA are both filling in the conversation with comments, and specifically, they can be seen echoing each other's statements, as both seem to believe that WB is truly talented and should change her university major to culinary arts.

Example 12: MA and WA facilitating the conversation together

WA: *na-to neyipe leysiphi po-ko ha-ketun... toikey masiss-key...* (unintelligible)

"I use Naver recipes a lot too... really deliciously..."

MA: *hek! wuwa, ettehkey?* (looking at recipe on smartphone) *wuwa, ike cincca sinkihata! peyngipeses-ul myen-ulo han-keya?*

"Whoa! Wow, how did you do this?
noodles with mushrooms?"

Wow, this is really cool. You made

WB: *ney!*

"yes!"

MA: *ya! ne ettehkey ilen seyngkak-ul ta heyss-na?*

"Hey! How did you think this up all by yourself?"

WA: *kulenikka! phyengpem ha-ci anh-un-keya.*

"I know! You're not an average person."

MA: *kulehci. phyengpem ha-ci anhta. nongtam-i ani-ko, ya!*

"Absolutely right. You're not average. This stuff is not a joke, hey!"

WA: *iccok-ulo cinlo-lul tule.*

"Change your career."

MA: *ung! cekseng-ey an-mac-nun yak-sa ha-ci mal-ko, ike hay.*

"Yeah! Your talent isn't with pharmacy, so don't study that and just do this."

5.4 Participation

Among the more controversial areas of speech and gender differences is the degree participation in conversation. More specifically, this aspect determines who asks the questions, who answers, who initiates, who follows, and who speaks more. Although early studies (e.g. Fishman 1978) indicated that women primarily facilitate the conversation and ask the majority of questions while men assertively make statements, more recent research

has shown that context and situation are more likely the major factors in the speaking roles played during conversation (Wardhaugh 2010).

The sample pointed toward more similarities than differences in participation between genders (see Table 4). MA asked the most questions, while MB asked the fewest, and both women asked a similar amount of questions. In terms of conversation control, WB took responsibility for providing most of the content, while MA facilitated the conversation by acting as the primary recipient and offering significant feedback. MB and WA both took supportive roles with their respective spouse, as described previously in Section 5.3. Due to the conversation topics primarily relating to WB and her blog, couple B had longer, descriptive turns, while couple A, in responding to these statements, took shorter turns and asked relatively more questions. Although the unique factors of the situation (e.g. relationships, personalities, age, and knowledge with the subject matter) seemed to primarily determine the participation of each person, it is still worth noting that the conversation did not turn into a situation where one gender was doing most of the talking, facilitating, or asking questions. Instead, the conversation was rich in cross-gender talk and interaction, as well as teamwork between spouses.

Table 4: Totals of words, turns, and questions for each participant

	MA	MB	MA + MB	WA	WB	WA + WB
Words (including particles and endings)	294	331	625	230	476	706
Turns (including intra-turn moves)	60	52	112	45	77	122
Questions	26	5	31	15	16	31
Turns which include questions	24	5	29	13	14	27

6 Discussion

The observations in this case study provide evidence that the younger generations of Korean society are changing radically in regard to gender. The balancing of speech levels between young married couples seen in the sample conversation represents a major difference in and

of itself between generations, and overall, cross-gender interactions combined with similar language used between the men and women in the sample all indicate that the Korean language is rapidly breaking free from major gender differences.

However, the sample of conversation examined in this paper represents only a single context of Korean society. Holmes (2013) offers the explanation that a small private setting may see many of the same characteristics of women's speech, while men's speech may be more similar to public settings. This claim may help explain why the men in the conversation sample conformed to a more 'feminine' conversation style. However, the converse of this claim would imply that public settings were more prone to competition and disagreement – two factors which are relatively subdued and avoided especially in a public Korean context. Perhaps a more appropriate way of relating this idea to Korean culture is with hierarchy. Rather than men competing against each other, the age / status hierarchical system allows seniors to openly disagree, rebuke, and command juniors, while juniors are not expected to do so to seniors. This system would make competition relatively rare and indirect (except among true equals) meaning that collaboration would be dominant in Korean speech, which interestingly aligns with Hofstede's classification of Korea as a relatively feminine culture (1983). It is possible then, that many of the differences attributed to gender in other languages are in fact attributable in Korean to hierarchy; in other words, "age can override sex distinctions" (Bak 1983: 63). However, this does not take into account the traditional desire of many Koreans for married men to be older than their wives. Like WB in the conversation sample, many Korean women continue to find themselves in subordinate positions due to the relative age of their partners.

Although the sample showed evidence for both genders using degrees of stereotypically masculine and feminine language, future research conducted on conversations involving only men or only women as well as different contexts may better determine exactly what aspects of the language are preferred by each gender. Another critical factor which must be examined

further are differences between age groups, since it is likely that had the participants in this study been older or even younger, observations may have produced different findings. Another limitation to this study is that only a basic free conversation was observed, meaning that requests, disagreements, structured dialogue, formal discussion, and many other communicative functions could not be examined. In addition, more studies of spoken Korean corpora may provide valuable insight into specific language differences between women and men.

7 Conclusion

In this case study, the conversation sample between two young married Korean couples was found to exhibit no significant language differences between men and women. In particular, the sample was unable to provide evidence supporting the claim that Korean women and men use imbalanced politeness forms to each other, suggesting more balanced power relationships between spouses and close friends have indeed become more common with younger generations, at least in the informal context observed. Similar evidence also questions the notion that women are more expressive than men, as well as the idea that women are more active participants in cross-gender conversations. Instead, both men and women are seen making use of language that is considered both masculine and feminine to various degrees. Thus, despite the fact that gender imbalances do still exist in Korea, the sample reflects recent trends in Korean society of gender increasingly becoming less of a defining factor in social status and relationships.

However, the lack of gender specific words (e.g. “he / she” pronouns) makes it difficult to compare many gender issues of Western languages to Korean, which has its own issues of inequality relating more to age, social status, and context. An important area for future research then, would be to determine if gender remains a determining factor in the hierarchy of Korean society. Additionally, given the high degree of language crossover between genders

described in this paper, it remains to be seen whether any post-modern examples of spoken Korean language can be found which are truly only for exclusive use by women or men.

References

- Bak, S.-Y. (1983) Women's Speech in Korean and English. **Korean Studies**, 7/1, 61–75.
- Brown, P. (1987) **Politeness: Some universals in language usage**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cameron, D. (1998) Gender, Language, and Discourse: A Review Essay. **Signs**, 23/4, 945–973.
- Cameron, D. (2005) Language, Gender, and Sexuality: Current Issues and New Directions. **Applied Linguistics**, 26/4, 482–502.
- Eckert, P. (1989) The whole woman: Sex and gender differences in variation. **Language variation and change**, 1/3, 245–267.
- Fishman, P. (1978) Interaction: The Work Women Do. **Social Problems**, 25/4, 397–406.
- Han, H. (2006) Gender Discrimination in the Korean Language. **The Society for Gender Studies in Japanese**, 6/1. Available from: <http://www.gender.jp/journal/no6/04Han.html> [Accessed November 26, 2013].
- Hofstede, G. (1983) National cultures in four dimensions: A research-based theory of cultural differences among nations. **International Studies of Management & Organization**, XIII/1, 46–74.
- Holmes, J. & Meyerhoff, M. (2003) **The Handbook of Language and Gender**. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Holmes, J. (2013) **An Introduction to Sociolinguistics**. 4th ed. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

- Kim, M.-S. & Bresnahan, M. (1996) Cognitive basis of gender communication: A cross-cultural investigation of perceived constraints in requesting. **Communication Quarterly**, 44/1, 53-69.
- Kim, K.-H. (1999) Phrasal Unit Boundaries and Organization of Turns and Sequences in Korean Conversation. **Human Studies**, 22/2, 425–446.
- Kim, M. (2008) On the Semantic Derogation of Terms for Women in Korean, with Parallel Developments in Chinese and Japanese. **Korean Studies**, 32/1, 148–176.
- Kim, H. & Kang, B. (2011) Gender and Usage of Discourse Markers in Spoken Korean. **Proceedings of the 16th Conference of Pan-Pacific Association of Applied Linguistics**. Hong Kong, August 8-10, 2011. pp.30-31.
- Kim, J.-Y. (2012) Intimacy and Gender in Expressing Gratitude in L2. **The Sociolinguistic Journal of Korea**, 20/2, 115–147.
- Lakoff, R. (1973) Language and Woman's Place. **Language in Society**, 2/1, 45–80.
- Lakoff, R. (2003) "Language, Gender, and Politics: Putting 'Women' and 'Power' in the Same Sentence". In Holmes, J. & Meyerhoff, M. (eds.) **The Handbook of Language and Gender**. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. pp.161-178.
- Montgomery, M. (2008) **An Introduction to Language and Society**. 3rd ed. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Stivers, T., Enfield, N., Brown, P, et al. (2009) Universals and cultural variation in turn-taking in conversation. **Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America**, 106/26, 10587–92.
- Tannen, D. (1993) **Gender and Conversational Interaction**. New York: Oxford University Press. pp.3-13.

Wang, H.-S. (1999) Disagreement Strategies by Korean Men and Women. **The Sociolinguistic Journal of Korea**, 7/2, 21-56.

Wardhaugh, R. (2010) **An Introduction to Sociolinguistics**. 6th ed. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Appendix: Conversation Transcript

The following transcript has been left in the Korean script to preserve the original data as closely as possible. If romanizations are required, online converters are freely available (this paper uses the Yale romanization system). The English translation provided is not a literal word-for-word translation, but an approximation for ease of reading and understanding. For more information on the conversation, see Section 4. [Brackets] denote overlapping speech.

WA: 대박이다. 도라지 타르트도 있어.	Awesome! There are even bellflower root tarts.
WB: 그것... 언니 투표 주세요.	Oh, that... Vote for me, please.
WA: 어?	Huh?
MB: [맞아. 맞아... 투표 좀 해줘...]	Right, right. You should vote for her.
WB: [대회나가거든요...]	I'm participating in a contest.
WA: 대박이다!	That's great!
MA: 무슨대회?	What contest?
WB: 도라지 대회... [경남...]	A bellflower root contest... Gyeong-nam Province...
MB: [도라지 레시피 대회...]	A bellflower root recipe contest...
WA: 진짜? [니가 진짜 이 레시피 만들었어?]	Really? You really made this recipe?
WB: [그래서] 네... 레시피 만들어서... 그... 대회를 신청했어요. 그 대회 신청자를 받아요. 그 신청자로 선정되어서 도라지를 [택배로 받았어요.]	So – yes... Since I'd made the recipe, I... applied for the contest. They take applicants. If the contestants get selected, they get bellflower roots delivered to them.
MA: [우와!]	Wow!
WB: 그걸로 만들어서 레시피를 올렸어요. 그리고 그걸 10 명을 뽑아요. 거기서 투표를 하는데 10 명 안에 들어갔어요. 근데 이제.. 거기 투표에서 [1 등 하시면...]	I made the recipe for the contest and uploaded it, and then ten people got picked. You can vote for any one of the ten people that got picked. But, right now... if you get first place in the votes...
MA: [1 등하면 뭐?]	If you get first place, what?
WB: 도라지를 줘요... (gesturing and laughter)	They give you bellflower roots...
MA: 1 등 하면 도라지를 줘?	They give you bellflower roots if you're first place?
MB: (Looking at WB) 1 등하면 뭐..도라지 10 킬로 주나? (laughter)	If you get first place, what... they give you 10kg of bellflower roots?
WB: 뭐... [이런 상품도 주고...]	Well... they give you that sort of thing as a prize and...
MA: [투표가 어디서 하는데 근데?]	Where can you vote, anyway?
WB: 나중에 링크 걸어드릴게요. [그 막...]	I'll send you the link. It's just...
MA: [나중에 카톡으로 보내줘.]	Send it to me later on Kakao Talk.
WA: (looking at smartphone) 이거..다 정리해서 써야 되는거야?	This stuff... you have to write and make it all?
WB: 예?	What?
MB: 그치...	Sure.

WA: 이 레시피가 왜 좋은지에 [대해서 설득력있게?]	Do you have to explain what's so good about the recipe?
MB: [아... 그거는... 그치... 애가 자기 요리에 대해서 어필하기 위해서 쓴거고...]	Ah... that's... that's right... she has to write about why they should pick her recipe.
WB: 네... 그냥 쓰라는 말은 없는데 그냥 나 혼자 [쓴 거예요...]	Yeah... There's nothing that says I have to write it, but I just write it myself.
WA: [아... 근데...]이거 시간 되게 오래 걸릴 것 같애.	Ah... but... this looks like it would take a really long time.
MB: 아. 근데 내가 이거 가봤는데... 솔직히... 레시피로만 봤을 때는 [WB 이겨가 거의 1 등 할 수 있을 것 같은데,]	Ah. But I went to the website to check it out... and honestly... when I saw the recipe, I noticed that it looked like WB's recipe is going to win.
MA: [(nodding) 아...]	Ah...
MB: 왜냐하면 다른 요리들을 보면 [다 도라지가 다 써브야 써브...]	Because if you look at all the other recipes, they all use bellflower root as a substitute.
MA: [(nodding) 아...]	Ah...
MB: 애는 도라지가 메인이거든... [이 요리는...]	She made it with bellflower root as the main ingredient though... this recipe...
MA: [(nodding) 아...]	Ah...
병: 막..무슨 요리가 올라와 있냐면... 그 10 개 안에 들어간 거 중에 2~3 개 와 있는게... [소고기 말이... 도라지 소고기 말이...]	It's just... if you look at some the recipes there... of the ten that got picked, there are about two or three that are like... beef... bellflower root beef...
WB: [어! 이거 해봐요. (speaking to WA, who is looking at smartphone) 언니! 언니! 머핀틀 있어요? 집에?]	Ah! Try this. Sister, sister! Do you have a muffin tin? At home?
WA: 그게 뭐야?	What's that?
WB: 흐... (laughter) 그... 있잖아.	Uh... You know.
WA: 아...	Ah...
MA: [애는 요리쪽은...별로... 좀 관심이 없어서..]	She doesn't really... have that much interest in cooking.
WB: [은박지 같은거...이렇게...]	Like tinfoil... like this...
WA: [어!! 그거 팔아!]	Ah! They sell that!
WB: 그거 팔잖아요? 그거 사서, 만두피를 사요.	Of course they sell that. Buy one, and then buy some dumpling dough.
WA: (looking at smartphone) 어... 어...	Oh...
WB: 만두피를 사서, 만두피를 거기에다가 다 넣어놔서 그 안에 찹 같은 걸 넣어요. 그러면 파이 나오는거야... 그 오븐 돌리면...	Buy the dumpling dough, and then put the dough in each of the muffin tin holes, then put jam or something inside. Then it makes pies... if you put it in the oven...
MA: [말이 안되지!]	That's unbelievable!
WB: [(pointing at WA's smartphone) 이거 보면 돼요.]	You can just take a look at this.
WA: (looking at smartphone) 아... 여기 쉽게 설명 해놨는데? 어떻게 다 이런 것들을 생각을 할 수 있지? WB 는 식재료에 관심이 많은가봐? [먹는거에 관심이 많은가봐...]	Ah... you explained it all really simply here. How can you think of all this stuff? WB must really be into cooking. You must really enjoy food...
MA: [근데 WB 아. 너는 쓸데없이 대학교 등록금... 약대로 가지말고 요리학과로 좀 전과를 해봐.]	But WB. Your wasted tuition fees... don't go to the pharmaceutical college and see if you can transfer to culinary arts.

WB: 아... 진지하게 고민중이에요.	Ah... I'm seriously considering that.
WA: (laughter)	
WB: 학비가 약대보다 더 비싸더라고요. 거기가...	I found out the tuition's more expensive. There...
MA: 아 진짜?	Ah, really?
WB: 네... 르 꼬르동 블루라고... 우리 학교 약대 바로 옆에 [요리 전문과가] 있거든요...	Yeah, it's called Le Cordon Bleu... It's right next to the pharmaceutical college and it's a special culinary arts school.
MB: [요리 학원]	Culinary arts academy.
MA: 말도 안돼. 약대보다 비싸?	Unbelievable. It's more expensive than pharmaceutical college?
WB: 더 비싸요. 엄청 비싸요 여기... 1 년에 한... 1500 만원 정도 하나?	More expensive. Way more expensive, here it's like... for one year... around 15,000,000 won?
WA: (Looking at smartphone) 너 진짜 대단하다. 아니, 난 진짜 궁금한게... 이런 요리를... 이런 타르트를... 알고보면... 타르트의 개념이 있잖아... 근데 누가 이런 만두피를 보태가지고 할 생각을 안하는데...이런 것들을 다른 블로그에서 보고, [보강해서 거기에 있는 속의 내용물만 변경한거야?]	You're really impressive. I mean, there's something I'm curious about... this sort of cooking... these tarts and stuff... if you know about them... you have this concept of tarts... but no one ever thinks about using dumpling dough as the crust though... do you look at other blogs and take their stuff and then modify it?
WB: [(nodding) 응응...] 그치요!	Yeah, yeah... that's right!
MB: 근데 만두피보다는 그... 다른 거 뭐 있지?	But there was something other than the dumpling dough... what was it?
WB: 뭐?	What?
MB: 만두피가 사실은 대용이었잖아.	You know, the dumpling dough was really a substitute.
WB: 응, 그치.	Yeah, that's right.
MB: 만두피 [원래... 원래 것이] 훨씬 낫긴 했어...	The dumpling dough was originally... the original stuff was way better...
WB: [원래? 원래꺼는...]	Original? The original stuff...
MB: 만두피가 좀 딱딱해... [구우면은...]	The dumpling dough was a bit hard... if you bake it...
WB: [그래? 난 딱딱해서 좋았는데...] (looking at smartphone) 여기 이거 보면... 아, 이걸 펠링 만드는 법밖에 안나왔다... 이거... 사실은 다 예약 포스팅이어서... 4 시 반이면 올라가는... (laughter)	Oh yeah? I think it's good when it's hard though... If you look at this here... ah, this is the recipe for the filling. It didn't get published yet... this... actually it's all set to publish automatically, so it'll go up on the blog at 4:30.
MB: WB 가 시험기간이라 바쁠 때가 많이 있으니까...	It's because it's exam season for WB, so she's pretty busy these days...
WB: 한... 1 주일전 쯤까지 다 예약 포스팅을...	I usually write it about... one week before it gets published...
MB: 예약 포스팅을 해 놔서 하루에 한 개씩 포스팅이 올라오게 되어있어...	It's all automatically published so that one post gets published every day.
WB: (laughter)	
MA: 우와! 이 치밀한 인간! 우와! 너 진짜 장난 아니다!	Wow! The attention to detail that she has! Wow! You're seriously good!
WB: 되게... 좋아요... 부수익이 많아요. 아... 그러니까 돈은 못 받는데, 뭐... [마사지를 받는다면, 머리를 한다던가...]	Really... good... it's really not profitable. Ah... so, I don't get any money, but, what... I've gotten massages, for my head...
MA: [머리... 마사지...]	Head... massage...

WA: [우와... 진짜 좋다.]	Wow... that's really good.
MA: 진짜 좋다. [아, 근데...]	That's really good. Ah, but...
WA: [아, 근데...] 왜 그런데에서 부수익으로 주는거야?	Ah, but... why don't you make a profit there?
WB: 그냥 내가 신청을 해요. [내가 신청을 하면은,]	I can just apply for it. If I apply for it,
WA: [아, 니가 받고싶은 거? (looking at smartphone)]	Ah, what you want to get?
WB: 내가 내 블로그에 사람들이 많이 오니까... [선택이 되요.]	I get a lot of people visiting my blog, so I have the choice.
WA: [응...(핸드폰을 계속 보고있다...)] MB 가 용돈을 많이 안줘가지고... 이런걸로... [똑똑하게 이렇게...]	Yeah... MB doesn't give you a lot of pocket money... this sort of thing... you're really clever like this...
MA: [참... 그러니까...] 남편과 상관없이... 여자가 알아서... [아... 너 좋은거 하는구나.]	True... Of course... Regardless of their husband... women just figure out... ah... So, you're doing something good.
MB: [그러니까 내가 잘했다는거지?]	I know, you said I did well for myself, didn't you?
MA: 어... 어... 어...	Yeah...
WA: (laughter)	
MA: 우와... 아, 니가 그러면 미용실 가서 나 파워블로거니까 [그냥 공짜로 해달라고 하는거야?]	Wow... Ah, so you go to a beauty salon and say you're a power blogger, and you just get everything for free?
MB: [아... 그렇게는 아니고...]	Ah... it's not like that...
WB: 미용실에서 먼저, [블로거들...] 여기... 누가 이것 좀 해줬으면 좋겠다고...	It's the beauty salon, they ask the bloggers... "if someone blogs about us, that would be great..."
MA: [먼저 연락이 와?]	They contact them first?
WB: 이렇게... 어디다가 글을 올려요. 그러면 신청을 해요... WB 신청... 이렇게 하면은, 그 다음에... 이제... 선택해요. [그, 막...] 100 개씩 달려요.	Like this... They send them everywhere. So then you have to apply for it... "WB can do it"... if you write something like that, later... now... they select you. It's like... 100 people that they send it too.
MB: [그 미용실에서 선택...]	The beauty salon chooses...
WB: 100 개씩 달리면, 그 미용실에서 그 중에서 몇명을 선택해요. 한 5 명을 뽑아요. [그래서,]	If they send it to 100 people, they might choose a few different people, maybe 5 or so. So,
MA: [아, 그러면] 파워블로거가 전문적으로 가는 사이트가 있어?	Ah, so then - Is there some power blogger site that you can go to?
WB: 네, 있어요.	Yes, there is.
MA: 우와. 진짜 대박이다 진짜!	Wow. That's really awesome, really!
WB: (laughter)	
MB: 저 진짜 이런 사람이랑 살 거라고 생각도 못했어요.	I really had no idea that I was living with someone like this.
MA: 아, 난 애가 이런 아이인줄도 몰랐어. 이제까지... 내가 애를 얼마나 오랫동안 봐 왔는데...	Ah, I had no idea she was this kind of person. Until now... It's been how long since I've known her though...
MB: 아, 근데...	Ah, but...
WB: (laughter) 2 달밖에 안되었어요. 얼마 안되었어요.	It hasn't even been two months yet. Hardly any time at all.
MB: 블로깅 한지 2 달밖에 안되었어요. 뭐... 금방 또 안할 수도 있는데, 일단은 뭐... 재밌게 하고 있으	It's only been two months since she started blogging. What... she might suddenly not do again though, for

니까...	now, what, she's just doing it for fun, so...
MA: 2 달만에 이렇게 된거야?!	You did all this in only two months?!
MB: 네...	Yes...
WB: 맨날해도 되요...	If you work on it every day...
MA: [진짜 너 은사가 있다.]	You really have charisma.
WA: [그래... 이런 거 다 은사야... (looking at smartphone)]	Sure... this stuff is all charisma.
MB: 방학 때 엄청 올라갔지, 방학 때...	During summer break, she put up lots of stuff, during summer break...
WB: 방학 때 할게 없잖아요.	You know, there's nothing to do during the break.
MA: 공부해! 임마! 약사인데!! 아, 나... 진짜... (laughter) 아... [어이 없어가지고...] (laughter)	Study, kid! You're a pharmacist! Ah, I... really... Ah... this is insane...
MB: (laughter)	
WB: [할 일이 없잖아...]	Well, there's nothing to do...
MA: 야! 약학 공부는... 해도 해도 끝이 없는 게 약사 공부인데...	Hey! Studying pharmacy... you never run out of things to study with pharmacy...
WB: 오빠... 방학 때 사회복지학 공부했어요?	Brother... did you study social welfare during your break?
MB: (laughter)	
WA: (laughter)	
MA: 야, 사회복지학은 공부 안해도 되는 학문이니 까 공부 안하고...	Hey, social welfare is not something that you have to study for, so I didn't study...
WB: 그런데 어딴... (laughter)	How's that possible?
WA: (looking at smartphone) (inaudible)	
MA: 우와! 진짜 내 주변에 파워블로거가 있을줄이야. 방문자 수가 높아? 좀 있긴 있나?	Wow! I really know someone who's a power blogger. Do you get a lot of visitors? I guess you must get a bit.
WB: 파워블로거는 [아니예요.]	I'm not a power blogger.
MB: [하루에...] 하루에... 몇 천에서 몇 만쯤 되지 않나?	In one day... In one day... don't you get something like a few 1,000 or 10,000 visitors?
WB: 예... (shaking head)	Hey...
MA: 흐억! 진짜?	Huh? Really?
MB: 총은 몇 시만 되고요... 한... 30~40 만 되고요... [한, 두달 만에...]	It's probably a total of a few 100,000... maybe 300-400,000... in about two months...
WB: [아니... 아... 그게...] 아, 그게 아니고, 처음에 제가 팽이 버섯으로 볶음면을 [만들었어요.]	No... Ah... That... Ah, that's not it, in the beginning I made fried noodles out of mushrooms.
WA: [헉! 진짜?]	Huh? Really?
WB: 그러니까 면은 [탄수화물 너무 위주고, 막 기름에 볶고 이러니까 칼로리가 너무 높잖아요?]	I know, noodles are full of carbs, and when you just fry them in oil, they're full of calories, right?
MA: [맞아... 맞아...]	That's right, right.
WB: 그 면을 팽이버섯으로 바꿨어요.	I swapped the noodles for mushrooms.
MA: 팽이버섯?	Mushrooms?
MB: [팽이버섯만 있어.. 볶았는데...]	Just mushrooms. Fried, though.
WB: [그 팽이버섯이 면이에요.]	The mushrooms are the noodles.
MA: 말이 안되지. 어떻게 면으로 만들어?	That's amazing. How do you make noodles with them?

WB: 아, 여기 있어요. 그렇게...팽이버섯이 면인거 예요. [그렇게 국수처럼 이렇게...]	Ah, here it is here. Like that... the mushrooms are the noodles. Just like noodle soup, like this...
MB: [그냥 먹을만 했어요.]	
WB: 거기다가, [막 대파랑 막 이것저것 양념해 서...]	Put them in there, with, like, leeks, just that sort of stuff, to give it flavor...
MA: [팽이버섯을 잘라? 그냥?]	You cut the mushrooms? Or just put them right in?
WB: 팽이버섯은 길잖아요. 흰색... 길잖아요... 그걸 로 이렇게... 면처럼 후룩후룩... [먹을 수 있죠...]	This kind of mushroom is really long, you know, the white ones. With those, like this, you can slurp them up just like noodles...
WA: [면이니까...]	Because they're noodles...
WB: 그게, [그게...네이버에...]	That's, that's... on Naver...
MB: [네이버에 치면 바로 나와.]	If you search for it on Naver, it comes right up.
WB: 그게 네이버에... 뒀어요. 그...[첫 화면에...이런 게도 만들 수 있다... 해서...]	It came up... on Naver. It... came up right on the main page... “make noodles like this”... like that...
MB: [그래서 그게 리플이 백 몇개씩 달리고...]	So there were hundreds of comments...
MA: 아, 그래서 그게 네이버 첫 화면에 뜬거야? 애 것이? 애가 한게?	Ah, so it came up on the Naver main page? Her stuff? That she made?
WB: 네... 그래서 그때 많이 왔었어요.	Yes... So there were a lot of visitors then.
MA: 아니, 그러면... 그건 누가 띄어준거야? 그 네 이버는?	I mean, then... who put it up there for you? At Naver?
WB: [몰라요... 네이버에서 그냥...] (looking at smartphone)	I don't know... just at Naver...
MB: [네이버에서 띄어주는...] 네이버에서 그... 그 것만 뽑는 사람들이 있어요. 그러니까... '어! 이 글 괜찮다.' 하면... (gesturing)	Putting it up on Naver... There's someone at Naver that picks stuff like that. So, if he/she's like “Oh! This post is okay.”...
WB: 나한테 연락도 안왔어! (gesturing) [그냥 갑자기...]	They didn't even contact me! Just, all of a sudden...
MA: [그냥 네이버에서 알아서 하는거라고?]	So you're saying they just did it themselves at Naver?
MB: 네이버 직원이 알아서 띄워요. [돌아다니다 가...]	Some Naver employee just put it up. While they were browsing around...
WB: [나도 몰랐어...]'갑자기 왜 이렇게 댓글이 많 이 달리지? 갑자기 왜 이렇게 이웃신청이 오지?' 했 는데...	I didn't even know... I was like “Why are all these comments coming up? Why am I getting all these friend requests?”...
WA: 대단하다. 진짜 맛있겠다. 근데...(looking at smartphone)	Impressive. It sounds really delicious. But...
WB: 그... 베트남 쌀국수 맛나요.	It... tastes like Vietnam pho soup.
WA: 근데 맛있을 것 같은데? (looking at smartphone)	That seems like it would be delicious, though.
MA: 아... 운이 좋았구나...	So you were lucky.
WA: 아, 근데 이거는 먹어야겠다.	Ah, I gotta try some of this, though.
WB: 그런가보다.	I guess so.
MA: 이게 딱! 뜨니까 사람들이 줄지어 오게 되는 거잖아?	So this went up and, wham, all these people started visiting right?
WB: [그쵸... 그때 친구들도 많이 오고...]	Sure... even my friends started visiting then...
WA: [맛있겠다... 쌀국수 맛나면...]	This sounds delicious... if it tastes like pho soup...

MB: 그것도 있고... 막... 그러니까... 연구를 많이 해... 저도 이제... 네이버 직원이니깐... 아, 이렇게 이렇게, 제목을 잘 정해 놓으면, 어쨌든 네이버 검색 상위에 노출이 되거든... 제목을 잘 정하면...	There's... also that, just, because of that, there's a lot of research being done. I work at Naver too, and like, if you have a really good title for your post, anyway, it'll come up on the top search results at Naver, if you have a really good title...
WA: 아...아...	Ah... Ah...
WB: 난 근데 그냥 팡이버섯 볶음면이라고만 했잖아.	I just wrote "fried mushroom noodles" though, you know.
MB: 아... 그땐 그랬고... 그 뒤로는... 뭐... 저도... 알게 된 지 얼마 안되었거든요... 애가 파워블로거인지 몰랐어... (laughter)	Ah... it was like that then... in the past... what... me too... I didn't know that much about it either... I didn't know she was a power blogger...
WB: 왜냐하면... [그냥 저 혼자서 한 거거든요...] (laughter)	It's because... I just did it all myself...
WA: [아니... 근데... 그러면...] 집에 팡이버섯이 있어... [그러면, '아 이걸 가지고 뭘 요리하면 좋을까?' 하면서 검색한게 팡이버섯이야.]	I mean... but... then... so you have mushrooms at your house... and you're like "Ah, what can I make with these?", and you just search online for mushrooms.
WB: [응응... (nodding)]	Yeah, yeah.
WA: 그러면 팡이버섯하면 여러가지 식상한 요리들이 많은데, 볶음면... 팡이버섯 볶음면 나오면은 확 바로 눈에 [들어오지.]	So, you type in mushrooms and all this boring stuff comes up, then fried noodles... fried mushroom noodles comes up, right in front of you.
WB: [(nodding) 아, 그렇구나]	Ah, that's interesting.
WA: 사람들 입장에서... 나도 네이버 레시피 보고하거든... [되게 맛있게... (inaudible)]	People come from the same situation... I look at Naver recipes a lot too... really deliciously...
MA: [흐헉, 우와! 어떻게! (looking at smartphone)] 우와 이거 진짜 신기하다. 팡이버섯을 면으로 한거야?	Whoa! Wow, how did you do this? Wow, this is really cool. You made noodles with mushrooms?
WB: 네!	Yes!
MA: 이야! 너 어떻게 이런 생각을 다 했냐?	Hey! How did you think this up all by yourself?
WA: 그러니까, 평범하지 않은거야.	I know! You're not an average person.
MA: 그렇지. 평범하지 않다. 농담이 아니고, 야!	Absolutely right. You're not average. This stuff is not a joke, hey!
WA: 이쪽으로 진로를 틀어.	Change your career.
MA: 응! 적성에 안맞는 약사하지 말고, 이거 해...	Yeah, your talent isn't with pharmacy, so don't study that and just do this."
WB: 아, 지금 생각중이에요. 이렇게 해서... 여러가지 약효랑 이렇게 배합 해가지고... (gesturing) 이렇게 해 가지고 [어떻게...]	Ah, I'm thinking about that these days. So, I can do this... take all kinds of medicinally beneficial stuff and mix it with this... if I do this, how...
MA: [약효?]	Medicinally beneficial?
WA: (laughter)	
MB: 약도 사실은 먹는거니까...	It's because pharmacy is really just about eating stuff...
WB: 건강기능 식품이 사실 많잖아요. 이렇게 이렇게 해 가지고... (gesturing) [이렇게 할 수 있지 않나?]	You know, there's all sorts of special health food out there. You can write about this and that... you can do that, right?
MB: [약도 사실은 먹는거니까...]	Even medicine is really also just stuff that you eat...
MA: [아, 아... 그치... 약도...]	Ah, ah... that's right... even medicine...
WB: 다 통합해서... [간호학과 약학과 먹는 거랑 다.] (gesturing)	It's all mixed together... Nursing, pharmacy, food, everything.

MB: [어쨌든, 먹는 거를 너무 좋아하고... 기본적으로... (pointing to WB)]	Anyway, she really likes food... fundamentally...
WA: [그래...먹는 거를 좋아해야지 할 수 있어...]	That's right... you have to love food to do this...
MA: [그치...먹는 거를...]	Sure... food...
MB: 먹는 거를 만드는 것도 넘 좋아하고...	She really likes making food too...
WA: 그러니까... 나는 별로... (laughter)	I know... For me, not so much...
MA: 야, 너 진짜 와이프, 대단한 와이프를 얻었구나! (looking at MB)	Hey, you really have yourself a real wife, and an impressive wife too!
WA: 그래...	That's right...
WB: (looking at MB) 부끄러운데 나? (laughter)	I'm kind of feeling shy now...
MB: (laughter)	
WA: 맛있겠다. WB 꺼 보고 나도 한번 해봐야지.	This sounds delicious. Now that I see WB's stuff, I want to try making some of this myself.
WB: 해봐요. 해봐요... 네... 맛있어요.	Try. Try... yes... it's delicious.
MB: 아, 그건 좀 정말 금방 했던 것 같애.	Ah, that looks like the stuff that hardly takes any time.
WA: 어?	Huh?
MB: 요리 시간 많이 안걸리고...	It doesn't take long to prepare...
WA: 어, [그래...]	Oh, sure...
MB: [원래 요리시간 오래 걸리면 힘들어.]	Usually it's hard when meals take a long time to prepare.
WA: 그래.	That's right.
MB: 좀 간단한 것 부터...	Start with the simpler stuff...
MA: (looking at smartphone) 진짜 간단한데?	This is really simple though.
WB: (nodding)	
MB: 맛있어. 먹을 만했어.	It's delicious. I recommend it.
WA: [(looking at WB, then MB) 베트남 쌀국수 국물 맛 나?]	It tastes like Vietnam pho soup?
WB: [(nodding)]	
MB: [그... 약간...] 이 팽이버섯이 쫄깃쫄깃하면서 툭툭 터지는 맛이 [있잖아.] (gesturing)	It's... a bit... these mushrooms are chewy and they kind pop in your mouth, you know.
WA: [맞아..]	Right.
WB: [응응 (nodding)]	Yeah, yeah.
MB: 그게 은근히 괜찮아.	It's quite alright.
WA: 여기에 면도 넣어도 맛있겠다.	Even if you put noodles in here it would be delicious.
WB: 응... 면도 넣어도 되죠... 근데, 둘은 이런거 먹지 말고, 면을 먹어요. 둘은 너무 말랐어.	Yeah... you can put noodles in too... but, don't put both in, just noodles. Both would dry the soup out.
WA: 아니야... 근데... 먹어도 살이 별로 안썰서...	I mean... but... you wouldn't gain much weight from eating this...
MA: 아니야..내가 당이 좀 높게 나와서...내가 당 관리를 좀 해야돼...	No... my blood sugar can go up, so I have to watch it...
WB: 진짜요? 몇 나왔는데요?	Really? How much?
MA: 건강하긴 한데...	I'm still healthy though...
WB: 몇?	How much?
MA: 한... 95 인가?	About... 95 or so?

WB: 아... 젊은 사람 치고는 좀 높네요...	Ah, kind of high for a young person...
MA: 응... (nodding)	Yeah...
MB: 혹시 내력이 있어요? (gesturing)	You don't have a family history, do you?
MA: 내력은 없는데, 현대인들은 조심하는게 좋다고 하더라고요...	No history, but they say that people nowadays have to be careful...
WB: 아, (looking at MB) 오빠는 몇 나왔지?	Ah, how much were you?
MB: 난 몰라... 나는 다 그냥 건강하긴 한데, 위가 안좋다라고 나왔어.	I don't know... I just know I'm totally healthy except for my stomach.
MA: 나도 임마 건강해! 수치는 건강수치 내에 들어와.	I'm healthy too, buddy! My figures are within a healthy range.
WB: 그치...	Sure...
MA: 근데, 이제...	But, these days...
WB: 경계?	The limit?
MA: [경계는 아니고...]	Not the limit...
MB: [경계는 아니고] 정상에서 이렇게 경계에 가까운 정상... (gesturing)	Not the limit, but the healthy range is still this close to the limit...
MA: 어... 뭐... 그런거지...	Oh... what... absolutely...