The refusal speech acts of two generations of Korean women: mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in interaction

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THE REFUSAL SPEECH ACTS OF TWO GENERATIONS OF KOREAN WOMEN:
MOTHER-IN-LAW AND DAUGHTER-IN-LAW IN INTERACTION

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to analyze and interpretate the refusal speech acts of two generations of Korean women: mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law. To be specific, it examines if daughters-in-law’s use of strategies were dependent on the age difference/hierarchies and to see if there was any difference in the type of strategies used by daughters-in-law depending on whether mothers-in-law have social power or not. The data were collected from three soap operas. Compared with previous data collection methods, such as discourse completion tests or role-plays, this data collection method has advantages for a pragmatics study.

The results indicated that age is a critical factor in choosing polite refusals in Korean language, but social distances far outweigh age differences among family members. Korean daughters-in-law usually followed indirect or implicit strategies to turn down their mothers-in-law’s request or suggestion. The mostly common strategy used by Korean women, both mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, was circumlocution with excuses, explanations, or reasons. Findings indicated that yo-form and honorific suffix are typically used when daughters-in-law are refusing to their mothers-in-law.

To see whether the daughter-in-law varies her refusals as a function of the partner being the mother-in-law, this study also compared interactions between the daughter and her mother-in-law and the daughter with her mother in the dramas. Daughters tend to shift downwards, from polite speech level to intimate or plain speech level, but rarely upwards in their interaction with their mothers. Finally, in daughter-in-law’s refusals, whether or not mothers-in-law have social power does not seem to have a strong effect on the daughters-in-law’s polite linguistic behavior,
and vice versa. Findings revealed that various contextual factors play a role in the selection of the polite form chosen and actual utterance is not always consistent with gender stereotypes.
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Most people feel uncomfortable if they give a direct “No” when someone asks them to do something or when refusing a favor. Why do we feel that way? It is because people do not want others to be embarrassed through such a direct rejection, or people are perhaps concerned about saving face, etc. Refusals occur in all languages. However, not all languages and cultures have the same frames of understanding, nor do they express rejections in the same way. It is because different communities have various ways of showing politeness, and the politeness value or the types of linguistic forms used vary across language and culture. One example of this is passivity such as hesitation or silence, a polite gesture among collectivist societies, such as Korea, where the speaker’s intentions are mostly hidden or only hinted at during interaction, but it could be misinterpreted by Westerners as a negative feature of social interactions. According to Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998), collectivistic cultures are more concerned with other-face maintenance than individualistic cultures are, which results in people in collectivist cultures employing a non-confrontational style of conflict management, such as avoidance. Indeed, many Koreans are unable to be forthright and assertive and tend to turn down requests indirectly without even using the word “No.” In the way of Confucianism as a cultural background for Koreans’ relationships, most Koreans typically seek to keep good relationships with others, avoid embarrassment, and maintain interpersonal and social harmony in daily communication. In

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1 Trubisky, Ting-Toomey, and Lin (1991, p. 67) explain that “Individualism refers to the tendency to be more concerned with one’s own needs, goals, and interests than with group-oriented concerns, whereas collectivism refers to the tendency to be more concerned with the group’s needs, goals, and interests than with individualistic-oriented interests. Cultures that are highly individualistic tend to emphasize the importance of the unique self or the ‘I’ identity, while low individualistic cultures (i.e., collectivistic cultures) tend to emphasize the importance of group membership or the ‘we’ identity.”
the Confucian society, a respect for the hierarchical order such as age is pressed in all features of daily life in Korea (K. Lee, 2012). For this reason, Koreans find it hard to decline especially when they have been asked by older people.

The primarily focus of this study is on the conversations between two generations of women, mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationships, in Korea to understand the interaction in their uniqueness as part of a particular context. The relationship between a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law in Korea is not only intimate but also hierarchical. Conflicts and tensions between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law exist in contemporary life. Therefore, this study focuses on the speech act of Korean women’s refusals to see how Korean women communicate with each other using less direct forms of refusal to be polite according to cultural norms. In the context of this study, a refusal is not just about turning down a request. It also includes many other situations that may require saying “No”: declining an offer, rejecting an invitation, refusing a suggestion, declining a request, or even disagreement.

Only a few studies have been done on Korean speech acts in general (Bell, 1998; Byon, 2004, 2005, 2006a; Guan, Park, & Lee, 2009; Hatfield & Hahn, 2011; H. Kim, 2008; H. E. Lee & Park, 2011; J. S. Lee, 2008) and even fewer have investigated refusals (J. Kwon, 2004; Lyuh, 1992). No work on mother/daughter-in-law relationships in particular has been done. Therefore, this study attempts to make some contributions to the understanding of this issue through investigating the refusal strategies used among two generations of Korean women as well as contribute to an understanding of how refusals are performed by linguistically and culturally diverse speakers. Since there is a lack of findings in the area of how cultural and gender diversity affects Korean communication, it is interesting to explore the topic and bring a new additional perspective to this field of research.
CHAPTER 2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Polite Speech Acts

Speech acts are one of the best examples in which politeness is embodied, if politeness is doing something pragmatically appropriate and socially acceptable (H.-M. Sohn, 2006). The underlying cultural norms of any given society determine the ways of performing polite speech acts. Thus, this section includes these cultural aspects.

2.1.1 Politeness as a Maxim for Communication

In any speech act, the conversants will need to follow many principles, one of which is “cooperation” (Abarghoui, 2012), and the Cooperative Principle (Grice, 1957) seems to be the basic framework of human speech behaviour. Grice (1957) enumerates the four maxims of conversation, which characterize the cooperative principle. These are guidelines that interlocutors follow when they are communicating with each other in the most effective ways possible. Grice's basic conversational principles can be condensed as follows. The Maxim of Quantity means that all participants of the conversation must give enough information but not more than is needed for their conversational contribution. The Quality Maxim suggests that speakers should say only what they believe to be true or what they have evidence for. According to the Maxim of Relation, utterances should be relevant to the context of the conversation. The Maxim of Manner means that conversations should be clear by avoiding obscure and ambiguous expressions and speaking briefly and in a systematic order (Grice, 1957, pp. 45-46). The speech act of refusing requires the above-mentioned maxims to be considered in order to convey a message effectively and maintain a harmonious conversation.
The concept of the Cooperative Principle has influenced subsequent research on linguistic politeness although Grice maxims do not deal with politeness. Many researchers who discuss politeness in language use have utilized the Cooperative Principle as a basis for their theory despite the fact that politeness is not an explicit part of the Cooperative Principle.

Lakoff was among the first to adopt Grice’s construct of Conversational Principles in an effort to explain politeness. Lakoff (1973) suggests two rules of Pragmatic Competence: be clear, which correspond to Grice’s Cooperative Principle and its maxims, and be polite, which consist of the sub-maxims “Don’t impose”, “Give options”, and “Make A feel good – be friendly.” She interprets that these two rules, be clear and be polite, are at times reinforcing, at other times in conflict. Furthermore, Lakoff (1973) claims that there are different levels of politeness types – ranging from formal/impersonal politeness (don’t impose) over informal politeness (give options) to intimate politeness (make A feel good). She refers to politeness as a device utilized in order to reduce friction in personal interaction (Lakoff, 1979).

Leech elaborates Grice’s concept of the Cooperative Principle by adding another principle into pragmatics: the Politeness Principle. Leech (1983) points out that the Cooperative Principle alone is not enough because different societies apply maxims differently, for instance by giving politeness a higher value in certain situations than cooperation. As a consequence, he considers the Politeness Principle as a fundamental complement to the Cooperative Principle because it can account for certain exceptions to the Cooperative Principle (Leech, 1983).

2.1.2 Brown and Levinson’s (1987) Positive and Negative Politeness

The notion of face wants and politeness are based on assumptions that certain communicative acts are innately Face-Threatening Acts (FTA); thus, an appropriate amount of politeness is necessary. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), there are two types of face,
and all speech acts can be a FTA either to positive face or to negative face. Positive face is related to the desire to be “appreciated or approved of” by other members of a society (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61). Negative face is understood as the want of an individual that his/her actions will not be “impeded” by others, such as freedom of action and freedom from imposition. (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61) For example, a hearer’s negative face is threatened by a speaker’s request, ordering, advising, threatening, warning; a hearer’s positive face is threatened by criticizing, complaining, disagreeing; accepting an offer, promising unwillingly, expressing thanks are acts types that threaten speaker’s negative face, while apologizing, accepting compliments, confessing threaten speaker’s positive face (Brown & Levinson, 1987, pp. 65-67).

The basic elements of linguistic politeness are namely positive and negative politeness strategy forms according to Brown and Levinson (1987). Positive politeness is in general “a way how to show a solidarity and express a sympathy towards the addressee.” (Fialová, 2010, p. 18). Brown and Levinson’s (1987) concept of linguistic positive politeness is focused on the hearer’s positive face. Brown and Levinson’s (1987) negative politeness strategies are redressive actions addressed towards the hearer’s negative face. Goody (1978) regards them as avoidance-based, because “negative politeness enables the speaker to maintain his/her face and avoid conflicts by distancing the speaker from the hearer, such as in refusal, disagreement, or critique” (Fialová, 2010, p. 19). According to Dontcheva-Navratilova, by using negative politeness strategies the speaker “gives the hearer an option to disagree or refuse and the speaker usually apologizes for imposing (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2005, p. 59).”

In addition, Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest five possible strategies to alleviate a FTA: (1) without redressive action, baldly, (2) by positive politeness; (3) by negative politeness
(both on record, redressed FTAs); (4) by going off record; and (5) by not doing the FTA if it is
maximally threatening.

Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that power, distance, and the degree of imposition are
the most prominent social variables determining the politeness of speech act performance.
Brown and Levinson (1987, pp. 74-78) assert that the speaker’s evaluation of a FTA is the sum
of the three factors, which in turn, contributes to his/her determination of the level of politeness.
Therefore, the amount of politeness can be measured through a computation of Weightiness (x) =
Distance (S,H) + Power (H,S) + Degree of imposition (x). Relative power may be given more
weight than distance in a more hierarchical society such as Korean and Japanese culture, whereas
relative distance may be more weighted in an egalitarian society such as American culture
(Woytak, 1998).

2.1.3 Ide’s Volition and Discernment Politeness

Ever since Brown and Levinson’s universal politeness theory (1987) was proposed, a
number of studies have been conducted to challenge its universality (Gu, 1990; Ide, 1989;
Matsumoto, 1988; Nwoye, 1992; Wierzbicka, 1985). In the sense of cultural relativity, Ide (1989)
divides linguistic politeness into two types of politeness: volition and discernment. Volitional
politeness refers to the aspect of politeness that allows the speaker a considerably more
autonomous choice from a relatively wider range of possibilities. Volitional politeness is
expressed through verbal strategies and reflects the speaker's intention. The purpose of the use of
volitional politeness is to save face. On the other hand, discernment politeness refers to the
obligatory and automatic observation of conventionally determined verbal choices. Discernment
politeness is the practice of polite behavior in accordance with the culturally determined
convention. In this sense, Blum-Kulka (1992, p. 274) calls this concept “convention” instead of
“discernment,” which is known as “wakimae” (Meier, 1992, p. 274) in Japanese. Discernment politeness is expressed through linguistic forms that are determined by conventional norms. Since an appropriate linguistic form is selected on the basis of social convention, discernment politeness is independent of the speaker's intention. Therefore, the use of discernment politeness is not to save face.

Cultural relativists such as Ide (1989) seem to criticize Brown and Levinson's (1987) notion of the universality of linguistic politeness in the sense that their notion of face and politeness can be considered to be applicable only in individualistic societies such as the United States, but are not applicable in collectivistic societies such as Korea, China, and Japan.

2.2 Refusals

Generally speaking, a refusal speech act is performed when a speaker responds negatively to an offer, request, invitation, etc. The refusal speech act is important because it is sensitive to social variables such as gender, age, level of education, power, and social distance (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Mills, 2003). Refusal is a complex speech act that requires not only negotiation and cooperative achievements, but also “face-saving maneuvers to accommodate the noncompliant nature of the act (Gass & Houck, 1999, p. 2)” Therefore, refusal is a face-threatening act to the person who makes a request because it contradicts the person’s expectations that their request or invitation will be accepted. Consequently, it threatens an initiator’s positive face, the positive self-image that people want to be valued by others.

The interlocutor must know when to utilize the appropriate form and its function depending on each group or their cultural values. The skills for refusing others' offers, requests, or invitations without hurting or offending their feelings are very important, so sending and receiving a message of “No” is a task that needs a special skill.
2.2.1 Refusals across Cultures

Cross-cultural studies on refusals represent that different cultures perform refusals differently. Their sensitivity to social variables, their degree of directness, and their performance in terms of the content of strategies (Eslami, 2010, p. 220) may be diverse. A select review of cross-cultural refusals, especially in non-western societies, is considered below.

As argued by Ide (1989), Hill, Ide, Ikuta, Kawasaki and Ogino (1986), and Matsumoto (1988), in their discussions of politeness in Japanese culture, and by Gu (1990) in reference to modern Chinese, negative politeness, addressing interactants’ territorial concerns for privacy, derives directly from the high value placed on individualism in Western culture. For Japanese society, by contrast, the overarching principle of social interaction has been conceptualized as social relativism, comprising concerns about belongingness, empathy, dependency, proper place occupancy and reciprocity (Lebra, 1976). Given the collective orientation of Japanese culture, negative face wants seem negligible and cannot account for politeness behavior (Kasper, 1990). The thesis of social relativism rather than individualism, both as social need and normative orientation (Blum-Kulka, 1990), is further supported by evidence from language socialization in Japan (Clancy, 1987) and Korea (Clancy, 1989).

The notion of face in Chinese culture is examined by Hu (Hu, 1944). Hu discerns two concepts of face “Mianzi (image)” and “Lian (face).” While American interaction is based on positive or negative face deriving from individual’s “face wants” (Brown & Levinson, 1987), Chinese refusal is rooted in maintaining the Chinese dual notions of “Mianzi (image)” and “Lian (face),” which are oriented towards a person’s public image (Mao, 1994), realized through reciprocal avoidance of face-to-face confrontation. “Lien” refers to the moral character publically attributed to an individual, while “mianzi” comprises an individual’s reputation.
achieved through success and ostentation. Neither of these face concepts appears to be compatible with negative face, nor does the notion of “limao (politeness)” as discussed by Gu (1990).

A study on refusal done by Kwon (2004) investigated refusals in English and Korean. By using a Discourse Completion Task (DCT), Kwon showed that 37 American English speakers in the USA and 40 Korean speakers in Korea used different formulaic expressions in refusals. The study proved that Korean speakers paused and apologized before refusing and hesitated more frequently. They used direct refusal formulas much less frequently than did English speakers. Korean speakers used reasons and tended to take a more mitigating approach in dealing with a higher status person as compared to other status types. However, English speakers often stated positive opinion and expressed gratitude for a proposed action. English speakers did not seem to be particularly sensitive to one status versus another in their refusals across the different situations.

Lyuh (1992) also investigates the differences between American and Koreans in the speech acts of refusal using a Discourse Completion Task. The results reveal that Koreans and Americans differ not only in the employment of semantic formulas but also in the content of refusal. Koreans utilize more semantic formulas than do Americans. Koreans also give excuses that are more vague than those given by Americans, and Korean refusals tend to be less direct and resort to excuses other than their own inclinations in refusing, while American refusals are more direct and give their own inclinations as reasons for the refusal. In addition, Lyuh (1992) insists that the choices of refusal strategies reflect the different characteristics of each culture. Korean refusals reflect the characteristics of collectivistic high-context culture, while American refusals reflect the characteristics of individualistic low-context culture. The common tendency
that emerges from the refusal patterns of both Koreans and Americans is that speech patterns vary according to the types of messages used to elicit responses rather than according to relative status or relative social distance.

Overall, by reviewing some of the related refusal studies, the cross-cultural studies on refusals reveal that different cultures may share similar refusal strategies, mitigation, the choice of directness, and the reasons for refusing are diverse across cultures. In addition, the frequency of refusal strategies in relation to the status of interlocutors has been reported to show cross-cultural variation (Martínez-Flor & Uso-Juan, 2010).

2.2.2 Refusal and Korean Concept of Face

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), the act of refusing is face-threatening because it will lead to a certain amount of face loss on both the refuser and the requester. Thus, the concept of “face” is closely associated with the speech act of refusal.

The Korean concept of face 체면 (che-myeon) is much more complex than the Western (Goffman, 1967) or Chinese (Ho, 1976; Hu, 1944) concept of “face.” Koreans think of “face” when they interact with others; when they appear in public; when they choose their associates; when they choose their occupation; that is, whenever they do something that might attract others’ attention (Lim, 1994) because manners and relationships with others are considered important. The pervasiveness of face in Koreans’ everyday lives (Lim & Choi, 1996) is reflected in the multiplicity of face-related notions. 체면 (che-myeon), 면목 (myeon-mok), 모양새 (mo-yang-sae), 얼굴 (eol-gul),-notch (not) are some of the commonly used words that refer to “face” (Lim & Choi, 1996). 얼굴 (eol-gul),-notch (not) are the appearance or countenance, where the eyes, nose, mouth are, so 얼굴 (eol-gul), notch (not) literally refer to the physical face. 얼굴(eol-gul) and-notch (not)
(not) are concrete, though 체면 (che-myeon) is abstract. 얼굴(eol-gul) and 낮 (not) are used when face is lost. “With what 얼굴 (eol-gul) /낮 (not) can I face him” “얼굴 (eol-gul) /낮(not) is shamed” “I can lift my 얼굴 (eol-gul) /낮(not)” (Lim & Choi, 1996, p. 129) are some examples of the expressions using얼굴 (eol-gul) 낮 (not). 면목 (myeon-mok) is used to abase the face of oneself or someone else and is employed when a person makes a shameful mistake. The expression “I have no myeon-mok to face you” implies that the speaker is too embarrassed or ashamed to face the addressee (Lim & Choi, 1996, p. 129). 모양새 (mo-yang-sae) literally means “appearance.” Therefore, 모양새 (mo-yang-sae) is not gained, saved, or lost; rather, it is good or bad, as in “mo-yang-sae is good” or “mo-yang-sae is bad” (Lim & Choi, 1996, p. 129). Koreans utilize the term 모양새 (mo-yang-sae) instead of 체면 (che-myeon) when they need to treat their act as if it were a separate object according to Lim and Choi (1996). Particularly when they judge that their face has been lost or promoted, the reaction can be emotional. Being emotional is not desirable in the Korean culture. Thus, despite a loss or gain of face, persons need to show composure by objectifying and neutralizing their face, that is by using the term 모양새 (mo-yang-sae) instead of 체면 (che-myeon) (Lim & Choi, 1996).

Lim and Choi (1996) identified two conceptions of 체면 (che-myeon), personalized and social 체면 (che-myeon). Personalized 체면 (che-myeon) is similar to the Western notion, in that it is for the individual and not for a member of a group. On the other hand, social 체면 (che-myeon) is related to the features of social harmony. Social harmony is highly valued in the Korean society and face-saving has been emphasized to tactically defend social harmony and avoid conflicts (D.-W. Sohn & Wall Jr, 1993).
Choi and Lee (2002, p. 333) describe 체면 (che-myeon) as a term of collective image or representation that one person values and shares with others. 체면 (che-myeon) is strongly associated with the person’s social status and position. As a social representation, 체면(che-myon) guides how a person should act in a certain social relations or status (Choi & Lee, 2002). Social status here refers to the hierarchical position that an individual socially takes (Jandt, 2004). Therefore, 체면 (che-myon) is always considered in relation with others. 체면 (che-myeon) is lost when people violate the norms suitable to their social status or when people behave inappropriately considering their social positions. Some examples of the expressions involving 체면 are “to damage 체면” “to lose 체면” “to salvage 체면” “to maintain 체면” and “to hoist 체면” (Lim & Choi, 1996, p. 129).

2.3 Korean Language and Gender

Gender is one of the essential factors to consider when studying types of refusals and refusal strategies since they are directly related to issues of politeness as reviewed. Since there is lack of research in the area of how Korean cultural and gender diversity affects the refusal speech act, it is interesting to explore the topic and bring a new additional perspective in this field of research. If gender may be differently expressed across cultures and through time, one cannot determine a uniform and universal characteristic of female behavior.

The purpose of this section is to see whether there will be any significant gender features in Korean language. Since the bulk of the research on gender differences and language has been carried out in English-speaking societies, it is necessary to know how the study of language and gender will apply to Korean women's speech. Relevant research on the Korean language relies on a very small body of data, and very little has been done from the new perspectives of
language and gender concerning Korean. Thus, this study attempts to make some contributions to the understanding of this issue.

2.3.1 Gender Issues in the Korean Language

Gender differences in Korean language can be described as a reflection of the social power relationship between men and women. Sohn (2006) observes that Korean women use more tag questions than men. He observes that a female uses tag questions to ask a male’s opinion or to confirm her ideas and rising tones in statements. While men learn to use an authoritative, falling tone, women continue to use the rising tone. As Lakoff (1975) noted, a tag question is a kind of polite statement, in that the tag gives the addressee leeway and does not compel agreement of belief on the addressee.

Bak (1983, p. 62) insists that women tend to show their respect or deference to men by speaking to them politely. A social stereotype in Korea is that females are tender and humble in the Confucian ethic, so women utilize more politeness strategies of yo-style, a polite level, than men do. It is also stated that women tend to elevate speech levels and tend to be hyper-respectful (Bak, 1983). This is one way of speaking politely in women’s speech behavior in Korean. However, the data seems dated, and little is yet known about why and to what extent women are generally more polite than men.

2.3.2 Four Speech Levels in Korean Language

To better understand Korean refusals, the four major speech levels in Korean language are worth mentioning. It is because Korean refusals strongly support the notion that factors like age, power, and distance are important to select an appropriate politeness strategy in Korean. Depending on the interlocutors’ age differences and/or social power of the participants in an interaction, speakers have to decide which of the speech levels to use.
In the Korean language, every verb should end with one proper speech level ending. Korean has a systemic set of six addressee honorific levels attached to a verb stem to indicate the varying degrees of politeness: plain, intimate, familiar, semi-formal, polite, and deferential (H.-M. Sohn, 2001; Song, 2005). The speech level that the adult speaker utilizes in deference to older adults is different from the one used with friends or siblings. The speech level used for speaking to children is also different from that used with adults (Song, 2005, p. 123).

The six speech levels can be placed on a continuum of deference (i.e. from less to more deference), as below.

```
Plain  intimate  familiar  semi-formal  polite  deferential
less deference                          more deference
```

Figure 1. Six speech levels

Two of the speech levels, familiar and semi-formal, have almost come into disuse (Song, 2005). Recently, most Korean speakers utilize only the deferential/plain levels and polite/intimate levels in natural conversation. These four speech levels can also be ranked in terms of formality. The plain and deferential levels are considered as formal, whereas the intimate and polite levels are regarded as informal. Therefore, the four major speech levels can be rearranged in terms of both deference and formality, as in Figure 2.
According to Kim (2009), the informal style is subdivided into two styles: polite and non-polite styles, and these two types are most popular and widely used by both male and female speakers in daily conversations; however, the deferential form is more frequently used by males or in very formal situations. Sohn (2001) also demonstrates that males use the deferential style while females use the informal style in the same discourse.

The plain speech style is used between friends whose age difference is not substantial which means approximately a one or two year age gap in Korean culture, or by older speakers (e.g. parents or teachers) to young children. If it were used to adults, it would be regarded as rude and offensive. Although it is used between peers of the same age, this speech level may no longer be appropriate once they have become middle-aged (Song, 2005). They will need to shift to a more courteous speech level, especially in the presence of others (Song, 2005). The intimate speech level is similar to the plain level in that it is used between close friends and siblings, and by young school children to adult family members. However, the husband and wife may
utilize the intimate level to each other in private, but the wife is required to adopt the polite or even deferential level in the presence of parents-in-law. It means that female speakers may not be able to utilize speech levels as unconstrainedly as their male counterparts. The polite speech level is the most commonly used speech level, but it is used when politeness or courtesy is called for, regardless of the social status of the hearer. This is the speech level used by female adults, when speaking to other adults. The polite speech level endings, which happen to end a sentence since Korean is a verb-final language, are built upon the intimate speech level endings with the addition of -yo. Finally, the deferential speech level is the highest form of deference to the hearer. This speech level is utilized to people with undoubted seniority. It is never used to someone with equal or inferior social status. Depending on the circumstances or topics, the speaker can shift between polite speech level and deferential speech level when talking to someone with higher social status (Song, 2005).

Table 1. Speech styles in Korean (simplified)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Formal</th>
<th>Informal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polite</td>
<td>-(su)pnota</td>
<td>-yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-polite</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-a/e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kim (2009) categorizes speech styles in Korean in terms of formality and politeness as shown in table 1. It indicates a simplified categorization of verb endings that can be added to verbs to indicate a deferential attitude toward the listener.

2.3.3 The Korean Honorifics

The Korean honorifics, rich in morphological variation, function to establish and maintain human relationships through their complicated elements such as, speech levels,
honorific suffix, vocatives, and euphemistic words. The Koreans utilize honorific suffixes to indicate respect toward an addressee who has a higher social status (Byon, 2006b). For example, if the subject of talk occupies a higher status the subject honorific morpheme “–시” is attached to the end of the verb root. In addition, they use humble person pronoun forms such as 저(jeo) first person singular and 저희(jeohui) first person plural to indicate humility. Moreover, Koreans use various speech levels to indicate politeness, intimacy, and various utterance-final discourse particles as directness level of their utterance (Byon, 2006b). Below are examples of how Korean young women utilize honorific speech to show their respect by replacing ordinary nouns and verbs with their honorific forms. The honorific vocative suffixes “-(ni)m” are also frequently used in daughters-in-law’s utterances. Examples are extracted from language data in appendix D (see chapter 3).

Ex5. Daughter-in-law: gyeolhon-jeon-e malssum deury-eot-janayo

Marriage-before-DAT wordH(LI)giveH(LI)-past-polite

I told you before the marriage.

Ex6. Daughter-in-law: jeo ajik agi naeul gyehoek eop-neundeyo

Humble first person pronoun yet baby bear plan no-INDpolite

I have yet to plan bearing children.

Ex8. Daughter-in-law: jeohui neomu an-maja-yo eomeoni

humble person pronoun very not-match-polite mother

We don’t match each other, Mother.


So reward-object enough give-HON-REL to be-polite

2 Example 4, 34, 35, 36, 37, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49, 50, 52, 55, 58, 59, 60, 65, 66, and 68.
So you need to pay her enough reward.

Ex37. Daughter-In-law: eomeoni-m geuman swise-yo

Mother-HON now take a rest-polite

Mother, take a rest now.

Example 5 contains the honorific lexical item for word, “malssum,” for give, “deurida,” and the polite verb ender “-yo.” A humble person pronoun form, “jeo” (I) first person singular in the example 6 and first person plural “jeohui” (we) in the example 8 are used to indicate humility. The polite verb ender “-yo” is used in both examples. In the example 14, honorific morpheme “-si” and polite verb ender “-yo” are used. The subject honorific morpheme “-si” is attached to the end of the verb root, “ju-” (give) in example 14, because the subject of the sentence occupies a higher status by age and family relationship than the speaker. In example 37, “-m” is attached to the end of the noun, “eomeoni” (mother) to show respect toward the addressee. Calling “eomeoni-m” (mother-polite) sounds much more polite than “eomeoni” (mother). The verb ending particle “-yo” has the function of making both an intimate and a polite sentence. Thus, it could be uttered by an adult whose status is lower than that of addressee.

As reviewed, the speech style of Korean women is often described as polite (Bak, 1983). However, gender differentiation in language is being minimized nowadays compared with the past generation (Shinn, 1990). The choice of speech style is determined by a speaker’s consideration of the multiple social aspects of context in addition to his or her beliefs and attitudes concerning language use. Also, the choice of speech style is influenced by a speaker’s psychological distance from the hearer, which is determined on the basis of social relations such as hearer’s age, power, status, and context of interaction. For instance, one of the most noticeable characteristics of Korean is its polite form, and the Korean polite forms range from simple polite
forms to extreme polite forms. One has to choose the appropriate forms according to the person to whom s/he is speaking.

To sum up, first of all, age as an important factor contributing to status among Koreans, plays an important role in determining the level of politeness that the speaker would use to an addressee. Thus, age differences, more specifically a generation gap, in language use patterns or language choice may matter more than gender for politeness.

The traditional Confucian values, which are pervasive among the Korean, are reflected not only in the way Koreans behave but also in the way the Korean language works (Song, 2005). According to Song (p. 11), one of the most important Confucian precepts of social relations is age. The younger one is always expected to respect the older one. People showing disrespect to the older are generally regarded as rude or having had a bad upbringing or lacking in proper education. In Korea, respect involves strict obedience and acceptance of authority. For instance, it is not uncommon for Koreans to avoid expressing strong disagreement or discontent to their elders, e.g. their parents or teachers. This is deeply entrenched in the etiquette in which Koreans address to older people. Because of Confucianism, the younger one has to speak polite when s/he talks to older people, but older people do not need to speak politely to younger people.

The social distance between interlocutors is another critical variable in making polite refusals. Brown and Levinson (1987) provide the normal definition of social distance as a social dimension of similarity/difference between speaker and hearer based on frequency of interaction. A more detailed definition that is posited by Thomas (1995, p. 128) is that “if you feel close to someone, because that person is related to you, or you know him or her well or are similar in terms of age, social class, occupation, sex, ethnicity etc., you feel less need to employ indirectness in, say, making a request than you would if you were making the same request of a
complete stranger.” According to Boxer (1993, p. 103), “social distance is a measure of the
closeness of intimacy between interlocutors. Social distance is one of the foremost factors that
determine the way in which interlocutors converse precisely, because it is an important
determinant of the degree of comfort or politeness/deference in a verbal exchange.” Therefore,
social distance for the purpose of this study is social familiarity, which affected the subjects in
the use of directness level of refusal strategies and/or the presence or absence of politeness
markers such as polite speech level markers.

In the Korean language, the solidarity-social distance dimension should be looked at in
the context in which interaction occurs. For example, college students are at the age where they
considerably expanding their knowledge and experience through new environments such as their
life on campus, off-campus part-time jobs, and a larger circle of acquaintances. They are more
open-mined and freer from social norms than professionals, something that should have an effect
on their linguistic behavior. The use of a variety of forms is a strategy to express a speaker’s
identity and relationship to others according to context.

In addition, interlocutors’ power difference influences the directness levels of speech act
expressions. The hearer’s seniority, which means age and social power in Korean culture, plays a
crucial role in the speaker’s choice of speech levels within a given speech situation.

How Korean women use their language and how they behave in conversational
interaction will be presented in chapter 4. The purpose of this review is to further investigate the
link between age-related divisions within women, speech and power, and the ways this can be
conceptualized on the basis of recent existing theories. The speech act of refusal can be regarded
as a pragmatic universal; however, what counts as polite behavior in response to refusals,
including values or norms attached to such behavior, is culture specific and language-specific
(Gu, 1990). Therefore, performing speech acts of refusal can vary from culture to culture, or even within the same speech community. Therefore, it is necessary to recognize how these cultural variabilities are reflected in the Korean women’s refusal performances.
CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In most cultures, including traditional Korean culture, the relations between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are tense. Mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law were chosen to examine since conflict seems to be greatest with parents-in-law of the same gender. However, they do not just have tension relationships characterized by the generational difference, but they are also intimate relationships, ironically. By focusing specifically on mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, my goal is to discover how their unique relationships changed with time and to examine how in-law relationships differ from those of biological family members when performing the speech acts of refusals.

3.1 Research Questions

**Research Question 1**: How do young Korean women refuse politely in conversation with intimate senior female interlocutors, their mothers-in-law?

**Research Question 2**: Do the traditional social structures and hierarchies support the assumption that Korean young women’s politeness and the usage of refusal strategies are strongly related to each other?

**Research Question 3**: Does the mother-in-law’s social power or status influence the usage of Korean young women’s polite refusal strategies? Conversely, does the daughter-in-law’s social power or status in relation to her mother-in-law affect the use of refusal strategies?

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3 “Problems between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are most common and can be quite intense. The mother-in-law is generally possessive of her son and critical of the daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law frequently perceives her mother-in-law’s helpfulness as controlling. Changing expectations in the relationship between these two further exacerbates their differences” (B.-L. C. Kim & Ryu, 1996, p. 353).
**Research Question 4:** How is honorific usage used by daughters-in-law different from daughters in denial of request?

### 3.2 Instruments

The most widely used methodology to research the performance of a refusal speech act is the Discourse Completion Test (DCT) which was first introduced by Blum-Kulka (1980). DCTs propose a situation presented by dialogue with a blank line where the participant is to put in what s/he believes to be an appropriate response (Tsai, 2007, p. 14). The advantage of this method is that it is possible to collect a large amount of data easily and quickly (Beebe & Cummings, 2006). Moreover, because of the consistency of the situation, responses can be simply compared along a number of dimensions such as age, gender, and ethnicity, etc.

However, there are some problematic aspects to the nature of the data produced by the DCT. The hypothetical nature of the situations in the DCT simplifies the intricacy of interactions in real conversation. In real face-to-face interactions, refusals are extremely complex speech acts because they involve long negotiations, hedging, verbal avoidance, and so on (Cummings, 2006; Houck & Gass, 2006). The DCT cannot provide data associated with the dynamics of a conversation (Kasper, 1990) such as request for repetition, turn taking, the number of turns, the emotional depth, and request for additional information, which are found in naturalistic data; correspondingly, these complexities could not be observed in and collected by the DCT methodology. In addition, what people might say in the hypothetical situation is not necessarily what they would actually say in real situations. As Golato (2003, p. 92) mentions, the DCT does not study “actual language use”; rather they rely on the research questions proposed. Therefore, DCT responses cannot represent the oral natural sequencing production of real face-to-face communication.
Considering the limitations of previous studies, the conversations in my data will be collected from Korean Soap Operas. McCarthy and Carter (1994, p. 118) explain the advantages of using television for language collect method: “Dramatized data such as plays and soap operas, not written with any intention of displaying or teaching language forms, are often excellent sources of data considered by consumers to be natural. Television is an alternative source of conversation that imitates natural conversation, without the performance errors and with far less overlapping speech.” Lakoff and Tannen (1984) insist that viewers perceive dramas as something they can identify with or something alike to their intuitive assumptions about natural conversation. Lee (2008, p. 2177) uses dialogues in TV drama to analyze verbal confrontations between husband and wife in Korea and their effect on relationships by emphasizing the fact that the TV dramas are recognized by viewers, and the success of TV dramas are often evaluated on the basis of how convincing characters are and how realistic conversations are. Yang (2008) also selected language data for analysis from five television series to reveal what kinds of refusal strategies are used by Chinese native speakers and to examine the refusal strategies and corresponding linguistic forms that can be employed to react to certain refusal situations. Lipson (1994) used an American television sitcom as an instrument for data collection to analyze and contrast apology strategies in American English and in Italian. The American sitcom was shown to ten Italian participants who had to rewrite the respective apology episode for an appropriate Italian context. The differences between the original script and the participants’ versions were compared. Fahey (2009) analyzed and compared the speech act of apologizing drawn from two soap operas to find if the selection of the preferred apology strategies in both sets of data. The author presented that soap opera, among the variety of media texts, offer representative talk appropriate to specific cultural contexts. McCarthy and McCarthy (1994) used examples from
Australian soap operas to show how favor-asking/granting follows the standard conversational format and to make ideal materials for language teaching. An advantage soap opera materials bring is that soap operas provide representative talk appropriate of specific cultural contexts in this case.

Collecting conversational data from television dramas is a suitable method of gathering unbiased data because the data is collected in the closest to naturally occurring data possible situation in that the researcher cannot control the participant’s speech nor can she predict when the desired speech act will occur. Compared with previous data collection methods, such as the DCT or role plays, this data collection method has four advantages. First of all, soap operas provide a wealth of conversations that include a variety of expressions spoken by native speakers of Korean. Soap operas present ongoing stories about a specific set of people at specific locations doing certain things in culture. The contextual factors of a refusal instance, such as place, time, and the roles of the participants, can be easily identified in a television series (Yang, 2008). Second, compared with the DCT that are short segments of hypothetical interactions, soap operas are able to capture the entire interaction process of refusal, such as turn-taking and negotiation features, which commonly occur in authentic discourse. Third, soap operas record both verbal and nonverbal behaviors of participants in interactions. This will facilitate the examination of non-verbal behaviors of refusal (Yang, 2008). Finally, it would be the most similar to the conversations that occur in natural settings. Although soap operas are scripted, they have the goal of simulating the details of actual interactions among characters. According to Lee (2008, p. 2176), “TV dramas do not present spontaneous interaction since they are produced based on carefully crafted scripts. Nonetheless, they do reflect what may be perceived as realistic representations of verbal behaviors in a given speech community.” Korean soap operas can be a
good source to collect language use data, which is not biased against the research because the
speakers in the dramas are not talking for the object of research on Korean refusals. In this sense,
soap opera is an appropriate data collection method for purpose of this study.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that calling soap operas dialogue natural is not exactly
accurate. TV drama dialogues differ from natural conversation since the language of television is
artificially scripted to be performed for a specific audience. Also, due to the fact that refusal
speech acts appear to be context dependent, they are very difficult to record as natural talk in
soap operas.

One of the disadvantages of the use of this method is the gathering of relevant data of the
speech act of refusal. This method takes a tremendous amount of time to gain sufficient data of
the speech act of refusal and contextual information such as knowledge of the characters’
personalities, their relationships and roles, which is necessary for research. Another disadvantage
is the difficulty in controlling data such as total amount of utterances between the participants, or
characters’ rate of refusals.

3.3 Data Collection

The spoken corpus for my study came from the three soap operas: “지고는 못살아, Can’t Lose,” (C) which aired on MBC (Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation) from August 24, 2011 to October 20, 2011, “찬란한 유산, Shining Inheritance,” (S) which aired on SBS (Seoul Broadcasting System) from April 25, 2009 to July 26, 2009, and “사랑을 믿어요, I Believe in Love,”(I) which aired on KBS (Korean Broadcasting System) from January 1, 2011 to July 31, 2011, henceforth referred to as C, S, and I respectively. All three are for family audiences. The
total number of hours that I examined from these three dramas was 108: 18 hours from C, 28 hours
from S, and 62 hours from I. These dramas were selected because the scenes in them represent common daily activities; meeting friends, getting married, cleaning a house, cooking, eating together at the dining table, taking care of kids, gardening, etc. From these shows, I isolated 69 conversations which included many different refusal situations. A total of 12 refusals were found in the C data, a total of 19 refusals in the S data, and a total of 38 refusals were founded in the I data. There are six mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law relationships in the data. Some of these transcriptions are available on the internet (www.koreandrama.com), so I used the transcriptions; however, I also prepared my own since not all episodes are available and since the available transcriptions do not contain the detail necessary for a linguistic investigation.

3.4 Data Analysis

The approach that seems most purposeful in relation to the research questions of this study is Discourse Analysis (DA). DA is defined differently by researchers within various fields of research, such as linguistics, anthropology, social science studies, cultural studies etc. A common trait across disciplines is that scientists who use DA are interested in looking at language at a higher level than the sentence. According to Johnstone (2008), DA has moved the description of structure up a level, looking at actual stretches of connected text or transcript and providing descriptions of the structure of paragraphs, stories, and conversations. DA attempts to study the organization of language above the sentence or above the clause, and therefore to study larger linguistic units, such as conversational exchanges or written texts. It follows that DA is also concerned with language-in-use; that is, how individuals accomplish personal, social, and political projects through language (Schiffrin, Tannen, & Hamilton, 2001), and in particular with interaction or dialogue between speakers. Thus, DA is a way of understanding social interactions.
The goal of DA is to understand how people use language to create and enact identities and activities.

In order to identify the type of refusal strategies made by native speakers of Korean women, the discourse data—that is, the obtained data from the soaps operas by the researcher—were first codified and then each refusal was classified based on a modified version of Beebe et al’s (1990) taxonomy of refusal strategies (see appendix C). Finally, I elaborated my own coding and analyzed and interpreted. DA is the study of utterances, but it is a level beyond how a sentence is formed and pronounced.
CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

4.1 Types of Korean Women’s Refusals in the Data Sample

The way people refuse is greatly influenced by the speakers’ personal relationship, including social status and power relationship, age, gender of the participants, and the content of the requests, etc. It is important to recognize which types and strategies of refusals are likely to be utilized in what kind of situation. Therefore, this chapter seeks to describe the kinds of situations in which each type and strategy of refusal is likely to be used and when and to whom these strategies are utilized, and examples will be provided.

Sixteen strategies were observed in the collected data for the speech acts of Korean female’s refusal: use apologetic expressions, use incomplete sentence/hesitation, use circumlocution, silence, proposing alternatives, avoid the subject, ask for more information, statement of principle, say “No”, show refusal by action, ignore, repetition of part of request, criticism, sarcasm, say “Do it yourself”, and shout. When speech acts of refusal to requests were recognized in conversations, then the conversation was captured to examine strategies and types of Korean refusals. Finally, these strategies were ranked from most polite to least polite based on my intuition as a native speaker of Korean. Each example belongs to each different type but can be duplicated. The results are shown below, and all data provided in appendix D.
Table 2. Example number of using daughters-in-law’s refusal speech act

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refusal speech Act</th>
<th>Example number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>High degree of politeness</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use apologetic expressions</td>
<td>8, 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use incomplete sentence/hesitation</td>
<td>4, 48, 55, 65, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use circumlocution (excuse, reason, explanation)</td>
<td>3, 5, 6, 9, 27, 29, 30, 32, 35, 44, 47, 53, 58, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silence</td>
<td>33, 65, 66, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposing alternatives</td>
<td>2, 43, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change the subject</td>
<td>1, 4, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Say “No”</td>
<td>40, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignore</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition of part of request</td>
<td>17, 26, 27, 32, 35, 46, 49, 65, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low degree of politeness</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criticism</td>
<td>31, 44, 45, 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shout</td>
<td>31, 44, 50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3. Example number of using mothers-in-law’s refusal speech act

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refusal speech Act</th>
<th>Example number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High degree of politeness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use circumlocution (excuse, reason, explanation)</td>
<td>10, 14, 23, 25, 28, 36, 38, 57, 59, 64, 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silence</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposing alternatives</td>
<td>7, 15, 23, 54, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change the subject</td>
<td>22, 25, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ask for more information</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement of principle</td>
<td>18, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Say “No”</td>
<td>20, 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Show refusal by action</td>
<td>12, 14, 19, 60, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignore</td>
<td>41, 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition of part of request</td>
<td>11, 12, 14, 19, 20, 21, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criticism</td>
<td>14, 19, 21, 28, 37, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarcasm</td>
<td>16, 23, 37, 52, 60, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Say “Do it yourself”</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shout</td>
<td>25, 28, 37, 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low degree of politeness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2 Analysis of Results

This section analyzes strategies of refusals to see if age, social status, social distance, content of the request, and anything else influences what strategies are used. Age is one of the primary factors that influences Korean behavior and decision making in interpersonal relations. Social distance and social status are parameters that act on polite refusal strategies as Abarghoui (2012) mentioned. Content of requests also matters in determining how to refuse.

4.2.1 Use of Circumlocution

The most commonly used structure of Korean refusal expressions is a circumlocution in my data. Both mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law often utilize circumlocution to avoid hurting others’ feeling and to be polite. Circumlocution is a way of saying something by using more words than are necessary; however, the refuser is talking about something pertinent to the content of the request. The examples are shown below with English translation.

Ex. 35. The family had three generations living together. One of the daughter-in-law's daughters meets a lot of men, and the mother-in-law worries about it. The request is performed indirectly.

01 Mother-in-law (M): 너 재 어떡할래? What will you do with her?

02 Daughter-in-law (D): 아니 어떻게 하긴요? What do you mean?

03 M: 너 재 시집 안보낼거야? Why don’t you give your daughter away in marriage?

04 D: 아이참, 나이가 몇 살인데 벌써 시집을 보내요. My goodness! She’s not old enough to get married yet.
05 M: 그럼 맨날 저리고 연애질하고 있는 꼴을 보고있을거야? Are you going to let her meet men all the time then?

06 D: 아고 어머님도 젊은 애들인데 어떡해요.아유--결혼하면 뭐 좋을게 있는데요. Mother, she’s young. What’s so great about being married anyway? Daughters are no good once they get married. They just make their moms work or come home like you know who. They’re just trouble. I prefer to see my daughter dating than live as a married woman.

The mother-in-law wants her granddaughter to get married soon, as indicated in her quotations at 01, 03 and 05, but in lines 04 and 06, the daughter-in-law states a negative attitude with lengthy explanation. Her excuse is an implied explanation for refusing the request behind the questions of line 01, 03, and 05. The daughter-in-law’s way of expression mitigates the force of disagreement. Thus, this kind of circumlocution is considered a polite way to express one’s meaning in order to save the face of both sides and avoid embarrassment.

Ex. 25. The daughter-in-law is a woman enervated by slothful habits. She expects that she will inherit a valuable estate from her mother-in-law, who is the CEO, but the mother-in-law knows that her daughter-in-law will paint the town red, not taking care of her business. The mother-in-law doesn't want to ruin her daughter-in-law's life because of her rich legacy, so the mother-in-
law tries to give Eunseong her legacy instead. Eunseong is a woman who works in the mother-in-law’s company, and she is a faithful, sincere, and earnest person. She has no family. Thus, the mother-in-law feels pity for her and chooses Eunseong to manage her own company. The daughter-in-law is upset because Eunseong, who is just an employee of her mother-in-law’s company, will get her mother-in-law’s legacy. The mother-in-law tries to enlighten her daughter-in-law about her belief of building of her own company.

01 M: 니들 예전에 내가 떡 팔아서 니들 애비 키웠던거 알고있지? You all know that I raised your father by selling rice cake in the past, right?

02 Granddaughter: 그거 모르는 사람이 누가있어? Who doesn’t know about it?

03 M: 그때 가게 앞에서 떡 팔게 해준 국밥집 아주머니가 안도와줬으면 민석이하고 나한겨울에 얼어죽지 않으면 굶어죽었다. 그분이 민석이 업고 국밥집에서 일하게 해주고. But then… if it wasn’t for the help of a soup-rice stall woman who let me sell the rice cake in front of her shop. Minseok and I would had frozen to death or died from hunger. That person let me carry Minseok on my back while helping out in her soup-rice stall.

04 D: 어머니, 그 얘기 다 아는 얘기니까요. Mother, that story… everyone knows that story already.

05 M: 나중에 그 아주머니 세상 떠나면서 국밥집 물려줘서 그걸로 기반 잡은거야.

4 Minseok is the daughter-in-law’s husband, but he passed away.
나도 피 한방울 안섞인 남 도움으로 발판 마련했어. 누군가의 도움이 다른 사람
인생을 바꿀 수도 있다는걸 그때 깨달았다. Later, before that woman died, she left
me the soup-rice stall. That was when I started building my basic steps. I too had
accepted help from someone without having any blood relations, and built up my
foundations. A person’s help is able to change another person’s life. I learned that
from that time.

06 D: 어머니 지금 손자, 손녀보다 다른 사람들이 더 중요하단 말씀이세요? Mother,
are you saying that other people are more important than your grandchildren?

07 Granddaughter: 말도 안돼. This can’t be.

08 M: 이 결정하기까지 나는 줄 아냐? 내가 니들을 얼마나 사랑했는데!

니들이 별따서 국을 끌어달라면, 그럼 수도 있게 사랑했어. 어린 나이에 애비 잃은
환이 정이 가슴아리게 가업고 또 가엾어서…나처럼 젊은 나이에 남편 잃은 애미
촉은해서. Then is it easy for me to make such a decision? Do you know how much I

love you all? Even if you want me to pluck the stars and cook soup for you, I’ll do it.

I love you all to that extent. Hwan and Jeong⁵ who had lost their father at such a
young age, it really made my heart break because you are so helpless. And I pity the
daughter-in-law who was widowed when she was just as young as me.

09 D: 그런데 왜 은성이한테 주시냐구요. Then why do you still leave your inheritance

⁵ Hwan and Jung are the mother-in-law’s grandchildren.
to Eunseong?

10 M: 나는 은성이한테 돈을 물려주는데 아냐. 내 뜻을 물려주는 거지. 회사 세운 내 마음 그대로 진성식품을 운영해 줄 사람으로 은성일 선택한 거야. I’m not letting Eunseong inherit my money. I’m letting her inherit my ideals. I’m handling down my original ideals for founding the company. To continue managing JinSung Enterprise, I have chosen Eunseong for it.

11 D: 은성이라고 안 팔아 먹는다는 보장이 어딨어요? Even if it’s Eunseong, how are you going to guarantee that she won’t sell it all off?

12 M: 절대 그러지 않을거라고 믿고 눈감을 수 있다 은성이라면. For sure, I believe that there won’t be such a thing. I can vouch for it if it’s Eunseong.

13 D: 이렇게 안해요 어머니! You can’t do it mother!

14 M: 내 돈이야. 너들꺼처럼 달려들지마. 내가 번 돈 누구한테 주든 너들이 무슨 상관이야? 나 돈벌때 네들 중에 누구 하나라도 도와준 적이야? It’s my money!

Don’t you dare say that it’s yours! Whoever I let spend my money is none of your business. Who among you came out to help me when I was earning the money?

The mother-in-law implies her rejection of the request for her legacy in line 01, 03, 05, 08, and 10 expecting her daughter-in-law and granddaughter will understand and interpret it as a rejection. As they repeat this exchange, the mother-in-law’s expression of refusal becomes clearer in order to make the daughter-in-law aware of the mother-in-law’s rejection. As a
consequence, it seems that the mother-in-law shows her negative attitude gradually. However, her daughter-in-law and granddaughter persist in their request in lines 06, 07, 09, 11, and 13. Finally, the mother-in-law utilizes a direct refusal strategy with a reasonable explanation in line 14. Her statement is quite strong; however, she says it several times previously in a very polite manner utilizing circumlocution in lines 01, 03, 05, 08, and 10. Her lengthy words explain the reason for the rejection.

4.2.2 Silence

Koreans often do not directly say “No” when they are asked something. Instead, they mostly do not complete their utterances when they want to refuse. Nonverbal refusal, such as silence or hesitation, is an indirect way to decline. Koreans frequently do not complete their utterances when they want to refuse politely.

Ex. 65. The mother-in-law lives together with her first daughter-in-law, Migyeong, but her first daughter-in-law's been off colour for a few months. So, the mother-in-law decides to let her free from household affairs. The mother-in-law finally visits her second daughter-in-law Hwayeong's house.

01 M: 내가 윤화영이 너한테 물어볼 말이 있는데. I want to ask you something,

Hwayeong.

02 D: 뭐 원데요, 어머니? What is it, mother?

03 M: 너네 집에 방 있냐? Do you have a spare room here?

04 D: 네? 방이요? Excuse me? A room?
05M: 그래 방. Yes, a room.

06 D: (2sec)

07 M: 이제 나 남은 여생을 여기서 살까하는데 네 생각은 어때? I’d like to spend my remaining years here. What do you think?

08 D: 네? Excuse me?

09 M: 오래 안살아. 윤희애 애 낳아서 애 학교가는거 까지만 보고 내가 죽을꺼니까 뭐 길어봤자 한 10년 이쪽 저쪽이야. 이젠 니가 나 좀 모셔라. 네 형님은 나 40년 모셨는데 그까짓 10년정도야 식은 죽 먹기 아니야. I won’t be around long just until Yunhui\(^6\) has a child. I’ll pass away once that child goes to school. It will be at best, ten years. I want you to take care of me now. Migyeong did it for 40 years. Ten years will be a breeze.

10 D: 제…제가 어머니를요? You want me to do that?

11 M: 그래. Yes.

12 D: 저기… But … (3 sec)

Ex. 13. The mother-in-law went out for a few days.

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\(^6\) Yunhui is Hwayeong’s daughter-in-law.
01 D: 어머니, 정말 어디 계시다 오신거예요? Mother, you really have been to some places, right?

02 M: 왜? 저승길 가던거면 내처 가지 왜 돌아왔냐고? Why? She shouldn’t be coming back once gone. How come she’s back again, right?

03 D: 아이 어머닌? 무슨 정리하실 게 있으셨으면서요? Mother, it’s not what I mean! Didn’t you say have something to sort out?

04 M: 있었지. I do.

05 D: 그래서 정리 다 하셨어요? Then has it been sorted out?

06 M: 했어. I’ve done it.

07 D: 아니 대체 그게 뭐길래 집안을 발칵 뒤흔들어 놓고 안들어 오셨어요? What exactly is it? Didn’t even come back after all these troubles at home.

08 M: Silence (6 sec)

In the example 65, the mother-in-law makes her daughter-in-law feel burdened by the request to answer her questions. The daughter-in-law utilizes silence to avoid making a particular point she does not want to. She responds to the request in line 02 by saying “Excuse me?” and she remains silent in line 12 to show that she does not wish to accept her mother-in-law’s request. In this case, silence can be used in social encounters to avoid embarrassment or imposition. In example 13, the mother-in-law utilizes silence in line 08 to show unwillingness to answer her daughter-in-law’s questions. Silence is not simply an absence of utterance but forms a part of
communication as significant as speech (Jaworski, 1997; Tannen & Saville-Troike, 1985).

According to Dredge (1983, p. 28), sometimes being polite means remaining silent in Korean culture. Using silence mitigates the impact of the utterance; therefore, silence is used as a marked face-saving strategy in Korean society.

### 4.2.3 Use of an Incomplete Sentence

Ex. 48. The second daughter-in-law cannot eat the food her mother-in-law prepares because the dish tastes bad.

01 M: 아니 근데 우리 둘째 머느리 샌프란시스코께서는 표정이 왜 그래? My second daughter-in-law, San Francisco? Why do you look so down?

02 The second daughter-in-law (D2): 아...저...글쎄요 어머니...저한텐... Well...I don’t know, Mother. To me...

03 M: 왜 맛이 없어? Why? You don’t like it?

04 D2: 아니 저...제 입맛에는 좀... Well... it’s...

05 M: 그럼 먹지마. 애! 재 앞에 것은 치워라. Don’t eat then. (She talks to her first daughter-In-law) Remove her plate.

06 The first daughter-in-law(D1): 어머니 왜 그러세요. 동서 밥 먹어, 김치찌게 있는데 그거하고 밥 줄까? Mother, please. (Then she talks to the second daughter-in-law) Have

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7The mother-in-law calls her by her nickname, “San Francisco.” Calling her nickname indicates intimacy between the interlocutors (S. Kwon & Hu, 2009)
some rice. We have Kimchi stew. Do you want that with rice?

07 D2: 아이고, 아니예요. 그냥 이걸로 먹지요. Oh no, I’ll just eat this.

The second daughter-in-law uses incomplete sentences with hedges in line 02 and 04 because she hesitates to say what she is thinking because what she wants to say would hurt the feelings of her mother-in-law. The mother-in-law clearly understands her daughter-in-law’s speech in 02 as a refusal to eat the food offered by her subsequent utterances in 03 and 05. Saying incomplete sentences is to avoid saying something unpleasant to others such as “This dish is not really to my liking,” or “This food tastes bad.” In other words, the refuser tries to mitigate the face-threat in order to show politeness to the requester. Koreans consider refusals to be more polite when they leave sentences open-ended rather than to finish them. The daughter-in-law omits the part where the expression of impossibility is expected, that is, at the end of the sentence in line 04. The use of incomplete sentences sometimes functions to show the speakers’ politeness, and it softens the sentences. Using incomplete sentences, therefore, is one way to show a speaker’s politeness to the addressee because it leaves out the part that would state the refuser’s distaste or unwillingness.

4.2.4 Using Apologetic Expressions

Cultural differences affect the types of refusals. Excuses are commonly given as part of Korean refusals, but also Koreans might start with an expression of apology and then give an excuse when interacting with someone of higher status. When refusers are lower in status than the requester, they often make their apology/expression of regret first and then give an excuse.
Ex. 8. The daughter-in-law and her husband want a divorce, and her mother-in-law knows this fact. The daughter-in-law starts by saying “I'm sorry, mother” because of a serious discussion about a divorce.

01 Daughter-in-law(D): 죄송해요 어머니 I’m sorry mother.

02 Mother-in-law(M): 너는 대체 왜 이혼하겠는거니? What on earth were you thinking asking for a divorce?

03 D: 저희 너무 안맞아요, 어머니. We two don’t match each other, Mother.

04 M: 머느리, 나 좀 봐죠. 나 우리 아들 이혼하는거 못봐. Daughter-in-law…help me this once. I can’t see my son going through a divorce.

05 D: 죄송합니다. I apologize.

Ex. 55. The daughter-in-law is a drama writer. Her parents-in-law does not want her daughter-in-law to work, but the daughter-in-law keeps working. One day, she visited her parents-in-law’s place, but she got an emergency call from her boss.

01 D: 아버님 어머님. Father and mother.

02 M: 왜? What is it?

03 D: 저 죄송하지만, 제가 지금 서울에 좀 올라가봐야 해요. I’m sorry, but I need to go back to Seoul right now.

04 M: 뭐라? What?

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8 Seoul is the place where she works.
05 Father-in-law: 원 일인데? What’s the matter?

06 D: 네, 방송국에서 급한 연락이 와서요. I got an urgent call from the TV studio.

07 Father-in-law:뭐야? What?

08 D: 죄송합니다. 아버님 어머님. I’m apologizing, father and mother.

09 M: 네 지금 제 정신이가? 작간가 원가 때려치라 하니까는 뭐? 이 밤에 방송일 때문에 올라가야 된다고? 니 나한테 그리 혼나고서도 뭐? 참말로 나가 쫓겨나고 싶어서 환장을 했구만. Are you out of your mind? I told you to give up being a writer. You have to go back in the middle of the night for work? After I scolded you like that? You’re really eager to get thrown out, aren’t you?

10 D: 저기 어머니, 그게 사정이 지금… Mother, the situation right now…

In most cases, the refuser cannot clearly state her refusals when she has been asked by older people. The daughter-in-law gave an evasive answer in line 10 in example 55. That is one of the communication strategies that is used by most Koreans as a way of demonstrating their politeness and modesty. When a refuser has to somehow reject the request, then young Korean women utilize this apology strategy. When the younger woman was asked to consider a request in line 04 from her mother-in-law in example 8, and the content of the request was somewhat serious, then the daughter-in-law could turn down the request politely using this strategy. Instead of mentioning impossibility or unwillingness, the refuser utilizes apologetic expressions to soften
her refusal. Mothers-in-law do not take this strategy at all in my data. It seems that relative age influences the choice of this type of refusal.

4.2.5 Say “No”

Korean women do refuse directly in certain situations. Refusers who are younger than the requesters utilize this strategy, which is not common, and two examples occurred in the collected data.

Ex. 40. The mother-in-law offers some rice cake to her daughter-in-law.

01 M: 야, 이거 먹어볼래? Hey, do you want some?

02 D: 아니 됐어요. 금방 아침 먹었는데요. No, we just had breakfast.

03 M: 너는 배부르면 안 먹냐? 나는 배부러도 먹을거 있으면 먹는데. 어구 혼자 유난히 우아한척 해라. You don’t eat when you’re full? I still eat when there’s food around. Don’t act so elegant.

04 D: 주세요, 어머니 그럼. (Smile) Then, I’ll have some, mother.

The daughter-in-law gives a reason, which is she is full, after saying “No” in line 02, and it seems to make her answers more acceptable because the explanation for the rejection is less a direct attack on the requester's face than a direct rejection with no explanation. However, she feels guilty because of refusing her mother-in-law’s asking in line 02, so she finally accepts her request in line 04 aimed at minimizing the risk of causing offence. In this case, the refuser’
response in saying “No” are accompanied by reasons, which probably helped to validate their reason for saying “No.”

Ex. 68. The mother, her son Hyeongu, and her daughter-in-law were supposed to meet in the airport to go on a trip, but the son suddenly left the airport without telling his mother. Thus, the mother asks her daughter-in-law.

01M: 형우 진짜 간거나? Did Hyeongu really leave?

02D: 네. Yes.

03M: 아니 도대체 무슨 일이라 부부여행까지 포기해? What’s happened that he’s even giving up his vacation?

04D: 제 말이요. That’s what I’m saying.

05M: 진짜 답 없는 애네. 엄마 무시해, 마누라 팽개쳐. I can’t figure him out. He ignores his mother, shoves his wife to the side.

06D: 제가 같이 살기 얼마나 힘들겠어요. Do you know how hard it is for me to live with him?

07M: 나도 너한테 개 넘겨서 편하긴해. After offloading him to you, I have been more at ease.

08D: 어머님한테 다시 넘기면 안될까요? Can’t I give him back to you?

09M: 말이 너무 심하다 그래도 내 아들인데. Your words are too harsh. He’s still my
son.

10D: (4 sec)

11M: 니가 교육을 잘 시켰어봐, 이런 일 없지. If you had trained him well, this wouldn’t have happened.

12D: 이게 전부다 제 잘못이란 말씀이세요. Are you saying this is all my fault?

13M: 아니 뭐 꼬 그런건 아니지만. 여행은 어떠할꺼야? Well, that’s not exactly what I mean. What are you going to do about the trip?

14D: 갈 상황이 아니잖아요, 어머니. We are not really in a situation to leave, mother.

15M: 이게 뭐니? 돈버려 시간버려. 최기사 차돌려. 차돌려. 머느리랑 아들이랑 같이 여행 못갔다. 뭐야? What is this? A waste of money and time. (She suddenly calls to driver Choe and talks to him) Driver Choe, turn back the car. Turn back the car. I wasn’t able to go on the trip with my son and daughter-in-law, okay?

16D: (walk away)

17M: 같이 타고가? Let’s go together.

18D: 아니, 그냥 갈게요. (She answers feebly) No, I’ll leave by myself.

The daughter-in-law is upset because her husband ruined the trip. Also, the mother-in-law is not feeling well. Thus, in this case, the mother-in-law doesn’t ask the same question again
even if repeating a question at least twice is a pragmatic strategy\(^9\) often used by Koreans (See chapter 5). Both interlocutors are upset in this case, so to leave is considered an appropriate and a desired behavior for conflict avoidance in social interactions.

4.2.6 Ignore

Ex. 41.

01 D: 아니 어머니, 아니 어떻게 된거냐니까요? Mother, what happened?

02 M: 있어. \((With \ an \ annoyed \ look)\ \textbf{It’s nothing.}\)

03 D: 아니 뭐가 있어요? Tell me, what happened?

04 M: 아이고 너 나중에 알아도 돼. 나도 아주 정신사나워 죽겠다. 너 좀 저리 가 있어. \textit{I’ll tell you later. I’m really on edge right now. Go over there.}

Because of the influence of Confucian ideology\(^{10}\) in Korea, an older person is treated respectfully, so the younger one has to talk politely to the older one; on the other hand, the older person talks casually to the younger and takes a stronger stand on opinions expressed to that younger person. When the daughter-in-law asks “What happened?” in line 01 and 03 twice, her

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\(^9\) In honorific rituals, one must decline several times before accepting a request, and the one who extends it must repeat it several times. The requester asks, expecting to be refused, and the refuser refuses, expecting to be asked again (Park, 1990).

\(^{10}\) Confucianism emphasizes the relationship between parents and children. “The parent–child relationship is a sort of reciprocal relationship in which children serve their parents with filial piety and submission, and parents treat their children with kindness and care.” (Yan & Sorenson, 2004, p. 6)
mother-in-law completely ignores her request. The daughter-in-law repeats her request without receiving an answer. Such a mother-in-law’s self-centered conduct may not be acceptable or proper among Korean younger people. However, the mother-in-law, who is the oldest person in the family, has power to behave that way. It might be assumed that an older person will decline a younger person directly since she is in a position of greater authority than the younger one.

Ex. 6. The mother-in-law wants her daughter-in-law to have a baby, but the daughter-in-law doesn’t want to have a baby yet.

01M: 그래서 난ragon 형우 동포는 언제 만들어줄까야? When are you going to make our dong-po11?

02D: 네? What?

03M: 자식이 애를 낳으면 동포래. 이민가면 해외동포. When kids have a baby, s/he is called dong-po. Just like those Koreans who live overseas, dong-po.

04D: 저 아직 아기낳을 계획없는데요. I have yet plans to bear children.

05M: 너 나이가 몇 인데, 한 살이라도 어릴 때 애기를 낳아야지. 변변한건 달랑 직업

하나고, 성격이 좋아 집안이 백자지근해. 나이가 어려. 키는 쓸데없이 커가지고…

But think of your age. You should have a baby as soon as possible! The only thing you can brag about yourself is that you are a lawyer, that’s all. Is your personality good, not even young enough. Occupation: Lawyer Family: Don’t know, no way to find out, Age:

Might be able to have a kid, not young. Tall stature. What is the use?

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11 Dong-po is Korean which means overseas Koreans.
06D: 동해물과 백두산이 마르고 닳도록 하나님께 보호하사 우리나라 만세 (Doesn’t listen to mother-in-law and sing underneath Korea National Anthems) Until the East Sea’s waves are dry, and Mt. Baekdu worn away, God watch o’er our land forever! Our country forever!

07M: 그래서 내가 니네 둘 결혼한다 그럴 때 드러눕기까지 한거야. That’s why when I heard you were getting married, I was not so happy about it.

08D: 무궁화 삼천리 화려강산 대한사람 대한으로 길이 보전하세. (Keeping singing underneath) Rose of Sharon, thousand miles of range and river land! Guarded by her people, ever may Korea stand!

There is only one conversation with this type of refusal, ignore, in which the refuser is younger than the requester; however, in that case the younger one sings a song inwardly not to hear her mother-in-law’s nagging. The mother-in-law thinks her daughter-in-law listens carefully, but the younger one does not listen to the older one. It is definitely considered impolite behavior in Korea. However, the mother-in-law does not even know what her daughter-in-law is thinking. Therefore, I call it as an avoidance refusal strategy.

4.2.7 Criticism

Ex. 45. Three generations live together. The daughter-in-law does not like her daughter-in-law’s brusque way of talking and a gloomy personality. The mother-in-law, on the other hand, understands her granddaughter-in-law (hereafter GD)’s own nature. The mother-in-law believes that everyone has a different family upbringing, and her GD didn’t have a good life. So, she is
not chatty or bright. However, the daughter-in-law believes her daughter-in-law can change her own personality if she can practice.

01D: 어머 애, 동훈이는 늦는데? Is Donghun\textsuperscript{12} going to be late?

02GD: 글쎄요. 전화 안 해 봤는데…I don’t know. I didn’t call him.

03D: 어머 애, 너는 어떻게 여자가 살가운데가 없니? Why not? How can you be so insensitive?

04GD: 예? Excuse me?

05D: 저녁 무렵이 되면은 남자가 전화를 하든 안하든 여자가 이렇게 전화를 해가지고, 여보 오늘은 어떻게 일찍 들어오실 수 있으세요? 제가 된장찌개 끓여놨는데요 일찍 들어오세요. 뭐 이래야 되는거 아니니? If he doesn’t call in the evening, you should call him up. “Honey, will you be able to come home early tonight? I made bean paste stew for you. Come home early.” Shouldn’t you be like that?

06M: 애가 그걸 어떻게 안한다고 그걸 애한테 시키냐? How does she know? Don’t make her do that.

07D: 왜 안되요 연습하면 되는걸, 어머님은… Why not? All she has to do is practice,

\begin{flushright}
mother.
\end{flushright}

\textsuperscript{12} He is the granddaughter-in-law’s husband.
08M: 무슨 연습을 해. 그게 연습해서 되는 일이야? Practice? How will that help?

09D: 아이고, 왜 안돼요? Ugh, why not?

The mother-in-law shielded her granddaughter-in-law from her daughter-in-law’s scolding in 06. The daughter-in-law criticizes her mother-in-law’s saying in line 07 and 09 to refuse her mother-in-law. It can cause embarrassment or humiliation for the listener.

Ex. 28. Eunseong is an employee of her mother-in-law’s company. The mother-in-law tries to give Eunseong her inheritance instead of her daughter-in-law and her granddaughter.

01 M: 너희들 여전하구나. 은성이 아니면 너희들한테 유산줄까봐? You guys are still the same. If it wasn’t for Eunseong, do you think I would have given you the inheritance?

02 Granddaughter: 은성이 한테 안주면 누구한테 줄까? Besides Eunseong, who else would you have given it to?

03 M: 내 생전에 다 증정해버리고 갈 수도 있어. 이것야. 감히 너희들이 원데 내 유언장 짓으라 마라야. 사람이 한번 피토하던 말을 했으면은 가슴 속엔 못 새겨도 컷구멍에는 새겨야지. I could donate it before I die. Who are you guys? Why should I rip up the will? You sure talk big. Even if you can’t remember something, you should still listen.

04 D: 은성이한테 갈까봐 그런거죠. I’m just afraid it will go to Eunseong.

05 M: 너희들이 나보다 회사를 더 걱정해? 자격없는 사람한테는 절대로 물려줄
 회사 아니니까 걱정 붙들어매. Are you guys more worried about the company than I am? I will not give the company to someone who is not capable of running it. Don’t worry about it.

The refusal speech acts are more explicit when the refuser’s social status is higher than the requester. In another words, the daughter-in-law with lower social status is tending to avoid being rude and cheeky to the mother-in-law with higher status and show more respect to her. The mother-in-law has her own business and social power, but the daughter-in-law stays at home and does housework. The mother-in-law utilizes a strategy of criticism to her daughter-in-law and granddaughter in line 03 in example 28. It is considered as an attack of the addressees’ face. In spoken discourses, parents and older speakers may wield more authority and thus power over the younger speakers.

4.2.8 Show Refusal by Action

There is no daughter-in-law’s usage of this strategy at all, but it can be easily found in daughters’ response. There are seven conversations which include refusal by action in my data. This may be because daughters can be frank enough to make their own refusal with their mother because of their intimate relationship. Below is an example of a conversation between mother and daughter.

Ex. 17. Eunjae's father is in a hospital, but Eunjae never goes to the hospital to see him. Her mother comes to her daughter's house and asks Eunjae to go see her father.
01 M: 은재야 제발 병원 좀 가자. 시간이 많으면 이런 재촉 안해. 상황이 많이 안좋아. Eunjae, please go to the hospital. If you have time, then I won’t be like this urging you. His condition is extremely bad.

02 D: 상관 없어. Why does it matter to me?

03 M: 그렇게 싸가지 없이 말하지 말고. Don’t talk in such a crazy way.

04 D: 나 원래 싸가지 없잖아. I was originally that crazy.

05 M: 남이 부탁해도 이리진 않겠다. Is he a stranger to you?

06 D: 남이 아니니까 더 용서가 안되는거야. It’s because he’s not a stranger. So, I especially can’t forgive him.

07 M: 그래 보지마. 평생 후회하는 말든 상관 안할게. Okay, then don’t go see him.

You’ll regret it your whole life. I also don’t care.

08 D: 엄마, 자꾸 이렇게면 집에 가. 귀찮아 죽겠어, 진짜. Mom, if you’re like that then go home. It’s really frustrating. *(Then she enters her room.)*

Even though the daughter does not completely ignore the request, she leaves the place where they talked at the same time. Therefore, her action ignores the request. The refuser is younger than the requester in this case, so she has to be polite. However, the daughter has a close relationship with her mother. Therefore, the speakers’ personal relationship seems to have influenced the choice of refusal type more than the age or social power in this case.
Ex. 63. The mother-In-law is in poor health, but she is scrubbing the floor.

01D: 어머니, 그만 두세요. 제가 할게요. Mother, stop! I’ll do it.

02M: 아니 됐어. 낌 언른 가서 란이나 좀 씻겨. It’s okay. You go and wash Rani.\(^{13}\)

03D: 어 이러시다가 아버님 보시면 또 역정내세요. Father will get so mad if he sees you doing this.

04M: 낼둬. 야유 나쁜 양반, 사람을 완전 환자치급을 한다니까 …날더러 누워 지내라는 거야 뭐야. Forget him, that terrible man. He treats me like a patient. Does he want me to just lie down or what?

05D: 어머니. Mother.

06M: 얼른 가 얼른, 얼른. (She keeps scrubbing) Go, just go.

In the above example, the mother-in-law shows refusal by action in line 06. This sort of imperative expression with showing refusal by action is often observed when the refuser has a higher status than the requester. Using such a direct imperative may decrease the possibility of misunderstandings between interlocutors, but the FTA can be performed.

\(^{13}\) Rani is the daughter-in-law’s daughter.
4.2.9 Ask for more Information

Asking for more information can be another way to refuse indirectly. There is no daughter-in-law’s usage of this strategy because this type of refusal is a direct attack on the mother-in-law’s positive face.

Ex. 21. The daughter-in-law and the granddaughter ask her mother-in-law for money.

01 M: 돈을 더 달라고? You want me to give you more money?

02 D: 아니 아니, 아니에요 어머니. 제가 쓸 돈을 달라는게 절대 아니구요. No, no, Mother! We are not talking about the allowance you give us.

03 Granddaughter: 비상금 its emergency cash.

04 M: 비상금? Emergency cash?

05 D: 사람이 주머니가 텅 비어서 다니려니까 어찌나 속이 허한지 아침 점심 저녁 세끼 꼬박 챙겨먹어도 항상 배가 고파요. I feel empty inside when my wallet is empty too. After eating breakfast, lunch and dinner, I always still feel hungry.

06 Granddaughter: 난 이제 세끼로 안돼 할머니.밤마다 한끼 더 안먹으면 잠이 안와.

Three meals aren’t enough now. If I don’t eat one more meal at night, I can’t fall asleep.

07 M: 지갑에 돈만 두득하면 밥 안먹어도 배부를거 같냐? So if your wallet is filled with money, you will feel full even without eating?

08 D: 사람 꼴이 우스워져서 그래요. 버스타러 나가기도 혹시 차비 잃어버렸나 막
확인하게 되구요. I’m afraid people will laugh at us. When I’m taking the bus, I’ll keep checking around worrying whether I’ve dropped any of my money.

09 Granddaughter: 친구들 만나서도 진짜 초라해. 있으면서 안내는 거 하고, 엄있으면서 못내는 거 하고, 하늘땅이야. It’s really embarrassing when I meet my friends too. There’s really a world of difference having money and not having any money!

10 D: 돈이 그런거야. 그렇게 무서운거야. Money is like that. It has always been a scary thing.

11 M: 그러니까요 어머니. 비상금 좀 채워갖고 다니게 해 주세요. 절대 안쓰고 지갑에 넣어만 다닐게요. That’s why, Mother. Please let us have some emergency cash. We will never use it, and we’ll just have it in our wallets.

12 Granddaughter: 나도. Me too.

13 M: 얼마나? How much?

14 D: 100 만원만 주세요. Please give me 1000 dollars.

15 Granddaughter; 나도. Me too.

16 D: 니가 왜 100 만원이 필요해? 정이한테는요 50 만원만 주셔도 돼요. Why would you need 1000 dollars? You can just give Jeong 500 dollars.

17 Granddaughter: 엄마 Mom!
18 M: 월급 받아서 너희들 돈으로 지갑 꽉꽉 채워갖고 다녀. Fill up your wallets with money from your pay when it comes.

19 D: 어머니~~ Mother...

20 M: 우리 직원들 하루 만원도 못쓰는 사람 수두룩이야. 명단 갖다주랴? Many of our workers don’t spend 10 dollars in a day. Do I need to hand you a list of their names?

21 D: 어머니 정말 너무하세요. 민석씨 저 어머니한테 이런 대접 받는거 알면 무덤에서 벌떡 일어나요. Mother, you are really too much! If Minseok knew about how you are mistreating me now, he would definitely rise from his grave!

The daughter-in-law does not state any reason for her request in line 02. Thus, the mother-in-law asks for more information about it in line 04. By asking, the mother-in-law may be measuring the importance of the request, or possibly trying to find a good reason to turn down. In line 10, she indicates that she has interest in lending money and wants to have more information about the request, so she asks in line 13. In the situation, the mother-in-law is training a prodigal in her daughter-in-law because her daughter-in-law spends money like water. When the mother-in-law listens to the amount of money, she realizes that that moment is not a good time to give her daughter-in-law money. That is why she refuses her daughter-in-law’s request in line 18 and 20 with providing a reason.

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14 Minseok is her husband.
The daughter-in-law’s request is somewhat unusual. She hesitates to ask money from her mother-in-law because of her own face 체면(che-myon), and asking for money from her mother-in-law is considered unacceptable behavior in Korea. However, she behaves inappropriately considering her social status, so her 체면(che-myeon) will be lost when she is asking for money.

4.2.10 Avoid/Change the Subject

This strategy serves to prevent confrontation. In this response, the refuser is talking about something irrelevant to the content of the request. Topic switch is one clear example of a politeness strategy to soften the impact of disagreement and thereby minimize the possibility for conflict.

Ex. 4. The mother-in-law has booked a spa appointment for her daughter-in-law’s wedding anniversary, but the daughter-in-law does not like to go there with her mother-in-law.

01 D: 여길 어머님이랑 같이 가자구요? This is the place where mother wanted to go together?

02 M: 왜 싫으니? Why? Don’t you like it?

03 D: 딱히 좋지만은 않은데… It’s not like that…

04 M: 니 얼굴 좀 봐. 하도 푸석거려서 구겨진 종이갔. 티켓 미리 끊어왔으니까 빨리 들어와. Look at your own face. It’s swollen and your complexion lacks vitality.

I’ve already booked. Let’s go quickly.
05 D: 어머니, 그냥 형우씨랑 식사나 하시죠? Mother, let’s just eat a meal together with Hyeongu.

06 M: 이거 끝나고 하면 돼. Let’s do that after we’re done here.

The daughter-in-law’s saying, let’s have a meal together in line 05, is to try to change the topic. What she means is that she wants to go to dinner with her husband instead of getting a massage now. However, the mother-in-law says in line 06, she will accept her daughter-in-law’s request after finishing the massage. Thus, her daughter-in-law’s request is naturally declined.

Ex. 22. The mother-in-law enters the home, and her daughter-in-law looks at her mother-in-law’s hand.

01 D: 다녀오셨어요? You’re back?

02 M: 오냐. Oh, yes.

03 D: 근데 어머니, 쇼핑하셨어요? Mother, you went shopping?

04 M: 이거 은성이 방에 좀 올려놔라. Put this in Eunseong’s room.

05 D: 네? what?

06 M: 옷걸이에 걸어주면 더 좋고. It’d be best if you can hang them up.

07 D: 어머니가 직접 은성이 옷을 사신거예요? Mother you bought clothes personally for Eunseong?
08 M: 성철이 아직 안들어왔나? Isn’t Seongcheol back yet?

09 D: 아..저.. 더는 못참아. (She talks to herself.) I can stand this anymore.

The mother-in-law breaks into the conversation and tries to avoid the topic quickly in line 08. By changing the subject, she shows her unwillingness to continue the conversation. She is too tired to talk with her daughter-in-law because she knows that her daughter-in-law will be nagging too much about the clothes she bought. In addition, the mother-in-law, who is the head of the family in this case and the one who makes decisions on important matters concerning the family, has power to take control of the topic of the conversation. In line 09, the daughter-in-law cannot be angry in front of her mother-in-law because it would be considered as a direct attack of her mother-in-law’s face.

4.2.11 Proposing Alternatives

Ex. 54. The mother-in-law cleans the living room, and her daughter-in-law sees it.


02 M: 다했어. 너는 그냥 주방에 가서 똑정리나 좀 해. 맥주컵 몇 개 있을거야. I’m already finished here. Why don’t you go to the kitchen? You’ll see a few glasses there.

Ex. 23. The daughter-in-law and Hwan and Jeong, the mother-in-law’s grandchildren, have no concept of the value of money and waste lots of money. They do not work at all. The mother-in-
law wants to discipline her children, so she says that anyone should move out from her house if the person does not want to work at all. The mother-in-law has her own business and lets her daughter-in-law work at her factory to teach that making money is hard work. The daughter-in-law is very upset about it and complaining now.

01 D: 희이 정이야 아직 젊은 애들이지만, 어머니 제 나이가 몇인줄 아세요? 저 공장에서 얼마나 눈칫밥인줄 아세요? 제가 뭔 일을 해봤어요. 이놈에 무는 쌈어도 쌈어도 이쁘게 안씀어지고 김치는 버무리다 보면 정말 김치에 코박고 죽게 심게 힘들어요. 어머니, 저 언제까지 공장 일 시키실 거에요? Even though Hwan and Jeong are still young, mother, do you know how old I am? Do you know how much I suffer at the factory? What do you think I can do? I can’t even cut radishes properly, and when I’m making Kimchi, I really feel so tired that I want to jump into the Kimchi jar and die! Mother, when are you going to let me work at the factory till?

02 M: 일 안하고 놀고먹는건 더이상 안된다고 했던 내 말 언제 또 씹어삼켰어? I said you can move out from here if you don’t want to do work. Have you forgotten?

03 D: 그럼 제요, 제가 물려받은 대구땅 팔아서 장사할래요. Ok. Then I want to sell my land in Daegu to do some business.

04 M: 그래라. 니 재산 니가 팔아 쓰다는데 내가 원레냐? Ok. You sell your land, what

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15 Kimchi is a pickled cabbage mixed with a variety of seasoning, and it is one of Korean traditional foods.

16 Daegu is a place name.
can I do about it?

05 D: 저 정말 해요? Are you for real?

06 M: 해! 대신 내가 먹여주고 재워줄 필요도 없지? Do it! But in that case I won’t have to house and feed you anymore right?

07 D: 네? What?

08 M: 그렇잖아? 너 재산팔아 나맘대로 장사한다면서 왜 내 집에서 먹고자고는 해? 집도 독립해 낀가! Isn’t that so? You do what you want with your property, sell it and do business, why do you still have to live and eat in my house? Move from this house out too.

09 D: 어머니. (She is intimidated by her) mother…

10 M: 그렇게 공장일이 힘들면 집에서 살림하든가? If you find factory work so tough, stay at home and do the housework.

11 D: 살림이요? Housework?

12 M: 우리 도우미 내보내고 집안살림 맡으면, 도우미 주던 월급주마. 선택해! 공장갈래, 살림할래? After dismissing the domestic help, if you can handle the household chores, I’ll pay you according to how much the domestic help gets. Choose. Go to the factory or do housework?

13 D: 살림이요! Housework!
In example 54, instead of replying to her daughter-in-law, the mother-in-law proposes another option in line 02. In example 23, the mother-in-law proposes another option in line 10 and 12 instead of directly saying something unpleasant to her daughter-in-law such as, “No, keep doing the factory work.” A refuser provides a substitute to a requester thereby helping to improve the relationship and to reduce the FTAs.

Ex. 43. The daughter-in-law Migyeong Yi wants to go to her daughter Yeonhui's place to feed her grandsons, but the mother-in-law does not seem happy with it.

01 D: 어머 아참, 어머님 영희네도 밥 주러 가야돼요. 장봐서 밥 해줄려면 지금 나가야되는데… Mother, I have to go to Yeonghui’s to feed the boys. I have to go to grocery shopping now.

02 M: 얘, 그러면 여기 밥은 어떻게. What about our meal then?

03 D: 그런 어머님이 알아서 하세요. 아니면요 란이 엄마보고 일찍 들어와서 하라고 하시든지요. You take care of that, mother. Or ask Hyejin\textsuperscript{17} to come home early.

04 M: 야! 이미경 니 딸 밥 해준다고 나한테 이래도 되는거야? 야 이미경! Hey, Migyeong Yi! You’re going to dump me for your daughter?

This type of refusal is to give information about somebody else who might be able to do the favor instead of the refuser. The daughter-in-law retorts angrily in line 03, producing a FTA. The older woman may feel dependent and powerless because she does not make decisions on

\textsuperscript{17} Hyejin is her daughter-in-law.
family matters but follows the younger one’s decisions. However, in this case, the daughter-in-
law has been with her mother-in-law for 40 years. Because of their intimate trusting relationship,
the daughter-in-law can be frank enough to make her own refusal. In another words, social
distance, the level of intimacy between interlocutors, affects behavior of daughter-in-law.
Therefore, it is acceptable to suggest that people can be very frank and straightforward if they
know each other quite well in Korea.

4.2.12 Statement of Principle

Ex. 24. Hwan is the daughter-in-law’s son. Hwan and Seungmi are a couple. Seungmi’s mom,
Seonghui, sent the mother-in-law a bed as a present.

01 M: 환이가 승미하고 결혼을 했어, 결혼을 약속했어? 내가 왜 승미엄마한테
침대를 받아? Hwan and Seungmi aren’t married, and we have no promise between us to
marry them. Why would I accept a bed from Seungmi’s mom?

02 D: 어머니 환이랑 승미 사이 물려서 이러세요? Mother! Are you acting like this
because you don’t know about Hwan and Seungmi’s relationship?

03 M: 젊은 애들 사일 내가 어떻게 알아? 끼어봤어야 알아. How would I know about
the relationship between the young ones? They know best themselves.

04 D: 어머니 승미 마음에 안드세요? Mother, do you dislike Seungmi?

05 M: 안들게 뭐있어? 공부 잘하고, 참하고, 야무지고, 며느리 삼고 싶다고 너한테
답도록 들었는데. What’s there to dislike? You are always saying she’s good in her
studies, has a good personality, good temper that you want her as your daughter-in-law.

06 D: 그런데 왜 침대는 안 받아요? Exactly, so why would you refuse the bed?

07 M: 선물이 너무 과하면 선물이 아니라 뇌물이야. If a gift is too big, it is no longer a gift. It becomes a debt.

08 D: 어머니 성희 그정도 재력돼요. 그 홀로침대 매장도 심심해서 하는거지 돈 벌려고 하는거 아니예요. Mother, Seonghui can afford that! She opened her furniture store because she was bored, not because she wanted to earn money!

It seems that the speakers take a long negotiation with each other. The daughter-in-law seems to misunderstand her mother-in-law’s answer. The daughter-in-law thinks that her mother-in-law does not like Seungmi, and that is why she does not accept Seungmi’s mother's gift. The daughter-in-law is interested in getting to know the intention behind the answer in line 01 and 03. However, the mother-in-law has no choice but to refuse in line 07 because she acts according to her belief. The mother-in-law mitigates the FTAs by telling her daughter-in-law what she believes; if a gift is too big, it is no longer a gift, instead of explicitly saying that she does not want to have Seonghui’s gift. Refusing by saying her belief is less egocentric than “I do not want to.” In such a case, the refuser may reject the request with less hesitation and sense of guilt.

4.2.13 Repetition of Part of Request

Instead of saying no directly, the speakers of a conversation may have to take several turns until the initiator recognizes the refuser’s intention of rejection. In Korea, repetition as a
part of refusal with a social superior is discouraged because it is considered impolite to talk back constantly under the influence of Confucian culture.

Ex. 32. The daughter-in-law's daughter-in-law got her doctorate degree. The mother-in-law wants her granddaughter-in-law to get a job soon, but the daughter-in-law wants her daughter-in-law to have a second baby instead of getting a job.

01 M: 근데 재는 박사돼서 뭐에 쓰냐? 빨리 취직을 해야지. What’s the point in being a doctor unless she finds a job soon?

02 D: 아이 무슨 취직을 해요 어머님은? Why should she get a job?

03 M: 아니 그런, 저런 고학력자를 실업자로 만들어? 재 박사야 박사! You want her to be unemployed then? She’s a doctor!

04 D: 아유 박사고 뭐고간에 앞으로 저 남편하고 새끼하고 살아야죠. I don’t care whether she is a doctor or not. I want her to take care of her husband and daughter.

05 M: 그래도 공부가 아깝acula? Study is a waste of time then.

06 D: 아유 저는 빨리 들때나 가졌으면 좋겠어요. 란이한테도 동생이 있어야 하구요. 제 입장에서는 어서 빨리 아들도 하나 있어야하구요. I hope she has a second baby soon. Rani should have a sibling. I think it would be better if they have a son quickly.¹⁸

¹⁸ Although sons are still more preferred than daughters for parents especially in old age, the son preference is no longer valid among young parents. The reason is that parents, in the past, used to rely on their sons to support them after they retired, but Korean parents these days are becoming less dependent on support from their children as society grows richer. In addition to that, many young parents consider daughters as more emotionally genuine. Daughters become more caring
The daughter-in-law repeats and recasts a part of her mother-in-law's question in line 02. Then, the daughter-in-law begins her answer by repeating a part of the question declaratively in line 04. And then the daughter-in-law states the reason of disagreement in line 06. The daughter-in-law shows her negative attitude by repeating part of her mother-in-law’s opinion.

Ex. 46. One of the daughter-in-law’s married daughters is Yeonghui, and she is a writer. Yeonghui is busy writing her new drama script these days, so she has a housekeeper.

01 D: 어머니 제가 자식이 몇이에요? 저도 정신없어 죽겠어요. 있다가 또 영희에도 가봐야해요. Mother, how many children do I have? I’m tired too. I have to go to Yeonghui’s again too.

02 M: 영희네는 왜 또? 도우미 쓴데며? Why are you going to Yeonghui’s? I thought they had a helper.

03 D: 도우미가 오늘 안온데요. 그래서 있다 또 제가 가봐야해요. The helper is not coming today, so I have to go over.

04 M: 참나, 아니 그 살림을 다른 여자한테 맡기고서는 뭐하는거야. 권서방은 가만히 있는데? Goodness. Why does she leave her home to another woman? Gichang isn’t saying anything?

05 D: 아니 지가 가만히 안있으면 어쩔건데요. 아니 뭐 영희가 옛날 영친지 아세요? about their parents even if they marry young. It seems daughters, not daughters-in-law, are now the main care-givers for their elderly parents in Korea (Edlund & Lee, 2013). Gichang is Yeonghui’s husband.
그리고 요 영화 지돈 벌어서 지가 쓰는데 아니 권서방이 무슨 상관하게 있어요?

What can Gichang do then? She’s not the Yeonghui that she’s used to be.

Yeonghui’s spending her own money. It’s none of his business.

06 M: 왜 상관하게 없어. 아니 달래미 작가된거 이제 그만 좋아해, 여기서 면추라구. 모든 일에는 영역이 반바이야. 영화로운 것과 옥된 것은 반반이라고, 그렇게 고대하던 작가가 됐으니 얼마나 좋으니, 하지만 그 대가가 반드시 있다는 것도 알아야 된다 이 말이야. How is it none of his business? Stop being so happy about your daughter becoming a writer. Everything has two sides, both good and bad. It’s great that she is finally become a writer. But there’s also a price to pay.

07 D: 아니 무슨 대가를 치뤄요? 그동안 영화 대가 다 치뤘어요. 제가 볼 때 이제 우리 영화 인생은 아주그냥 쪽 퇴인거에요. What price is there to pay? She’s done enough paying. I think she’s going to have a great life from now on.

08 M: 퇴은거 좋아하네, 너는 호사다마라는 말도 모르냐? Don’t you know that the good comes with the bad?

09 D: 몰라요. I don't know.

10 M: 뭐야? What?

The daughter-in-law repeats a part of her mother-in-law's question at the beginning of line 05, and her mother-in-law also repeats a part of her daughter-in-law's saying in line 06. Then,
the daughter-in-law begins her answer by repeating a part of her mother-in-law’s statement in line 07. They keep pouncing on each other’s words and tend to be argumentative in defending a stance or idea they have. This type of interaction is considered as an impolite manner in Korea because talking back constantly to older people is direct attack on the older people’s face.

4.2.14 Sarcasm

To utter a sarcastic remark is to express disagreement and negative emotions on the part of the hearer and is impolite, aggressive, and it is offensive because the hearer's face is severely damaged. Daughters-in-law do not utilize this strategy at all to their mothers-in-law in my data even though sarcasm is most likely to occur to an intimate of the speaker.

Ex. 69. Seungmi and Hwan are a couple. Hwan is the daughter-in-law’s son. Hwan has no concept of money, so his grandmother, who is the daughter-in-law’s mother-in-law, scolds him. Hwan has gotten awfully sulky and slept out last night.

01 D: 어머니 승미왔어요. Mother, Seungmi is here.

02 Seungmi: 안녕하셨어요? How have you been?

03 M: 어유 그래, 경영팀에서 야무지게 일 잘 배우고 있다면서? Oh yes, right. I heard that you are now a trainee in the management team.

04 Seungmi: 네, Yes.

05 M : 근데 일요일 아침부터 어떤 일이야? 향이도 없는데. But what are you doing here so early on a Sunday morning since Hwan is not here either?
I asked her to come over since I want her to pick up some clothes and send them to Hwan.

M: 衣服? Clothes?

D: 헤인이 정말 안들어올 모양이에요. 글쎄 이 녀석이 무슨 맘을 어쩌나 단단히 먹었는지 제 말은 씹도 안먹혀요. It looks like Hwan doesn’t intend to return. I really don’t know why this kid really hardened his heart this time. He won’t listen to what I say this time.

M: 근데 애미야, 차라리 트럭을 부르지 그랬냐? But daughter, you should have called a delivery truck instead.

D: 트럭이요? Truck?

M: 헤이 옷이 좀 많아? 그 집 다 싸서 보내야 할텐데 승미 저 팔뚝으로 가방 하나 밖에 더 들고 가겠어? You should have called someone over to take them all away since Hwan has so many clothes. Seungmi’s arms are so skinny that she can only take a bag to him, right?

D: (She is embarrassed and is at a total loss for words.)

The mother-in-law is sarcastic to her daughter-in-law in line 09 and 11 to turn down her daughter-in-law’s indirect and intended request in line 08 which is Hwan won’t listen to what I say this time so you please give a good talking to Hwan.
Ex. 16. The mother-in-law has two restaurants and her grandson Hwan is working at one of her grandmother’s restaurants. Hwan is a bad tempered man, and his temper got him into trouble in workplace. The mother-in-law wants to teach him a lesson by ignoring him for a while. Hwan is silently sulking, and Hwan’s mother, her daughter-in-law, made an appeal for amicable management.

01 D: 어머니, 환이가 점장때린 화가 그렇게 안풀리세요? 아니 그게 언제적
일인데요. Mother, the matter regarding Hwan beating the restaurant manager, you still can’t just let it go? It already happened such a long time ago.

02 M: 화가 아니라 실망이고, 계획서 내라는 말은 농담이 아니라 명령이야. I’m not angry, just disappointed. The proposal that I’m asking you to write is not a joke. It’s an order!

03 D: 아니 대체 애들한테 계획서 받아서 뭐 하시려구요? But, why are you forcing the kids to write proposals?

04 M: 어이 오영란이, 언제부터 내가 너한테 보고하는 사이가 됐냐? Hey, Youngran Oh. Since when I have to report to you?

05 D: 아니, 어머니가 하도 향당하게… 환아 이리와 밥먹자. If it’s not because mother who had become so ridiculous… (She sees her son, Hwan, standing over there while she is talking to her mother-In-law.) Hwan! Come and eat!

06 Son: 생각 없어! No appetite! (He goes out.)
Look at him. He can’t stay in this house anymore. Mother, please find some ways to calm his temper down!

08 M: 어떻게 풀어줄까? 환이 앞에서춤이라도 취줄까? How to calm him down?

You want me to do a dance in front of him?

According to Grice’s (1975) cooperative principles, the norms of general conversation, sarcastic speakers violate the maxim of quantity because the mother-in-law does not say what she really mean to convey, and use of this speech act is not explicitly informative. It also appears to violate the maxim of quality which requires speakers to be truthful to their communicative partners by saying something the opposite of what would be literally be appropriate given the context of the situation. The mother-in-law who uses this speech act in line 04 and 08 does not intend the daughter-in-law to accept her assertions as is, but the mother-in-law wants her intended meaning to be transparent to her daughter-in-law. The mother-in-law displays a surface meaning that contrasts with what would be expected given the contextual information. This way of refusing produces tension in interactions.

4.2.15 Say “Do it yourself”

An explicit imperative is the most direct and clear way to turn down by doing an act baldly, without the redressive action. A younger one’s using such a definite strategy to an older one cannot be appropriate in Korean society under Confucian influence. In a Confucian society, age is very important role governing interpersonal and family relationships (Tu, 1998). Thus, older ones can be straightforward to younger ones but not visa versa in the sense of politeness in
Korean culture. Since Koreans have learned to be polite to older persons by using of relevant linguistic politeness (e.g., honorifics), Koreans utilize more politeness strategies to older ones than to younger ones in everyday life. Daughters-in-law do not utilize this strategy at all in my data. Below is an example of conversation between daughter Myeonghui and her mother.

Ex. 3

01 D: 엄마 나 더 줘. Mom, I want more.

02 M: 너는 네가 떠다먹어. You go get it yourself.

03 D: 엄마는 할머니랑 나랑 차별해! Mom! Don’t discriminate between me and grandma!

All family members eat together. Myeonghui says she wants more rice, but her mother turns down her request in line 02.

Ex. 39 Three generations live under one roof. The daughter-in-law has broken her arm and wears a cast, so she wants her daughter-in-law, Hyejin, to take care of household chores. Hyejin is not at home.

01 D: 어머니. 란이애미한테 전화해서요 오늘은 좀 빨리 들어오라고 하세요. 아우 장도 봐야하고 할 일이 너무 많아요. Mother. Please call Hyejin and ask her to come home early. She needs to shop for groceries. There’s so much work to do.

02 M: 너희 전화해. 왜 나한테 시켜? You call her. Don’t tell me to do it.
The mother-in-law displays authority by saying that “You call her. Don’t tell me to do it.” It suggests that she has more power than the younger one, and she does this by issuing a strong directive that is followed by a command to her daughter-in-law to do what she says. The daughter-in-law offers as a possible answer in line 03. The daughter-in-law has a reason why she cannot call to Hyejin; therefore, the mother-in-law reluctantly calls. Refusing a request owing to an inability is a good reason to turn down, and it may be easier than refusing due to unwillingness. The daughter-in-law smiles charmingly at her mother-in-law and says “Mother” in line 05 to minimize the negative effects on the addressee. Smiling is often taken as the function of modesty expression and tension release. It gives the impression that she is still concerned about her mother-in-law’s face.

4.2.16 Shout

This type is an example of direct refusals, and directness is associated with loss of both face of self and face of another. It shows that Koreans in fact refuse requests directly, especially when the participants have a close relationship.

Ex. 51. The daughter-in-law has a daughter named Yeonghui. Yeonghui makes money. Yeonghui’s husband stays home with her kids and spends too much money. Yeonghui is so upset because of her husband, so she complains about her husband to her mother and her grandmother.
Yeonghui’s mother agrees with her daughter and wants her mother-in-law to also agree and support her; however, the mother-in-law looks upset.

01 D: 아니 저기 어머니. 영희말은 오 권서방이 너무 돈을 막 쓰니까 얘기 속상해서.

Mother, Yeonghui is just upset that Gichang is so frivolous.

02 M: 너도 시끄러워. 딸이 뛰면은 애미라는 것이 말릴 생각을 해야지 어떻게 더 뛰어? Be quiet! You should try to stop your daughter. You’re even worse.

03 D: 영희가 너무 그냥. Yeonghui’s just so…

04 M: 조용히 하라니까. 영희나 너나 할 말 없어. 조용히 해. I said be quiet! Neither of you have anything to say. Be quiet!

The daughter-in-law requests her mother-in-law’s support indirectly in line 01 and 03, but her mother-in-law shouts in line 02 and 04 to reject her. Shouting is perceived as a FTA, an act of impoliteness.

Ex. 31.

01 D: 아니 어머니 Mother!

02 M: 응? Yes?

03 D: 아니 그걸 그렇게 하시면 어떡하세요? How can you do that?

04 M: 내가 뭐? What did I do?
05 D: 어머, 이리 주세요. 아니 나무를 그렇게 잘라버리면 어떡해요? Goodness, give that to me. You can’t cut off the tree like that.

06 M: 아 이걸 잘라야지 그럼 이쪽을 안지르면 여기하고 균형이 안맞잖아. I have to cut it here to balance it out.

07 D: 이리면요, 나무가 다 미워진단 말이에요. 이리주세요. You’ll ruin the tree. Give that to me.

08 M: 아 괜찮다니까 참 애는…I said it’s all right.

09 D: 어머니! (She speaks firmly) mother!

The daughter-in-law commands her mother-in-law to not to prune trees in line 05 and 07, and then she raises her voice shouting in line 09 when her mother-in-law did not follow her earlier directive. A command is a directive displaying power. Thus, it is given by one in authority to one who is a subordinate. However, there is evidence to show that younger people can also issue directives at older interlocutors in order that their needs are met. In this case, the refuser’s choice of this refusal type does not seem to be affected by age. Rather, it is influenced by personal relationships. The interlocutors can be frank enough to make their refusal because of their intimate relationship in this case. It can be inferred that the refuser feels it is easier to say a straightforward “No” and shouting to someone who is a close family member, and the speaker is more frank than with someone who is not very close to her parents-in-law. Therefore, intimacy in female-female interaction can take precedence over age.
4.3 Results of Research Questions

The chapter is divided into four parts, each addressing a different research question that was stated in Chapter 3.

4.3.1 Research Question 1

RQ1: How do young Korean women refuse politely in conversation with intimate interlocutors, their mothers-in-law?

The differences of the frequency of each refusal speech act in each situation between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law are shown in the following Table 4.

As shown in Table 4, for daughters-in-law’s refusal speech act, the most widespread response was in this category “Use circumlocution” followed by an excuse/reason/explanation for the refusal. The total number of responses in this category was 14 of the 50 or 28% of the 50 responses. The next most commonly listed refusals fall under the category of “Repetition of part of request.” That is 18% of the total responses. The third category was “Use incomplete sentence with hesitation,” Of the 50 responses, 10% fell under this category. In the categories “Silence” and “Criticism,” there were 4 responses respectively, which resulted in 8% of the total. Also, 3 responses were categorized under the categories “Proposing alternatives,” “Avoid/change the subject” and “Shout” respectively. In both categories “Use apologetic expressions” and “Say No,” daughters-in-law utilize it in 2 situations resulting in 4% respectively. In the category “Ignore,” there was only 1 response, which resulted in 2% of the total. None fell under category “Ask for more information,” “Statement of principle,” “Show refusal by action,” “Sarcasm,” and “Say, Do it yourself.”
Table 4. The number of refusal strategies across the two groups, mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Mothers-in-law (ages range from 50 to 70)</th>
<th>Daughters-in-law (ages range from 30 to 50)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Use apologetic expressions</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Use incomplete sentence/hesitation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use circumlocution (excuse, reason, explanation)</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21.4%</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Silence</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Avoid/change the subject</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Proposing alternatives</td>
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<td>Ask for more information</td>
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<td>Statement of principle</td>
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<td>4%</td>
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<td>Show refusal by action</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ignore</td>
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<td>3.6%</td>
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<td>Repetition of part of request</td>
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<td>Criticism</td>
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<td>8%</td>
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<td>Sarcasm</td>
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<td>10.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Say “Do it yourself”</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Shout</td>
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<td>6%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
For mothers-in-law’s refusal speech act, the most widespread response was also “Use circumlocution” type for the refusal. The total number of responses in this category was 21.4% of the 56 responses. The next most commonly listed refusals fall under the category of “Repetition of part of request.” That is 12.5% of the total responses. The third category was “Sarcasm,” and 10.7% fell under this category. In categories “Proposing alternatives,” “Show refusal by action,” and “Criticism,” there were 5 responses respectively, which resulted in 8.9% of the total. Also, 4 responses were categorized under the category “Shout.” In the category “Change/avoid the subject,” daughters-in-law utilize it in 3 situations resulting in 5.4%. In the categories “Statement of principle,” “Say no,” and “Ignore,” there were 2 responses respectively, which resulted in 3.6% of the total. In the categories “Silence,” “Ask for more information,” and “Do it yourself,” there was only 1 response respectively. None fell under categories “Use apologetic expressions” and “Use incomplete sentence.”

The most commonly listed refusal strategies used by both Korean mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law were to use circumlocution with reason that is 21.4% and 28% of the total responses respectively. It describes that Korean women often utilize circumlocution, which is an indirect way to refuse, to avoid hurting others’ feeling and to be polite.

When Koreans perform the speech act of refusal, they attempt to adjust the conflict and resolve a disagreement peacefully. In some situations, on the other hand, they are concerned about the relationship with the requester, so Koreans give straight answers to turn down clearly. In other words, [relationship improving] and [problem solving] are two basic elements to resolve the conflict by performing refusal speech act (Blake, Shepard, & Mouton, 1964). The realization of the speech act of refusal can be represented differently based on which element is more important than another element to a speaker.
In the same vein, Jeon (2009) divided three general categories of refusal listed in Table 5. This study takes Jeon (2009)’s three refusal types to examines the strategies for Korean women’s refusal speech acts in the spoken corpus from the point of view of [problem solving] and [relationship improving]. The aspect of [problem solving] puts emphasis on communicating accurately and clearly instead of concerning others’ feelings. Therefore, this type of speech act of refusal can be unintentionally threatening to the hearer’s face. From now on, it will be called [type of domination] and marked by [+ problem solving] [-relationship improving]. The aspect of [improving relations], however, is focused on preserving harmonious intercourse with interlocutors. It is essential to prevent recurring conflict. Thus, it will be called [type of avoidance] and marked by [- problem solving] [+ relationship improving]. If interlocutors are concerned with both [+ problem solving] and [+ relationship improving], then it will be called [type of reconciliation]. There is no refusal type [-problem solving] [-relationship improving]. Refusals can be differently expressed depending on which of them is regarded as the prime concern in the complicated situation.

Table 5. Three general categories of refusal (Jeon, 2009)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of domination = [+ problem solving] [- relationship improving]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type of avoidance = [- problem solving] [+ relationship improving]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of reconciliation = [+ problem solving] [+ relationship improving]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To reveal whether or not young Korean women utilize more polite refusal strategies to older ones, each refusal response was then categorized into one of three general categories of
refusal listed in Table 6. The characteristics of the three types and the sixteen strategies of Korean women’s refusals to requests are discussed below.

Table 6. Diversionary responses and types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diversionary Responses</th>
<th>Types</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Use apologetic expressions, Use incomplete sentence/hesitate,</td>
<td>Type of avoidance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use circumlocution (excuse, reason, explanation), Silence (nonverbal), Avoid/change the subject</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ask for more information, Statement of principle, Say “No”,</td>
<td>Type of domination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Show refusal by action, Ignore, Repetition of part of request,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criticism, Sarcasm, Say “Do it yourself”, Shout</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposing alternatives</td>
<td>Type of reconciliation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The conversational refusal is realized in the sequence of type of avoidance by daughter-in-law (56%) > type of domination (38%) > type of reconciliation (6%) in daughters-in-law’s conversation, and type of domination (62.5%) > type of avoidance (28.6%) > type of reconciliation (8.9%) in mothers-in-law’s conversation in the rate of occurrence. To sum up, relationship improving (62%) is preferred in daughter-in-law’s conversation and the problem solving attitude (71.4%) is regarded as a more important element in mother-in-law’s conversation.

This result means that female Korean speakers seem to be sensitive to age in their use of refusals. In Korean culture, as discussed in the previous chapter, the older member of a family
has the unquestionable authority in the family, and children of all ages are to obey and respect. That is why relationship improving is preferred in daughter-in-laws’ conversation and the problem solving attitude is regarded as a more important element in mother-in-laws’ conversation. Therefore, based on the data, the speakers’ age seem to be major factors which affect the speakers’ linguistic behavior regarding a harmonious human relationship with others.

4.3.2 Research Question 2

RQ2: Do the traditional social structures and hierarchies support the assumption that Korean young women’s politeness and the usage of refusal strategies are strongly related to each other?

In order to answer the second question, I compared speech acts of daughter and mother-in-law to the daughter with other older women, mother, in the soap operas. The mother-daughter and mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationships are similar in a number of ways: both are female-female unions; they are both intergenerational relationships; and both are bonded and defined by kinship networks. Before comparing the types of refusal strategies used by daughters-in-law and daughters, Table 7 provides the types of refusal strategies of mothers and daughters first to better comprehend the differences.
Table 7. The number of refusal strategies used across the two groups, mothers and daughters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of strategy</th>
<th>Mothers</th>
<th>Daughters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoidance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use circumlocution</td>
<td>2 (C-2)</td>
<td>7 (C-5, I-2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoid the subject</td>
<td>1 (C-1)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domination</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Say “No”</td>
<td>2 (C-1, I-1)</td>
<td>1 (I-1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Show refusal by action</td>
<td>1 (C-1)</td>
<td>7 (C-5, I-2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignore</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (I-1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criticism</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (C-2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarcasm</td>
<td>1 (C-1)</td>
<td>1 (C-1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Say “Do it yourself”</td>
<td>1 (I-1)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shout</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (I-1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 8 refusals were found in 8 hours of soap operas, and the daughters’ 20 were found in 10 hours. Based on this information, the daughters are producing approximately twice as many in same amount of soap opera time as the mothers.

A letter in parentheses shows in which dramas the refusals occurred. The different titles of dramas are designated by the letters C for “Can’t lose”, S for “Shining inheritance”, and I for “I believe in love.” As a result, for daughters, a total of 28 conversations (mother’s refusal 8 cases, daughter’s refusal 20 cases) are found. The most common refusal strategy in both cases is the type of domination: 62.5% in mother’s conversation and 65% in daughter’s conversation.
This analysis shows that both mothers and daughters utilize type of domination more often than type of avoidance.

Table 8 illustrates what kinds of strategies are used by daughters-in-law and daughters in the dynamics of family interaction to reveal whether or not young women utilize more polite refusal strategies, type of avoidance, to mothers-in-law than to other older women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8. The number of refusal strategies across the two groups, daughters-in-law and daughters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use apologetic expressions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use incomplete sentence/hesitate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use circumlocution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silence (nonverbal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoid/change the subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposed alternatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ask for more information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement of principle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Say “No”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Show refusal by action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition of part of request</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criticism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarcasm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Say “Do it yourself”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The daughters-in-law 50 refusals were found in 41 hours of soap operas, and the daughters 20 were found in 10 hours.

Using circumlocution is the most preferred strategy for refusing for both daughters-in-law and for daughter. However, there is a difference in style between daughters’-in-law and daughters’ responses to mothers-in-law and mothers. A daughter utilizes more types of domination (65%) than types of avoidance (35%) when she refuses her mother’s request, and the daughter-in-law tends to produce more relationship improving strategies (62%) when refusing her mother-in-law. It seems that despite the similarities noted between the mother-daughter relationship and the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship, young women did not respond similarly in the use of refusal strategies. Daughters tended not to show as much respect to their mothers and did not value the elders’ opinions as much. Therefore, traditional hierarchical family structures, where it is acceptable for parents to refuse children directly but the younger ones do not do the same to their parents in Confucian values, do not support the assumption about the usage of Korean young women’s polite refusal strategies. It seems that the traditional social structure of the immediate family has somewhat changed in these days, but the generational boundary between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law has remained firm.

4.3.3 Research Question 3

RQ3. Does the mother-in-law’s social power or status influence the usage of Korean young women’s polite refusal strategies?

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Korean college students' endorsement of certain Confucian values, which tend to promote hierarchy among people based on age, gender, and status, was very low. Younger Koreans who have been socialized to meet the changing demands of industrialized Korea in homes and schools may have less traditional values than older Koreans (Hyun, 2001).
In order to answer the third question, the researcher examined whether mothers-in-law have social power or not when daughters-in-law decline because communication may be influenced heavily by social status. The transcriptions were further separated by social power to examine if the social status of mothers-in-law was a significant factor in the selection of daughters-in-law’s refusal strategies. Here having social power refers to someone who has influence in business or someone who has a lot of control over people and activities. Table 9 presents the results.

Table 9. The numbers of daughters-in-law’s refusal strategies across the two groups, mothers-in-law have social power and mothers-in-law have no social power

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Daughter-in-law refusal strategy</th>
<th>Mothers-in-law have social power</th>
<th>Mothers-in-law have no social power</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Avoidance</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use apologetic expressions</td>
<td>1 (C-1) 5.9%</td>
<td>1 (I-1) 3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use incomplete sentence/hesitate</td>
<td>1 (C-1) 5.9%</td>
<td>4 (I-4) 12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use circumlocution</td>
<td>6 (C-5, S-1) 35.3%</td>
<td>8 (I-8) 24.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silence</td>
<td>1 (C-1) 5.9%</td>
<td>3 (I-3) 9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reconciliation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposing alternatives</td>
<td>1 (C-1) 5.9%</td>
<td>2 (I-2) 6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Domination</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoid/change the subject</td>
<td>2 (C-2) 11.8%</td>
<td>1 (I-1) 3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Say “No”</td>
<td>1 (C-1) 5.9%</td>
<td>1 (I-1) 3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignore</td>
<td>1 (C-1) 5.9%</td>
<td>0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition of part of request</td>
<td>3 (S-3) 17.7%</td>
<td>6 (I-6) 18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criticism</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>4 (I-4) 12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shout</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>3 (I-3) 9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The 17 refusals to mothers-in-law who have social power were found in 17 hours of soap operas, and the 33 refusals to mothers-in-law who have no social power were found in 33 hours.

In daughters-in-law’s conversation, type of avoidance (53%) is preferred to mothers-in-law who have social power, and type of avoidance (48.4%) is also preferred to mothers-in-law who do not have social power. Therefore, social power or status of Korean older women did not seem to be a strong influence on younger speakers’ refusal strategy choices in this data set. The findings led to the conclusion that whether mothers-in-law have social power or not daughters-in-law utilize “using circumlocution” strategy, type of avoidance, which is considered as indirect refusal, the most. Indirectness can contribute to the politeness of an utterance. However, the daughters-in-law did not use criticism or shout to their mothers-in-law who have social power, but the daughters-in-law utilized criticism (12.1%) and shout (9.1%) strategies, which are lower degree of politeness, to their mothers-in-law who do not have social power.

Conversely, does a daughter-in-law’s social power or status affect the use of refusal strategies of her mother-in-law? Table 10 below represents the result.

For mothers-in-law’s refusals, the 17 refusals to daughters-in-law who have social power were found in 17 hours of soap operas, and the 39 refusals to daughters-in-law who have no social power were found in 39 hours.
Table 10. The numbers of mothers-in-law’s refusal strategies across the two groups, daughters-in-law have social power and daughters-in-law have no social power

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother-in-law refusals</th>
<th>Daughters-in-law have social power</th>
<th>Daughter-in-law do not have social power</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoidance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumlocution</td>
<td>5 (C-1, I-4) 29.4%</td>
<td>6 (S-4, I-2) 15.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silence</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>1 (S-1) 2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoid the subject</td>
<td>1 (I-1) 5.9%</td>
<td>2 (S-2) 5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reconciliation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposing alternatives</td>
<td>3 (C-1, I-2) 17.7%</td>
<td>2 (S-2) 5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domination</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ask for more information</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>1 (S-1) 2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement of principle</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>2 (S-1) 5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Say “No”</td>
<td>1 (I-1) 5.9%</td>
<td>1 (S-1) 2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Show refusal by action</td>
<td>2 (I-2) 11.8%</td>
<td>3 (S-3) 7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignore</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>2 (I-2) 5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition of part of request</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>7 (S-7) 17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criticism</td>
<td>2 (I-2) 11.8%</td>
<td>4 (S-4) 10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarcasm</td>
<td>2 (I-2) 11.8%</td>
<td>4 (S-3, I-1) 10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Say “Do it yourself”</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>1 (I-1) 2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shout</td>
<td>1 (I-1) 5.9%</td>
<td>3 (S-2, I-1) 7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In mothers-in-law’s conversation, type of domination (47.2%) is preferred to daughters-in-law who have social power, and type of domination (71.9%) is also preferred to daughters-in-law who do not have a social power. It shows that type of domination is one of the most commonly used strategies for mothers-in-law in both cases. Thus, social power or status of daughters-in-law did not seem to influence the refusal strategy choices of mothers-in-law in this data set.

4.3.4 Research Question 4

RQ4. How is honorific usage used by daughters-in-law different from daughters in denial of request?

The term “comeoni (mother)” that daughters-in-law use is different from that of daughters. Daughters-in-law call their mothers-in-law “comeoni (mother)” or “comeoni-m (mother-HON)” but no daughters-in-law in the data would ever call their mothers-in-law “eomma (mom).” In addition, daughters always call their mothers “eomma (mom)” but never call them “comeoni (mother)” or “comeoni-m (mother-HOM).” In addition to that, daughters use informal and non-polite form of speech level, but the daughters-in-law utilize informal and polite form of speech level, which is the -yo verb ending. When performing refusals, daughters-in-law also utilize honorific morpheme “-si-” and the humble first person pronoun “jeo,” which is never used by daughters.

While daughters-in-law may be able to alternate between the deferential and polite levels in view of their developing relationship with mothers-in-law, daughters-in-law can hardly drop the speech level to the intimate level. In line 09 in the example 39, the daughter-in-law did
not utilize any deference speech level to her mother-in-law and spoke the way she talks to her mother, but then the mother-in-law scolded her daughter-in-law for not using polite levels to her.

Example 39.

01 M: 아이고 내가 정말 말년에 별짓을 다한다 별짓을 다해. Why do I have to do this in my old age?

02 D: 아우 죄송해요, 어머니. I’m sorry, mother.

03 M: 세상에 다 늙은 시애미가 예순이 다 된 머느리 밥 땘먹어줄지 누가 알았냐? Who’d imagine that I’d be feeding you, daughter-in-law?

04 M: 제가요, 짝이 이렇게 돼서 그렇게 된거 아네요. 그래두요 어머님이 넘어지신거보다 조금이라도 더 나이가 젊은 제가 넘어진게 다행인지 아세요. It’s because of my arm. It’s better that I slipped than you. I’m a few years younger. Someone in our family was bound to fall over, and I did. I fell over instead of you. Be grateful and feed me, please. Mother feed me.

05 M: (Spoon-feed)

06 D: 반찬 반찬, 반찬 주셔야죠. Side dishes, please.

07 M: 뭐 줘? What do you want?
The daughter-in-law said in line 08, “Mumalraei (dried radish),” instead of saying “Mumalraei-yo (dried radish, please).” The daughter-in-law tried to shift downwards in her speech level to her mother-in-law. The daughter-in-law might think that they are close enough to utilize intimate speech level because they have been together for 30 years in the same house. Thus, it seems inappropite to move down to intimate or less courteous speech levels to mothers-in-law, and it also seems to be unacceptabe no matter how close mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law may have become to each other. However, between daughters and mothers, the speech level can potentially be lowered from polite to intimate.

Using of honorifics does not appear to have much to do with face preservation. In all the cases; even though a daughter-in-law rejects rudely an older women’s request, the younger one still use honorifics forms. The use of honorifics, the Korean polite language system, here places emphasis on showing human relationships. To be more concrete, the Korean language has an honorific morpheme “-si-” attached to a verb, and it shows the social status of the addressee is higher than that of the speaker. The usage of the marker depends on the subject: when the subject is a mother-in-law who is older or more senior than the speaker, so “-si-” should be used as shown in the example 25, 31, 43 and 58.
[Ex.25] 09 Daughter-in-law:  
geureonde wae eunseongi-hante ju-si-nyaguyo. 
Then why Eunseong- IO give-HON-verb ending 
Then why do you give your inheritance to Eunseong.

[Ex.31] 03 Daughter-in-law:  
geuge-ol geureotge ha-si-myeon eotteok-ha-seyo? 
That-OBJ that way do-HON-REL how-V-verb ending 
How can you do that way?

[Ex.43] 03 Daughter-in-law:  
animyeonyo Rani eomma-bogo Iljjik deuleowaseo harago ha-si-deunjiyo 
Or Ran’s mother- IO early come in let do-HON-verb ending 
Please ask Rani’s mother to come home early.


Mother, come not-HON-verb ending 
Mother, please don't come.

As the examples above show, when each daughter-in-law performs the FTA at maximizing face threat, she still utilize either high speech levels “yo-style” and the honorific suffix “–si.” No matter how rudely daughters-in-law choose refusal strategies, they will always utilize honorifics and polite verb ending. The purpose of the use of honorifics places emphasis on showing the status difference between the interlocutors, rather than serving the herear’s face wants or minimizing imposition. Most Koreans are accustomed to using the honorifics,
according to Brown and Levinson’s (1987) term, giving deference, and the convention of giving deference is deeply rooted in Korean’s thoughts and culture.
CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

From the analysis of the data, this study allows us to draw several broad conclusions about Korean young women’s refusal speech acts.

First of all, most daughters-in-law attempt to avoid direct confrontations with their mothers-in-law, and vice versa. Korean women manage the directness in refusals in order to preserve their own face or to be socio-culturally polite. Relationship improving attitude is preferred in a daughter-in-law’s refusal speech act to avoid offending her mother-in-law and to be polite to the older one.

This phenomenon may be described in terms of the traditional Confucian values, e.g., respect for the hierarchical order and loyalty to superiors, in Korea. A hierarchy based on generation and age traditionally dominated life within the Korean family. Great emphasis was placed on respect for age differences. An older member of a family is honoured by the younger one. Therefore, it is acceptable for parents to decline children directly, but children cannot do the same to their parents. However, the results indicate that daughters no longer submit completely to the demands and wishes of their mothers. The generational boundary, throughout life, between parents and children has been changed.

Second, daughters-in-law and daughters are different in utilizing refusal strategies. Based on the results, daughters utilize more direct strategies to refuse their mothers than daughters-in-law do to their mothers-in-law. Most daughters and mothers seems more confrontational and rude to each other. Daughters-in-law’ refusals at times sounded less transparent and more tentative than those of the daughters. Daughters-in-law were more concerned about being indirect, preserving face, and avoiding embarrassment. Most of the daughters-in-law softened their refusal with avoidance strategies, for example, statements of regret, or consideration of the
interlocutor’s feelings. However, it is not correct to give a stereotypical description of young Koreans women as being always indirect and polite. As the language data of this study showed, even daughters-in-law who are intimate with their mothers-in-law can utilize direct refusal strategies, like the way daughters refuse their mother’s request. The mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law had lived together for about 30 years in the same house in that case. Directness in their forms of refusal was more frequently used among them although the daughters-in-law still utilize informal/deferential speech levels. Korean refusals show evidence that social distance between interlocutors is relevant for more or less degree of politeness strategy selection. If there is a close relationship, low degree of politeness strategy becomes more common. Therefore, this finding suggests that directness tends to rise with increase in familiarity.

The result describes that whether or not mothers-in-law have social power does not seem to have a strong effect on the daughters-in-law’s polite linguistic behavior. Daughters-in-law utilize type of avoidance when mothers-in-law are in the superior social rank, but if they do not have any social power, daughters-in-law still utilize type of avoidance most. However, the result shows that lower levels of politeness, which are criticism and shout, were used to the mothers-in-law who have no social power. Conversely, mothers-in-law utilize ignore, repetition of part of request, say do it yourself, which are low degree of politeness, to their daughters-in-law who do not have a social power. It can be inferred that the mother-in-law’s social power somehow influences the specific selection of the daughter-in-law’s polite refusal strategy, and vice versa.

The data presented here represents that many requests are repeated in some way, even after an initial refusal. In order to illustrate these phenomena, it is necessary to point out cultural values. When Koreans are trying to convince someone to do something for them, they will repeat that favor over and over in the conversation for considering how their projected action will affect
the hearer’s feelings. It also has been regarded as polite for a person to courteously decline a positive offer one or two times. Korean speakers tend to hesitate to make a request for fear of exposing a need or risking the speaker’s loss of face and also tend to hesitate to make a refusal in the sense of politeness.

In Korean culture, when someone offers food, for example, one is supposed to politely refuse at first. Most Koreans will say that they had already eaten or that they are not really hungry. Then the requester will repeat, offering the food once again to them. This kind of dialog will go back and forth a few times, until there is adequate time for the refuser to finally receive.

Ex.18. Conversation between mother and daughter

01 D: 엄마 배 안고파? Mom, aren’t you hungry?

02 M: (Sigh)

03 D: 내가 맛있는 밥 해 드릴게. I'll make you something to eat.

04 M: 밥은 무슨. I don't need to eat.

05 D: 내가 배가 고파서 그래. I am hungry. (Then the daughter made some fried rice for her mother and her younger brother.)

06 D: 어때? 맞어? How about it?

07 Her younger brother: 짜. Salty.

08 D: 짜? 엄마 어때? Salty? Mother, how about you?

09 M: 엄전이 따로 없네. It’s different from before.
10 D: 이거 섞어. Eat it with plain rice.

11 Her younger brother: 에이 단순하기는. You are really pure.

12 D: 왜 짜다며. 엄마 섞어. How is it? (She talks to her mother.) Mom, you mix it.

13 M: 낼둬. No way.

14 D: 줘. 그럼 다시 볶아줄게. Give me. I’ll redo the rice.

15 M: 아무 그냥 낼둬. 매일 먹는 밥 한 끼 맞었으면 어때? Just let me eat it. Every day, you eat the same bad food, then what?

16 D: 끝까지 맛없데. 줘 다시 볶아줄게. It’s not good. Let me redo it.

17 M: 야유 낼둬. Don’t need to!

18 D: 엄마꺼 줘. Let me redo it.

19 M: 야유 낼둬. Just leave it.

The mother refused her daughter’s offer several times in example 18. The daughter is willing to cook again for her mother, because she keeps asking the same question over and over in line 14, 16 and 18. However, the mother turns down her offer for some reason. The one reason probably is she does not want to burden her daughter.

Ex. 59.
01 D: 어머님 식사하셔야죠. Mother, let’s eat.

02 M: 아우애, 나는 진짜 별로 생각이 없는데. Well, I have no appetite.

03 D: 아유 그래도 좀 드셔야죠. 여기요. But you have to eat. Here.

04 M: 아고 죽겠다. Oh dear.

05 D: 천천히 드세요. Eat it slowly.

The daughter-in-law offered some foods to her mother-in-law in line 01, but the mother-in-law declined the offer in line 02, giving some kind of an excuse. Then, the daughter-in-law asks again in line 03 and 05.

Ex.38.

01D: 어머니, 과일 좀 드셔보세요 Mother, have some fruit.

02M: 어우 이판국에 내가 무슨 과일을 먹어. (She lies in her bed with illness.) I’m not in the mood for fruit.

03D: 란이아빠가 회사사람한테 사온건데 무공해래요. 제가 일으켜 드릴게요. 좀 드셔보세요. Donghun bought it from a colleague. They’re organic apples. I’ll help you up. Have some.

04M: 어유 무슨 무공해라고 나까지 먹일려고 그래. I don’t need to try them.

05D: 여기요. (Help her sit up) Here.
In example 38, the daughter-in-law offered some organic apples to her mother-in-law in line 01, but the mother-in-law refused the offer in line 02, giving some kind of an excuse. Then, the requester insists in line 03, offering the food once again to her mother-in-law. In line 04, the mother-in-law turned down the request again. The daughter-in-law requests in line 05 again with an action. When a mother-in-law refuses something a daughter-in-law may offer, or visa versa, the mother-in-law often asks once more to make sure that her daughter-in-law is not just trying to be polite by refusing. To ask more than once means to be polite. Therefore, repeating a question is a linguistic strategy often used by Korean women, and it may account for culture-specific request styles.
CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

6.1 Conclusion

Through this study, it has been demonstrated that conversations not only have the function of communication, but also have the function of maintaining interpersonal and social harmony. In our daily communication, therefore, proper words which are polite markers or expressions to minimize uncomfortable situations, in the proper places to the right person, in order to avoid giving offense, are the highest rule in interpersonal communication. For this concern, Koreans draw on various communicative skills.

This research supports Terkourafi (2005)’s post-modern approach to politeness. The post-modern view, according to Terkourafi, stresses the role of the addressee because politeness is negotiated and jointly by the participants. It also emphasizes that politeness cannot abide in single utterances, but is negotiated in longer stretches of discourse by adopting social-theoretical insights. In my data, the refusals are mutually constructed between the speaker and the hearer in in-law relationship while the interaction takes in a variety settings.

In the present study, the researcher has tried to investigate how Korean females followed diverse pragmatic patterns to produce the speech act of refusal and what strategies they used in different situations and under various conditions. Sixty-nine conversations were collected from three Korean soap operas to analyze Korean mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law’s refusal features. Many different types of Korean refusal strategies are identified here, and many observations have demonstrated that a request may be turned down indirectly without even using the word “No.” The results of this study indicate that the speech act of Korean refusal includes sixteen strategies: use apologetic expressions, use incomplete sentence, use circumlocution, keep silence, proposing alternatives, change the subject, ask for more information, statement of
principle, say “No,” show refusal by action, ignore, repetition of part of request, criticism, sarcasm, say “Do it yourself,” and shout. The list is not exhaustive and there may well be some overlap between the types. These refusals were analysed according to the following variables: type of refusal, power relationship between hearer and speaker, social distance, and the use of honorifics.

Although some strategies need more data to describe their characteristics, according to the results observed, mother and daughter utilize the refusal strategies which are regarded as explicit and direct. Mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law on the other hand, tend to utilize refusal types which are considered as a part of indirect refusals which are often associated with more politeness in Korean society as it leaves space for alternative choices for the hearer. The speech level used in a given situation is determined mainly by age. Koreans view age as one of the primary criteria for showing deference and in the choice of honorifics or speech styles, and decision making in interpersonal relations as well as in nonverbal behavior. However, young Korean women can be frank, straightforward, and even blunt with older women when both speakers have a significant closeness in their relationship. Therefore, the degree of politeness of refusal speech acts used in a given situation is affected by social distance, and social distance can override age differences within the realm of family language. This research illustrates that despite being members of the same family, the way to perform certain conversational acts is different depending on the intimacy of a relationship. Therefore, the choice of language use in Korean women can reflect the intimacy of a relationship.

Previous studies in Korean have emphasized politeness of female speech, but that feature related to expressiveness seems to have changed significantly. The data here show that Korean women do refuse directly and impolitely in certain situations with someone that was older than
but close to the refuser. Therefore, politeness of female speech as a somewhat stereotypical idea should be reconsidered.

The implications of this research may be viewed from three perspectives. First, researchers can utilize the results of this research to compare with DCTs or other elicitation tools. Through comparing the results of this study with other similar studies, it is possible to figure out whether there is a universal pattern in performing the refusal speech act. Second, the findings of the study can be of interest to KFL (Korean as a Foreign Language) learners interested in increasing their knowledge of pragmatics in general and speech act of refusal in particular. They can increase the quality of their interactions by learning how to utilize certain speech acts aptly in different situations. Finally, this study is a contribution to cross-cultural understanding in that it identifies cross-linguistic differences between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law in the refusal speech acts. Different cultures have different perceptions and interpretations of appropriateness and politeness. Therefore, the findings of the research might be useful for understanding of how people from different cultures interact with one another.

6.2 Suggestions for Further Study

It is not an overstatement to insist that there has been almost no research carried out from a politeness angle based on data of natural conversation collected for Korean language. Considering the limitations of previous researches, this study chooses soap operas as the closest to natural interaction to analyze Korean refusals to requests. However, some strategies of refusals could not be collected by or observed in the dramas; therefore, it may not be appropriate to generalize under what circumstances these strategies are likely to occur. Collecting data from naturally occurring situations is the most reliable way to investigate the social and linguistic
constraints on a particular speech act. Therefore, more empirical research should be conducted for a better understanding of Korean women’s refusal speech acts. Since the data of this research concentrated on relationships among two generations of women, further research is needed in the data among different relationships or different speech acts such as apologies and complaints.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DAT- dative
HON- honorific
H(LI)- honorific lexical item
IO- indirect object
IND- indicative
DO- direct object
REL- relative
APPENDIX B. TRANSCRIPTION RULES

To accurately transcribe, this paper follows the Revised Romanization of Korean, which is the official Korean language romanization system in South Korea.

Vowel letters

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| Romanization Final    | k | k | n | t | _ | l | m | p | _ |

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Appendix C. Classification of Refusals

According to Beebe et al. (1990), there is a universal model of refusal strategies used in refusal to offers, suggestions, invitations, and requests. This model has three main types of refusal strategies: direct refusals, indirect refusals, and adjuncts to refusals. The types of refusals written in bold-faced below were observed in this research. Beebe et al. (1990, pp. 72-73) classify refusals as follow:

1. Direct
   A. Performative (e.g., “I refuse”)
   B. Non performative statement
      1. “No”
      2. Negative willingness/ability (“I can’t.” “I won’t.” “I don’t think so.”)

2. Indirect
   A. Statement of regret (e.g., “I’m sorry…” “I feel terrible…”)
   B. Wish (e.g., “I wish I could help you…”)
   C. Excuse, reason, explanation (e.g., “My children will be home that night.”)
   D. Statement of alternative
      1. I can do X instead of Y (e.g., “I’d rather do…” “I’d prefer”)
      2. Why don’t you do X instead of Y (e.g., Why don’t you ask someone else?)
   E. Set condition for future or past acceptance (e.g., “If you had asked me earlier, I would have…”)
   F. Promise of future acceptance (e.g., “I’ll do it next time”; “I promise I’ll…”)
   G. Statement of principle (e.g., “I never do business with friends.”)
   H. Statement of philosophy (e.g., “One can’t be too careful.”)
I. Attempt to dissuade interlocutor

1. Threat or statement of negative consequences to the requester (e.g., “I won’t be any fun tonight” to refuse an invitation)

2. Guilt trip (e.g., waitress to customers who want to sit a while: “I can’t make a living off people who just order coffee.”)

3. **Criticize the request/requester**, etc. (statement of negative feeling or opinion); Insult/attack (e.g., “Who do you think you are?” “That’s a terrible idea!”)

4. Request for help, empathy, and assistance by dropping or holding the request.

5. Let interlocutor off the hook (e.g., “Don’t worry about it.” “That’s okay.”)

6. Self-defense (e.g., “I’m trying my best.” “I’m doing all I can.”)

J. Acceptance that functions as a refusal

1. Unspecific or indefinite reply

2. Lack of enthusiasm

K. Avoidance

1. Nonverbal
   a. **Silence**
   b. **Hesitation**
   c. **Do nothing**
   d. **Physical departure**

2. Verbal
   a. **Topic switch**
   b. **Joke**
   c. **Repetition of part of request**, etc. (e.g., “Monday?”)
d. Postponement (e.g., “I’ll think about it.”)

e. Hedging (e.g., “Gee, I don’t know.” “I’m not sure.”)

3. Adjuncts to refusals

1. Statement of positive opinions/feeling or agreement (“That’s a good idea…”)

2. Statement of empathy (e.g., “I realize you are in a difficult situation.”)

3. Pause filler (e.g., “uhh”; “well”; “uhm”)

4. Gratitude/appreciation
APPENDIX D. LANGUAGE DATA

Coversations between Mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law

M- Mother-in-law, D- Daughter-in-law

Ex.1. D's refusal. change the subject

M: 들어가자. Let’s go in.

D: 식사는 하셨어요? 어…안하셨을 저녁이라도 드시고…Did you already eat? If you didn’t, we could at least eat dinner…

M: 입맛 없어, 애. 형우올 때 기다렸다가 할 애기도 있고. I don't feel like eating. While waiting for my son, I have something to tell you.

Ex.2. D. propose other options

M: 며느리, Daughter-in-law

D: 네? Yes?

M: 나한테 한번 들러. 내 문제로 의논할게 있어. Please help me once. I need you to take care of this.

D: 어떤 일이신데요? What kind of business is it?

M: 상가 하나 계약할려고. I want to buy a commercial building.

D: 수입료는 얼마 예상하세요? Do you know how large is the proceeds?

M: 나한테 돈받게? You want to get money from me?

D: 공과사는 구분해야죠? You need to pay an appraiser at the least.

M: 내가 이래서 잘난 며느리 그렇게 싫다고 했던거야. This is why I told him I don’t like a smart alec.

D: 저 지금 잘났다고 칭찬하신거죠? You’re praising me for being smart, right?

Ex.3. D. circumlocution
D: 구입하신 건물의 임대인 문제는 전건물자 소간이라 어머니하고는 아무 상관없어요.
The past due rent of the building has nothing to do with you when you buy this.

M: 그래? 잘했네. 급매로 나온거라 상의도 못하고 샀는데… Really? That’s good. It was a quick sale, so I didn’t have time to review the property before buying it.

D: 그 상가에 임대차 보호받는 가게는 있는지 체크해보셨어요? Did you check and see if there is any business running making money?

M: 그렇게 원데? What is that?

D: 아, 보증금에다 월 임대료 계산해서 3억이 안되는. If the monthly rent and deposit money for the property does not exceed $3,000,000…

M: 아우 복잡해. 이주비 보상비 주면 되잖아. So complicated! Can I not just give them compensation and moving expenses?

D: 그런 협상 많이 까다로워요 어머니. That type of business is very tricky to compensate, Mother.

M: 하긴 무식한 여자 하나 있더라. 내가 얘기해서 안되면 며느리가 법적 조치 좀 맡아줘. Actually, there was an ignorant woman. If negotiation does not work, please use the law to solve the problem.

D: 수입료는…? 계좌이체 해 주실거죠? The lawyer’s fees…? Will you be transferring it directly to my bank account?

M: 너는 왜 그렇게 돈돈하니? Why do I keep hearing about money?

D: 어머니가 돈 좋아하시죠? Mother, you love money more than me, right?

M: 너 결혼전에 없는 사람 도우라고 형우 부추겼다며? I heard that you married because you want to help the poor. That’s why you got together with Hyeong Woo.

D: 그러니까요 That’s right.

M: 하여튼 한마디를 안져요. 한마디를…Look at you. Look at you…

D: (smile)

M: 일어나 어디 좀 가게 Get up. There’s some place we’re going.
D: 어..어머니 저 약속… 약속 있는데…mother-in-law, I… I have another appointment.

M: 너희들 결혼기념일이잖아. 선물 줘야지. Isn’t today your wedding anniversary? I’m giving you a present.

D 선물요? A present?

Ex.4. D. hesitation /change the subject

D: 여길 어머님이랑 같이 가자구요? This is the place where Mother wanted to go together?

M:왜 싫으니? Why? Don’t you like it?

D: 막히 좋지만은 않은데… It’s not like that…

M: 니 얼굴 좀 봐. 하도 푸석거려서 구거진 종이갔다 티켓 미리 끊어놨으니까 빨리 들어와. Look at your own face. It’s swollen and your complexion lacks vitality. I’ve already booked. Let’s go quickly.

D: 어머니, 그냥 형우씨랑 식사나 하시죠? Mother, let’s just eat a meal together with Hyeongu.

M: 이거 끝나고 하면 돼. 전화해. After we’re done here. Call him.

Ex.5. D. circumlocution

M: 너는 그나마 얼굴보다 몸매가 낫다. As for you, your body is better than your face.

D: 욕이신지 칭찬이신지. I’m not sure if that’s a curse or a compliment.

M: 형우한테 전화했니 납먹자고? Did you call him to invite him to dinner?

D: 모임 있다네요. He says he has a meeting.

M: 아휴…아들은 낳아놓면 1촌 대학가면 4사촌, 군대가면 8촌, 장가가면 사돈에 팔촌이라더니…애, 너는 사돈얼굴 언제 보여줄거니? The bond (consanguinity) with my son when he is a baby is 1 inch. After attending university is 4 inches. After completing military duty is 8 inches. After marriage it is more than 8 inches… Hey, why haven’t you introduced me to my in-law?

D: 아...결혼 전에 말씀드렸잖아요. I told you before the marriage.
M: 대체 무슨 사연이 있길래 엄마얼굴을 안보고 살어? What kind of reason do you have not to meet your own mother?

D: 형우씨도 어머니 빼기 결코러워하지야. 비슷한 거에요. Hyeongu has a hard time seeing his mother as well...it’s similar.

M: 아호. 남들은 사돈하고 골프도 치러다이고, 사우나도 다니고, 나는 너무 부러워. Ag, others go shopping, hiking, Golfing, and to the spa with their in-law, I am so jealous.

Ex.6. D. circumlocution / ignore

M: 그래서 나랑 형우 동포는 언제 만들어줄꺼야? When are you going to make our “Dong Pou”?

D: 네? What?

M: 자식이 애를 낳으면 동포례. 이민가면 해외동포. When kids have a baby, s/he is called “Dong Pou.” Just like those Koreans who live overseas, “Dong Pou.”

D: 저 아직 아기낳을 계획없네요. I have no plans yet to bear children.

M: 너 나이가 몇인데 한살리라도 어릴때 애기 낳아야지. 변변한건 달랑 직업 하나고, 성격이 좋아 집안이 백자지근해. 나이가 어려. 키는 쓸데없이 커가지고… But think of your age. You should have a baby as soon as possible! The only thing you can brag about yourself is that you are a lawyer, that’s all. Is your personality good, not even young enough.

Occupation: Lawyer; Family: Don’t know, no way to find out; Age: Might be able to have a kid, not young; Tall stature. What is the use?

D: 동해물과 백두산이 마르고 닳도록 하나님이 보호하사 우리나라 만세 (Doesn’t listen to mother-in-law and sing underneath Korea National Anthems) Until the East Sea’s waves are dry, and Mt. Baekdu worn away, God watch o’er our land forever! Our country forever!

M: 그래서 내가 너네 돼 결혼한다. 그렇때 드러눕기까지 한거야. That’s why when I heard you were getting married, I was not so happy about it.

D: 무궁화 삼천리 화려강산 대한사람 대한으로 길이 보전하세. (Keeping singing underneath) Rose of Sharon, thousand miles of range and river land! Guarded by her people, ever may Korea stand!

Ex.7. M. proposing alternatives
D: 상가가 이 건물이에요 어머니? Mother-in-law, this building will be the mall?

M: 응, 왜? Yes, why?

D: 한그루 건물이요? Hangeureu is your tenant?

M: 그렇다니까. 얼른 가자. 너 엄청 조심해야 될꺼야. 저 가게 주인 되게 무식해. 어쩌면 우리 머리채 휘어 잡을지도 몰라. 가자! That’s what I said. Let’s hurry in. Be careful because this shop’s owner isn’t cultured. We’re not sure whether she might pull your hair. Let’s go!

D: 저…저 어머니. 전화 한 통만 하고요. Mother-in-law, maybe I’ll just make a call.

M: 통화는 나중에 해. 이것보다 중요한 일이 어딨다고. 머느리가 있으니 듣든하네. You make a phone call later. We have a very important thing to do. With my daughter-in-law here, I’m feeling confident.

Ex8. D. apologetic

D: 죄송해요, 어머니. I’m sorry mother.

M: 너는 대체 왜 이혼하겠냐? What on earth were you thinking asking for a divorce?

D: 저희 너무 안맞아요, 어머니. We two… don’t match each other, Mom.

M: 머느리, 나 좀 봐죠. 나 우리 아들 이혼하는거 못봐. Daughter-in-law… help me this once… I can’t see my son going through a divorce.

D: 죄송합니다. I’m sorry.

M: 좋아 그래, 마음대로 해. 나도 그냥은 안념어갈테니까. (Sigh) Fine. Do as you please. I’m not going to let this go like this anyway.

D: 아이 저…어머니. M…mother.

M: 필요 없다니까. You don’t need to bother.

Ex.9. D. Circumlocution

M: 어떤 일이야 이 시간에? What is it at this time of day?
D: 형우씨가 빌린 돈 드리려구요. To return the money that Hyeongu borrowed.

M: 그거 그냥 준거야. It didn’t mean anything.

D: 아시잖아요 이제껏 한번도 도움 안받은거. You know that we’ve never received help from you.

M: 너 도대체 언제까지 이혼 고집 피울래? When are you going to stop being so stubborn?

D: 저희 요즘 시간을 가지고 노력… Recently, we’ve made time and are trying…

M: 내가 건물을 하나 넘길게. 이혼 포기해. I’ll give you two a building. Give up the divorce.

D: 저 돈 때문에 이러는거 아닌데요. I’m not going through all of this because of money.

M: 너 언제나 그렇게 도도하니? Why are you always so proud?

D: 하여간 저희 요즘 노력… Anyway, we’re trying our best…

M: 내가 아무리 널 이해할려고해도 팔은 안으로 굽는거야. 우리 아들이 마음고생 한다는데 언제까지 네 편이 되어袄? 우리 아들 좀 더 여유있는 애 만났으면 자기 께 마음껏 펼치고 살았을 애야. 사돈 마음에 안드는것도 꺼 참고있는데… No matter how much I understand your situation, the arm always bends inwards. My son is saying that his heart feels tired, how can I still support you? If my son had met someone better, than he probably could better realize his dreams. I’ve been putting up with it, even if your mother isn’t what I wanted.

D: 어디가 마음에 안드시는데요? What part are you not happy with?

M: 하나부터 열가지. From top to bottom, all of it.

D: 그럼 사돈하지 마세요. Then let’s not be in-laws anymore.

M: 뭐? What?

D: 저 어짜피 소송중인데 이혼하면 사돈 안하시는데거잖아. Anyway I’m in the middle of a divorce. If the divorce goes through, then we’re not in-laws anymore.

M: 너도 엄마 안봤다며? Didn’t you say that you don’t meet with your mother anymore?
D: 제가 엄마 안보는 거 어머님이 욥하시는 거랑은 다르죠. Me not seeing my mother and you bad mouthing my mother are two separate matters.

M: 아우 귀찮아 그냥 이혼해 니들. This is annoying. Just divorce, you two.

Ex10. M. Circumlocution

D: 그냥 같이 가세요. Please just come with us.

M: 예약도 안했다며 가긴 어디가? There are no reservations for me, why should I go.

Title: Shining Inheritance

Ex11. M. Repetition of part of request

D: 아우 까찍이야. 어유 어머니 손님모시고 올 때 안이라도 현관벨 좀 누르시라니까요. Scared me! Mother, you should at least ring the front doorbell when you have brought a guest. There’s a difference whether you ring that thing or not.

M: 지가 놀구멍 보여놓고봤다고 지랄이네. 일변이 손님이나? You’re really making a big fuss out of nothing. Is Mr. Park a guest?

Ex 12. M. Repetition of part of request/ show refusal by action

D: 어머니, 가맹점 줄때 점주 인성을 첫째로 치시지만, 성희인품이야 잘 아시잖아요. Mother, although you told me the character of the Alliance store owner is most important. But you well know Seonghui too.

M: 내가 니 친구 인품을 어떻게 아냐? How would I know your friend well?

D: 어머니? 개 우리집 드나들며 보신게 한 두 해에요? 정 많고 교양 있고 거기다 겸손하고...어머니! 성희 승미 엄마에요. Mother, she has been coming to our place for not only one or two years. She is sentimental towards us, has food upbringing and is humble. Mother, Seonghui is Seungmi’s mother.

M: 승미 엄만지 모를까봐?지랄. Don’t I know that she is Seungmi’s mother? Why mention it?

D: 아이~그럼 좀 봐주세요. 제가 승미 욥심내는 거 아시잖아요. 우리 한이 철부진데 비해서 승미 얼마나 야무져요. 공부도 잘하구 몇 년을 봐도 애가 처신한 번 흐트러진적 없고. And so, just help her. You know that I have a desire for Seungmi. Compared to Hwan who is
insensible; Seungmi is much more competent. Her studies are great as well. What if she becomes someone else’s son’s wife. Then I’ll really have nothing.

M: 그니까 못지마 가맹점 내주는걸로 내물 먹이자 이거지? So, you want me to tempt them with the Alliance store ownership?

D: 에이, 저 빡 좀 쓰게 해주시라고요. Oh, please just let me use some tricks.

M: 그렇게 잘난 종자인 네 친구 인생 스토리가 더 궁금하다야. Right now I’m getting curious about the life story of that great friend of yours.

(Mother-in-law stands up)

D: 어머니, 성희 품성은 제가 보장한다니까요. 저 환이 아빠랑 성희덕에 결혼했어요. Mother, I can vouch for Seonghui’s character. Hwan’s father and I got to know each other and married through her introductions.

M: 어이, 오씨집안 외동딸 오영란이, 당신 지금 제 입으로 저 잘난 머느리라고 시애미 앞에서 유세떨고 계세요. Hey! Ohyeongran, the only daughter of O’s enterprise. You are now bragging in front of your mother in-law that you are a good daughter-in-law.

D: 어머니, 그렇게 아니라고요. Mother, it isn’t like that.

M: 아이구, 민망해라. Oh my, that’s really embarrassing. (She goes out.)

D: (She follows her.) 어머니, 어머니~!! Mother! Mother!

Ex13. M. Silence

D: 어머니, 정말 어디 계시다 오신거예요? Mother, you really have been to some places, right?

M: 왜? 저승길 가던거면 내처 가지 왜 돌아왔냐고? Why? Shouldn’t be coming back once gone. How come she’s back again, right?

D: 아이 어머님? 무슨 정리하실게 있으셨다면서요? Mother! Didn’t you say have something to sort after?

M: 있었지. I do.

D: 그래서 정리 다 하셨어요? Then has it been sort after?
M: 했어. I’ve done it.

D: 아니 대체 그게 뭐길래 집안을 발칵 뒤집어 놓고 안들어 오셨어요? What exactly is it? Didn’t even come back after all these troubles at home.

M: silence (6sec)

Ex14. M. circumlocution / repetition of part of request / criticism / action

D: 말도 안돼요 어머니, 아니 신세를 지셨음 사례를 하면서 왜 집앞 들이세요? It doesn’t make sense, Mother! If you owe her a favor, you just need to give her some reward money. Then why are you letting her in?

Granddaughter: 나도 싫어, 할머니! 모르는 애랑 어떻게 한 집에 살아? I don’t like either, grandmother! How can we live with an unknown person?

M: 신세가 아니라 내 목숨 구해준 애야. 오갈데 없는 날 일주일동안 돌봐쳤어. I didn’t mean “I owe her a favor” but “she is my lifesaver.” She took care of me, who had nowhere to go, for a week.

D: 그러니까, 사례금을 충분히 주시면 되잖아요. So you need to pay her enough reward.

M: 사례금? 은성이가 주인 잃은 강아지 찾아줬냐? Reward? Did Eunseong find out a missing puppy and bring back to its owner?

Granddaughter: 돈을 많이 주면 되지 할머니. What if we give her a lot of money?

M: 어디다대고 자꾸 돈돈이야?! 니들 돈벌이? 생전 뭐전 한 폰 벌어본적이 없는 것들이. 내가 여태 너희들 하고 싶은거 못하게 한 적이나? 내 집에 내가 들어갔단데 왜들 짱차거리?! How can you keep saying “Money?” Are you making money? You’ve never made a single penny. Have I stopped you from doing something? “I” just want to let a person in “my” house, why do you keep bothering me?

D: 가족도 아닌데, 한집에 사는거 불편하잖아. It’s not comfortable to live with someone who is not family.

M: 생전 처음보는 늙어빠진 할망구 집에 들인 은성인 쓰다래서 그랬데냐? 쓰구멍만한 방에 꽤나 편하게 들였겠어? 잔말 말고 3층방 쪽 치워놔. Do you think Eunseong was so stupid that she admitted a granny, she has never seen before? Do you think she felt “comfortable” in such a small room? Empty and clean out the third floor without nagging!
(Mother-in-law stands up and goes out.)

Granddaughter: 어떡해, 엄마. What should we do, mom?

D: 미치고 팔짝 뛰겠네 정말. (혼자 화내면서) 아이 갈수록 왜 저러신다니?! I feel like I am going crazy. She is getting worse!

Ex.15. M. propose other options

M: 내가 오란 아이야 내가. 내가 오랫동안 내가 쫓아내? I asked her to come. I did! Then you turned her away?

D: 어머니, 말씀을 다 듣고도 그래서? Mother, you’re still saying it even after listening to us.

Granddaughter: 할머니 개 완전 사기꾼이라니까. Grandmother, she is absolutely a cheater.

M: 내 생명의 은인이야. I said she is my lifesaver!

Granddaughter: 생명의 은인이면 같이 살아야돼? Do we have to live together if she saved your life?

M: 뭐야? What?

Granddaughter: 할머니가 오빠 가방 팔아챙겨서 얻은 돈이 얼마나지 알아? 내 시계 그거… Grandmother, do you know how much did she collect from selling Hwan’s bag?

M: 시끄러! 가서 은성이 데려와. Shup up! Go get Eunseong!

Granddaughter: 할머니. Grandmother!

M: 니가 쫓아냈으니까 니가 가서 데려와. You drove her away, so you bring her in!

Grandson: 아무리 그렇다고 그런 애랑 살라구? 할머니 도와준건 도와준거고 난 개량 절대 한 집에서 못살아. Grandmother! No matter what, you want me to live with her? Although you owe her a favor, I won’t live with her!

M: 싫음 너가 나가! If you don’t want to, then get yourself out of here!

D: 어머니, 정말 너무하세요. 아이 도대체 개가 뛰길래 환이한테 이러세요? Mother, you’ve gone too far! Why are you doing this to Hwan, Mother? Who the hell is she?
Ex.16. M sarcasm

D: 어머니, 환이가 점장 때린 화가 그렇게 안풀리세요? 아니 그게 언제적 일인데요. Mother, the matter regarding Hwan beating the restaurant manager, you still can’t just let it go? It already happened such a long time ago.

M: 화가 아니라 실망이고, 계획서 내라는 말은 농담이 아니라 명령이야. I’m not angry. Just disappointed. The proposal that I’m asking you to write. It’s not a joke, it’s an order.

D: 아니 대체 엄딸한테 계획서 받아서 뭐 하시려구요? But, why are you forcing the kids to write proposals?

M: 어이 오영란이,언제부터 내가 너한테 보고하는 사이가 됐냐? Hey, Ohyeongran. Since when I have to report to you?

D: 아니, 어머니가 하도 황당하게… 환아 이리와 밥먹자. No, if it’s not because mother who had become so ridiculous…(She sees her son, Hwan, standing over there.) Hwan! Come and eat!

Son: 생각없어. No appetite! (Go out)

D: 재 보세요. 악가 그날 집에 통 마음을 못붙이잡아요. 어머니가 좀 줍어주세요. Look at him. He can’t stay in this house anymore. Grandmother, please find some ways to calm his temper down!

M: 어떻게 줍어줄까? 환이 앞에서 쭉이라도 취주까? How to calm him down? You want me to do a dance in front of him?

Ex.17. D. repetition of part of request

M: 은성이 우리가족으로 대하란 말 잊었냐? I wanted you to treat Eunseong as part of the family, have you forgotten?

D: 개가 어떻게 가족이에요? 저희가 얼마나 불편한데요. How can she become part of our family? Do you know how uncomfortable it is with her here?

M: 은성이 들어온지 얼마나 됐다고 불편해? 뭐가 불편해? How long has Eunseong been here to make you feel so uncomfortable? What’s so uncomfortable about it?

Granddaughter: 개가 우리집에 산다는게 자체가 불편해. 싫어! The fact that she’s living here makes me feel uncomfortable! I hate it!
M: 이틀에 한 번 꼭 모녀가 빠짝짝으로 마사지에 쇼핑에, 하고 피곤에 지쳐서 쓰러져 자기 일수인 것들이 불편해? The two of you are always out all day shopping and getting massages at least once in two days. You don’t do anything constructive at all, what right do you have to feel uncomfortable?

Granddaughter, D: 이틀에 한 번 아니야 어머니. 할머니. It isn’t once in two days

Grandmother! It isn’t once in two days Mother!

M: 내가 이렇게 눈이 어두웠구나. So I really don’t have a say in this home at all.

D: 어머니 요새 정말 너무하세요. 환이한테도 통격도 안두시고, 환이 성질 하루 이틀 격으신거 아니시면서 환이 지아빠 죽는거 눈앞에서 본 애에요. Mother, you are really too much these days. You are different to Hwan now too. You know Hwan’s temper well yourself. Hwan, he saw his father die right in front of his eyes.

M: 그게 언제적 애긴데, 그것 때문에 가업하고 오냐오냐 봐주다가 오늘날 환이놈 이 모습이 꼼으로 만들었어. How long has this already been? It was because of this that I overindulged him, and caused him to be what he’s like now.

Ex.18. M. statement of principle

D: 어머니 잠깐만요. 어머니 어머니 왜 이러세요 정말... Wait mother! Mother, why are you like this?

M: 일 안할꺼면 이 집에서 나가, 독립해. 안말린다. (Shook her hand off) The person who doesn’t want to work, get out from this house and be independent. I won’t be stopping you.

D: 어..어머니! Mom…Mother!

Ex.19. M.Criticism/repetition/ show refusal by action

D: 어머니, 정말 환이 내버려 두실거에요? Mother, are you not going to be bothered about Hwan?

M: 저 알아서 삐걸다고 내 집에서 나간 놈이야. Didn’t he say that he’ll be taking care of himself. When he left my house on his own accord?

D: 어머니 환이에요 환이... 어머니 손자 환이라구요. 어 esk Hwan 아침에 이렇게 사랑이 식으세요? Mother, he’s Hwan...Hwan... He’s your grandson, Hwan. How can a person’s feeling become so distant overnight?
M: 돈 안준다고 사랑하지 않는 거 아니야. Are you saying that I don’t love him just because I don’t give him money?

D: 그럼 한 번 빼내 주세요. 이번 한 번만 빼내 주시면, 제가 화가 잦 타이틀게요. Then please bail Hwan out. If you are to bail him out this time. I promise that I’ll be teach him properly.

M: 화이가 네 살이야 다섯 살이야? 월 타일러? 너 돈 없이 호텔서 자고 양주 퍼마시면 안되는거 다 타이틀래? 무천취식으로 경찰서 끌려간 주제에 형사님 먹살 잡으면 안되는거 다 타이틀꺼야! How are you going to teach him? Is Hwan four or five years old? Are you going to teach him not to stay in hotels nor drink liquor as he wishes if he has no money? Are you going to educate him that since he was sent to the police station for doing wrong. That he shouldn’t be grabbing the officer on the collar, right?

D: 아이, 그렇게 아니라요. 아이 정말 너무하서요. 어머니 안해주실면서 가만히나 계시지 박이사 단도리는 왜 하세요? This isn’t like that. You are really too much. Mother, I’m willing to let it go although you are not willing to help him. But why must you prevent Director Park from helping him either?

M: 박이사 내 사람이야. 내 집에서 나간 놈이 내 측근 신세는 왜 저? Director Park is the person under me. Why must the person who left my house ask help from my people? (She stands up and goes out.)

D: 어머니~~ Mother!

Ex.20. M. repetition of part of request / say "No"

M: 호텔비? 호텔에서 잡단 말이나? Hotel bill? He has been staying in a hotel?

D: 어머니 야단은 나중에 지시구요, 우선 왜이한테 돈부터 보내주세요. 화이 지금 호텔에 잡혀있대요. Mother, you can scold him later when he comes back. Please can you send some money over to Hwan first? Hwan is now being detained in the hotel.

M: 뭐라구? What did you say?

D: 호텔비하고 미니바 양주값하고 해서 욕실때매인이라나 칠십만원이라나, 암튼 80 만원 안돼요 어머니. Besides the hotel bill, plus the wine from the mini-bar as well. It could be 600 or 700 dollars. Anyway, it shouldn’t reach 800 dollars, Mother.

M: 화이가 나한테 돈 말겨봤대냐? Did Hwan ever deposit money with me before?
D: 아우 어머니, 지금 이 상황에 그렇게 말씀하시면 안되죠. 잘못하다 한이 경찰서 가게 생겼단 말에요. 어머니, 그럼 한이한테 기다리라고 할게요. Mother, you shouldn’t be saying such things in such a situation. Hwan will be send to the police station if this is not properly settled. Mother, then I’ll be call Hwan and ask him to wait.

M: 아니, 기다리지 말라고해. No, tell him that he won’t need to wait.

Ex.21. M. repetition of part of request / criticism / ask for more information

M: 돈을 더 달라고? You want me to give you more money?

D: 아니아니 아니에요, 어머니. 제가 쓸 돈을 달라는게 절대 아니구요. No, no. No, Mother! We are not talking about the allowance you give us.


M: 비상금? Emergency cash?

D: 사람이 주머니가 텅 비어서 다니려니까 어찌나 숙이 허한지 아침 점심 저녁 세끼 꼬박 챙겨먹어도 항상 배가 고파요. I feel empty inside when my wallet is empty too. After eating breakfast, lunch and dinner, I always still feel hungry.

Granddaughter: 난 이제 세끼로 안돼 할머니. 밤마다 한끼 더 안먹으면 잠이 안와. Three meals aren’t enough now. If I don’t eat one more meal at night, I can’t fall asleep.

M: 지갑에 돈만 두둑하면 밥 안먹어도 배부를거 같냐? So if your wallet is filled with money, you will feel full even without eating?

D: 사람이 우스워져서 그래요. 버스타러 나가도 흉시 차비 잃어버렸나 막 확인하게 되구요. I’m afraid people will laugh at us. When I’m taking the bus, I’ll keep checking around worrying whether I’ve dropped any of my money.

Granddaughter: 친구들 만나서도 진짜 초라해. 있으면서 안내는거 하고, 없으면서 못내는거 하고 하늘땅이야. It’s really embarrassing when I meet my friends too. There’s really a world of difference having money and not having any money!

D: 돈이 그런거야. 그렇게 무서운거야. Money is like that. It has always been a scary thing.
M: 그린니까요 어머니. 비상금 좀 채워갖고 다니게 해주세요. 절대 안쓰고 지갑에 넣어만 다닐게요. That’s why, Mother Please let us have some emergency cash. We will never use it, and we’ll just have it in our wallets.

Granddaughter: 나도. Me too.

M: 얼마나? How much?

D: 100 만원 만 주세요. Please give me 1000 dollars.

Granddaughter: 나도. Me too.

D: 너가 왜 100 만원이 필요해? 정이한테는 요 50 만원만 주셔도 돼요. Why would you need 1000 dollars? You can just give Jeong 500 dollars.

Granddaughter: 엄마! Mom!

M: 월급 받아서 너희들 돈으로 지갑 황황 채워갖고 다녀. Fill up your wallets with money from your pay when it comes.

D: 어머니! Mother!

M: 우리 직원들 하루 만원도 못쓰는 사람 수두룩이야. 영단 갖다주라? Many of our workers don’t spend 10 dollars in a day. Do I need to hand you a list of their names?

D: 어머니, 정말 너무하세요. 민석씨 저 어머니한테 이런 대접 받는거 알면은 무덤에서 벌떡 일어나요. Mother, you are really too much! If Minseok knew about how you are mistreating me now, he would definitely rise from his grave!

M: 민석인 내가 만나서 다독일테니까 걱정 붙들어매서. I’ll get him back there, so don’t you worry about it.

Granddaughter: 할머니가 아빠 어떻게 만나? Granny, how are you going to meet Dad?

M: 관두젓 덮고 들어가면 만나는거지 어떻게 만나. I’ll meet him when I get into the coffin, what do you mean how am I going to meet him?

D: 어머니, 왜 그런 말씀을 하세요. Mother! Why are you saying things like that?!
Granddaughter: 할머니 진짜 우리 걱정하는데 선수야. Granny really knows how to make us worry.

M: 사람 태어나는 순간부터 죽음 향해 가는거야 한발 또 한발. People walk towards death from the very minute they were born. Step by step.

Ex.22. M. change the subject

D: 다녀오셨어요? You’re back?

M: 오냐. Oh, yes.

D: 근데 어머니, 쇼핑하셨어요? Mother, you went shopping?

M: 이거 은성이 방에 좀 올려놔. Put this in Eunseong’s room.

D: 네? what?

M: 옷걸이에 걸어주면 더 좋고. It’d be best if you can hang them up.

D: 어머니가 직접 은성이 옷을 사신거에요? Mother you bought clothes personally for Eunseong?

M: 성철이 아직 안들어왔나? Isn’t Seongcheol back yet?

D: 아니… 더는 못참아. (talk to herself) I can stand this anymore.

Ex.23. M. sarcasm / circumlocution / repetition of part of request / propose other options

D: 은성이한테는 저렇게 잘 해 주시면서 저희한테는 어떻게 이러시냐구요. Why are you so nice to Eunseong? How can you treat us like this?

M: 옷 세 벌로 잘 해주는데, 트럭에 넘칠만큼 옷 사입은 되돌은 뭐야? I bought her 3 sets of clothes and that’s called nice. What’s that compared to the truckload of clothes you have?

D: 전 어머니 머느리구, 환이 정이는 어머니 친손자들이에요. I’m your daughter-in-law, Hwan and Jeong are your real grandchildren!

M: 난 분명히 은성에도 내 가족이라고 했다. I told you Eunseong is family to me too.
D: 피가 물보다 진하다는데! But blood is thicker than water!

M: 하고싶은 얘기가 뭐야? 니가 은성이 엇 세 벌에 창술자 꼯투릴 잡아? What do you want to say? You are actually using 3 outfits against Jangsu?

D: 너무 서운하니까 그럴죠. I feel so upset about it.

M: 뭐가 그렇게 서운해? What’s there to feel upset about?

D: 환이 정이야 아직 젊은 애들이지만 어머니 제 나이가 몇 인줄 아세요? 저 공장에서 얼마나 눈칫밥인줄 아세요? 제가 봄 일을 해봤어야죠. 이놈에 무는 쌓어도 쌓아도 이쁘게 안쌓어지고 김치는 버무리다 보면 정말 김치에 코박고 죽게싶게 힘들어요. 어머니 저 언제까지 공장일 시키실 거에요. Even though Hwan and Jeong are still young, mother, do you know how old I am? Do you know how much I suffer at the factory? What do you think I can do? I can’t even cut radishes properly, and when I’m making Kimchi, I really feel so tired that I want to jump into the Kimchi jar and die! Mother, when are you going to let me work at the factory till?

M: 일 안하고 놀고먹는건 더 이상 안된다고 내 말 언제 또 씹어삼켰어? I said you can move out from here if you don’t want to do work. Have you forgotten?

D: 그럼 저예 제가 물려받은 대구땅 팔아서 장사할래요. Ok then I want to sell my land in DaeGu to do some business.

M: 그래라 니 재산 니가 팔아쓴다는네 내가 뭐래냐? Ok. You sell your land, what can I do about it?

D: 저 정말 해요? Are you for real?

M: 해! 대신 내가 먹어주고 재워줄 필요도 없지? Do it! But in that case I won’t have to house and feed you anymore right?

D: 네? What?

M: 그렇잖아? 니 재산팔아 니말대로 장사한다면서 왜 내 집에서 먹고자고는 해? 집도 독립해 나가! Isn’t that so? You do what you want with your property, sell it and do business, why do you still have to live and eat in my house? Move your house out too.

D: 어머니. (She is intimidated by her) mother…
M: 그렇게 공장일이 힘들면 집에서 살림하든가? If you find factory work so tough, stay at home and do the housework.

D: 살림이요? Housework?

M: 우리 도우미 내보내고 집안 살림 맡으면, 도우미 주던 월급 주마. 선택해! 공장갈래 살림할래? After dismissing the domestic help, if you can handle the household chores, I’ll pay you according to how much the domestic help gets. Choose. Go to the factory or do housework?

D: 살림이요! Housework!

Ex.24. M. Statement of principle

M: 환이가 승미하고 결혼을 했어, 결혼을 약속했어? 내가 왜 승미엄마한테 침대를 받아? Hwan and Seungmi aren’t married, and we have no promise between us to marry them. Why would I accept a bad from Seungmi’s mom?

D: 어머니 환이랑 승미 사이 몰라서 이러세요? Mother! Are you acting like this because you don’t know about Hwan and Seungmi’s relationship?

M: 젊은 애들 사일 내가 어떻게 알아? 끼어봤어야 알지. How would I know about the relationship between the young ones? They know best themselves.

D: 어머니 승미 마음에 안드세요? Mother, do you dislike Seungmi?

M: 안들게 뭐 있어? 공부 잘하고 참하고 야무지고 머느리 삼고싶다고 너한테 담도록 들었는데. What’s there to dislike? You are always saying she’s good in her studies, has a good personality, good temper that you want her as your daughter-in-law.

D: 그런데 왜 침대는 안받을라 그러세요? Exactly, so why would you refuse the bed?

M: 선물이 너무 과하면 선물이 아니라 뇌물이야. If a gift is too big, it is no longer a gift. It becomes a debt.

D: 어머니 성희 그 정도 재력돼요. 그 홀점대 매장도 심심해서 하는거지 돈 벌려고 하는거 아니에요. Mother, Seonghui can afford that! She opened her furniture store too because she was bored, not because she wanted to earn money!

M: 그래 승미 아버지가 건설업으로 돈 잘 번다 그랬지? That’s right. I heard Seungmi’s father is in the construction industry and earns a lot?
D: 네. Yes.

M: 무슨 회사라고 내가 들었나? 안들었나? What company is it? Have I or have I not heard it from you?

D: 이름 못 들어봤는데? 그냥 작은 건설회사랬어요. I don’t know about the name. It’s just a small construction company.

M: 아니 너 친구 남편 회사이름도 몰라? Oh my, you! How can you not even know your friend’s husband’s company name?

D: 말씀 드렸잖아요. 성희 재혼한 남편 얘기 안해요 재혼한거 창피해 하거든요. I told you before, Seonghui never tells me anything about the husband she remarried! Since remarrying is an embarrassing thing.

M: 사별해서 한 재혼인데 창피해야기 위가있어? She remarried because her husband died, why would that be embarrassing?

D: 어머니나 저는 어パパ活 일부종사 했잖아요. 그리고 성희 개는 고등학교 때도 막 수다스럽게 속 얘기 안해어요. 맥 지금 승미라고 보시면 돼요. But mother, you and I have stuck to being widowed for our whole lives. Oh, and Seonghui never told anyone what she feels deep inside right from high school. Exactly like how Seungmi is like now.

M: 그래 병으로 갓거야. 사고로 갓거야? But how did her husband die? Was it because of an illness?

D: 교통사고라고 들은거 같애요. I think I heard he died in a traffic accident.

M: 승미 몇 살때? How old was Seungmi then?

D: 승미 열 살 때가 열한 살 때라든가? I think Seungmi was 10 then? Or 11?

M: 그럼 재혼할 때까진 뭐해서 먹고살았데? How did she make it through after the accident before she remarried?

D: 그런 잘 모르겠는데요? I’m not so sure about that.

M: 아니 너 친구라면서 과부된 친구가 뭐해서 밥 벌어먹었는지도 몰라? Are you her friend? You don’t even know how she pulled through her widowhood?
D: 저 민석씨랑 결혼한 이듬해 성희도 결혼해서 한 3 년이가 지나서 연락 끊겼다가 환이랑 승미댁에 5 년전에 다시 만났잖아. She got married not long after I married Minseok. For 3 or 4 years, we lost contact completely. We met again 5 years back because of Hwan and Seungmi.

M: 너랑은 인연이구나. 자식들 때문에 다시만나고. You two are really fated to meet, meeting again because of the kids.

D: 근데 왜요? 어머니? 사돈댁 환경이 어떠가 궁금하세요? But why, morher? Are you curious to more about the background of your-in-laws?

M: 사돈은 환이가 승미랑 결혼하겠다고 해야 사돈댁이 되는거야. What in-laws? That has to wait till after Hwan agrees to marry Seungmi.

D: 환이랑 승미랑 결혼하라고 하면 싫다고는 안할껄요? Hwan wouldn’t refuse to marry Seungmi.

M: 얼른 나 친구한테 전화나 걸어. Go call your friend.

Ex.25. M. circumlocution / shout / change the subject

M: 너희 예전에 내가 떡 팔아서 너희 애비 키웠던거 알고있지? You all know that I raised your father by selling rice cake in the past, right?

Granddaughter: 그거 모르는 사람이 누가있어? Who doesn’t know about it?

M: 그때 가게 앞에서 떡 팔게해준 국밥집 아주머니가 안도와줬으면 민석이하고 나 한겨울에 얼어죽지 않으면 굶어죽었다. 그분이 민석이 엄고 국밥집에서 일하게 해주고. But then… if it wasn’t for the help of a soup-rice stall woman who let me sell the rice cake in front of her shop. Minseok and I would have frozen to death or die from hunger. That person let me carried Minseok on my back while helping out in her soup-rice stall.

D: 어머니 그 얘기 다 아는 얘기니야. Mother, that story… everyone knows that story already.

M: 나중에 그 아주머니 세상 떠나면서 국밥집 물려줘서 그걸로 기반 잡은거야. 나도 피 한방울 안섞인 남 도움으로 발판 마련해도. 누군가의 도움이 다른 사람 인생을 바꿀수도 있다는걸 그때 깨달았다. Later, before that woman died, she left me the soup-rice stall. That was when I started building my basic steps. Me too had accepted help from someone without
having any blood relations, and built up my foundations. A person’s help is able to change another person’s life. I learned that from that time.

D: 어머니, 지금 손자, 손녀보다 다른 사람들도 더 중요하단 말씀이세요? Mother, are you saying that other people are more important than your grandchildren?

Granddaughter: 말도 안돼. This can’t be.

M: 이 결정하기까지 나는 쉬웠는 줄 아냐? 내가 너희들을 얼마나 사랑했는데! 너희들 별따서 국을 끝여달라면, 그럴 수도 있게 사랑했어. 어린 나이에 애비 잃은 한이 정이 가슴 아리게 가엽고 또 가였어서…나처럼 젊은 나이에 남편 잃은 애미 죽은해서. Then is it easy for me to make such a decision? Do you know how much I love you all? Even if you want me to pluck the stars and cook soup for you, I’ll do it. I love you all till that extent. Hwan and Jeong who had lost their father at such a young age, it really made my heart break because you are so helpless. And I pity the daughter who was widowed when she was just as young as me.

D: 그런데 왜 은성이한테 주시냐구요. Then why do you still leave your inheritance to Eunseong?

M: 나는 은성이한테 돈을 물려주는게 아냐. 내 뜻을 물려주는거지. 회사 세운 내 마음 그대로 진성식품을 운영해줄 사람으로 은성일 선택한거야. I’m not letting Eunseong inherit my money. I’m letting her inherit my ideals. I’m handing down my original ideals for founding the company. To continue managing JinSung Enterprise, I have chosen Eunseong for it.

D: 은성이라고 안팔아먹는다는 보장이 어딨어요? Even if it’s Eunseong, how are you going to guarantee that she won’t sell it all off?

M: 절대 그러지 않을거라고 믿고 눈감을 수 있다 은성이라면. For sure, I believe that there won’t be such a thing. I can vouch for it if it’s Eunseong.

D: 이럴순 없어요 어머니! You can’t do it mother!

M: 내 돈이야. 너희들 달러들지마. 내가 번 돈 누구한테 주든 니들이 무슨 상관이야? 나 돈 벌때 니들 중에 누구 하나라도 도와준적 있어? It’s my money! Don’t you dare say that it’s yours! Whoever I let spend my money is none of your business. Who among you came out to help me when I was earning the money?

Granddaughter: 진짜 엄마 아까 조건이 뭐였지? Mother, what was the condition just now?
D: 그럼 2호점 매출 20프로 못 올리면 전재산 주는건 없거든 되는거에요? Then if the sales of the second branch doesn’t increase by 20%... is the talk about giving her the inheritance be void?

M: 그럼 일은 없다고 믿는다 은성이가 해낼리라고 믿어. I believe that there won’t be such a thing. Eunseong will be able to do it.

Granddaughter: 그럼 그런 조건은 뭐하러 달았어? Then why must you still state out such a condition?

M: 니들하고 이사진들 이렇게 펄펄 뜰까니. 은성이도 회사 운영할 능력이 있다는 정도 보여줘야 하지 않겠냐? Because I know people like you will be dissatisfied with it. So I must let you all see that Eunseong has the abilities to run the company.

D: 그럼 앞으로 저흰 어떡하라구요. Then what are we going to do from now on?

M: 나 죽을때까지 이 집에서 먹고 잘 수는 있으니까 니들 미래계획해서 알아서들 살아. You will still be able to eat and sleep in this house until I die. You have to make plans on how to live on in your own future. (She stands up.)

D: 어머니. Mother.

Granddaughter: 할머니. Grandmother.


Ex. 26. D. repetition of part of request


D: 저보고 밥을 차리라고요? (talks to granddaughter)She just asked me to prepare the dishes?

Ex.27. D. circumlocution / repetition of part of request

M: 은성일 내 보내라구? You want to kick Eunseong out?

D: 그럼 이 꼐을 걷고도 개량 한집서 살란 말씀이세요? We’ve already turned into this! And you still want us to live with her?

D: 저요 솔직히 어머니 그 거창하신 생각, 직원들 인생이 저희들 보다 더 소중하다는 어머니 정말 이해 못해요. 그래도 뭐 어쩌겠어요? 어머니 재산갖고 어머니 맘대로 하신다는데, 그치만 정이 문제는 달라요. 정이 제 딸이에요. I…to be honest mother, I really don’t understand you. Why did you say that the lives of your employees are more important than us? But what can I do? You have your own thoughts, and can do whatever you want. But Jeong’s problem is not the same. Jeong is my daughter!

M: 준세 마음이 정이한테 안가는게 은성이 탓은 아니지. Junse doesn’t like Jeong. How can you blame Eunseong?

D: 왜 은성이 탓이 아니에요? 은성이만 없었으면 준세 우리 정이하고 결혼할 수 있었어요. 어머니도 그렇게 믿고 혼담 넣으라고 하신거같아요. 어머닌 어머니 친손녀 결혼이 까지게 생겼는데 아무렇지도 않으세요? Why can’t I blame Eunseong! If there’s no Eunseong, Junse will definitely marry Jung! Mother used to believe that too, isn’t that so? Mother if your real granddaughter’s marriage has been damaged by someone else, don’t you have any ways to help?

M: 어떻게 아무렇지 않아? How can I not think of any ways to help?

D: 그게 다 은성이 때문이에요. 어머니가 은성이만 데려오지 않았어도. 돈도 빼기고 남자도 빼기고 우리 정이 끝이 이게 뒤에요? 자존심 상해 죽겠어요. It’s all Eunseong’s fault! If you had not brought Eunseong home, money has been snatched away; the man has also been snatched away. See what it turns our Jeong into! This is really hurting my self-respect!

M: 정이는 어쩌고 있냐? What is Jeong doing?

D: 어쩌고 있겠어요? 무너진 하늘에 깔려 손 넘어가기 직전이에요. What else can she be doing? Your real granddaughter is almost dying!

Ex.28. M. shout / circumlocution / criticism

D: 아니 그런 애를 왜 계속 일을 하게 하세요? Why is she still working here?

M: 너희들한테 쏟다 소리 들기싫어서. That's because I don’t want to listen to you guys complaining.

Granddaughter: 할머니, 우리가 언제 할머니한테 쏟다라 그랬어? When did we ever complain to you about something?
M: 은성이 정체가 승미엄마 말이 맞을지 몰라도 회사 운영능력 있다는 걸 보여주야 너희들이나 이사들이 나한테 한심하단 소리 안할거 아냐. Even if Eunseong is like what Seungmi and her mother said, she still needs to show what she is capable of. You guys should too, and so should the managers. This way you guys won’t think I’m unreasonable.

D: 어머니, 저희요 그런거 안봐도 되요. Mother, we don’t have to look at that.

M: 거기다가 지금 한창 2호점 매출 올라가고있어. The second franchise is making a lot of progress.

Granddaughter: 아니~ 그러니까 할머니 내가 괴씸해도 이용하는거네, 사업적으로. So, grandmother, you’re saying that even though she’s really despicable, she’s beneficial to business.

M: 그런걸 수도 있고. It could possibly be that way.

D: 그러니까 어머니, 유언장 땃기라도 해주세요. Then mother-in-law, at least rip up the will.

M: 왜? What?

D: 은성이 정체가 다 밝혀진 마당에 유언장 그냥 두실 이유가 없잖아요. Eunseong’s true side has been shown. It’s not like you still need that will.

Granddaughter: 맞어. 그러다 할머니 무슨 일이라도 생겨봐. That’s right. What if something happens to grandmother?

M: 너희들 여전하구나. 은성이 아니면 너희들한테 유산줄까봐? You guys are still the same. If it wasn’t for Eunseong, do you think I would have given you the inheritance?

Granddaughter: 은성이한테 안주면 누구한테 잘겠냐? Besides Eunseong, who else would you have given it to?

M: 내 생전에 다 중정해 버리고 갈 수도 있어. 이것아. 감히 너희들이 된때 내 유언장 짓으라 마라야. 사람이 한번피 토하던 말을 했으면은 가슴 속엔 못 새겨도 쫓구멍에는 새겨야지. I could donate it before I die. Who are you guys? Why should I rip up the will? You sure talk big. Even if you can’t remember something, you should still listen.

D: 은성이한테 갈까봐 그런거죠. I’m just afraid it’ll go to Eunseong.
M: 너희들이 나보다 회사를 더 걱정해? 자격없는 사람한테는 절대로 물려줄 회사 아니니까 걱정 불들어. Are you guys more worried about the company than I am? I will not give the company to someone who is not capable of running it. Don’t worry about it.

Ex. 29. D. Circumlocution

D: 전화도 없이 왜 일이세요? Why didn’t you call me that you were coming?

M: 어제 휴가 종일 전화했는데, 이변이 안받았잖아. I kept calling you yesterday, but you never answered.

D: 죄송해요. 제가 어제 좀 바빠서. I’m sorry. Yesterday I was really busy.

M: 상가 계약권 어떻게 할꺼야? 오죽하면 내가 여기까지 찾아 왔겠어. What are we going to do about the franchise contracts? That’s why I came here. Otherwise, how would I be able to get it?

D: 지금 가요. 가방 가져올게요. Let’s go right now. I’ll just go and get my bag.

M: 연변은 어디에요? Where is Attorney Yeon?

A man in the office: 아까 같이 나갔잖아. 내가 불러올까? 옥상에 있나? Aren’t you two together earlier? Should I call him in then? Should I get him from the roof?

D: 아니요. No.


D: 연변 보셔봤자 상가 협상 잔소리만 할꺼 아니예요. He won’t be upset if he doesn’t see you.

M: 그렇긴해. Is that right?

D: 가방 가지고 올게요. I’ll just get my bag.

Ex. 30. D. Circumlocution

M: 너? You?
D: 네, 어머니. Yes, mother?

M: 너 지금 뭐하냐? What are you doing?

D: 홍차 마시는데요. 왜 그러세요? I’m drinking tea. Why?

M: 너 형님 생일에 와서 뭐 안하냐? Aren’t you going to do anything for your sister-in-law’s birthday?

D: 형님은 저 부엌에 들어오는데 삐어הור래요. 걸리적거린다고 저보고 쉬라고 하셨어요. She doesn’t like when I go into the kitchen. She thinks I get in the way.

Ex. 31. D. criticism / shout

D: 어머니! Mother!

M: 응? Yes?

D: 아니 그렇게 하시면 어떡하세요? How can you do that?

M: 내가 왜? What did I do?

D: 어머, 이리 주세요. 아니 나무를 그렇게 잘라버리면 어떡해요? Goodness, give that to me. You can’t cut off the tree like that.

M: 이걸 잘라야지 그럼 이쪽을 안자르면 여기하고 균형이 안맞잖냐. I have to cut it here to balance it out.

D: 이려면요, 나무가 다 미워진단 말이에요. 이리 주세요. You’ll ruin the tree. Give that to me.

M: 아 괜찮다니까 참, 애는…I said it’s all right.

D: 어머니! (speak firmly) mother! (give it to me)

Ex. 32. D. Repetition of part of request/ circumlocution

M: 근데 재는 박사돼서 뭐에쓰냐? 빨리 취직을 해야지. What’s the point in being a doctor unless she finds a job soon?
D: 아이 무슨 취직을 해요 어머님은? Why should she get a job?

M: 아니 그럼 저런 고학력자를 실업자로 만들어? 재 박사야 박사! You want her to be unemployed then? She’s a doctor!

D: 아이 박사고 뭐고간에 앞으로 저 남편하고 새끼하고 살아야죠. I don’t care. I want her to take care of her husband and daughter.

M: 그래도 공부가 아깝냐. Study is a waste of time then.

D: 아이 저는 빨리 둘째나 가졌으면 좋겠어요. 란이한테도 동생이 있어야 하구요. 제 입장에서는 어서 빨리 아들도 하나 있어야하구요. I hope she has another baby soon. Rani should have a sibling. I think it would be better if they have a son quickly.

Ex. 33. D. silence

M: 너 무슨 기분 나쁜 일이냐? 뭐 기분 나쁜 일이냐고? Did something upset you? What’s gotten you upset?


M: 대답 안하냐? You’d better tell me.

D: (5sec silence)

M: 너무 속상해하지마. 너는 원예박사잖아. 나무를 얼마나 잘 키워.뭐 나는 척척박사고 그치? Don’t be upset. You’re the tree doctor. You are so good at growing trees. And I’m a doctor in everything. Right?

D: 그래도 앞으로 제들 살일이 그냥 심란해서 그래요. (Sigh) I’m just worried about how they will live from now on.

M:뭐가 심란해? Why?

D: (5sec)

Ex. 34. D. change the subject

M: 왜? What?

D: 어머님은 꼭 말씀을하시도. Do you have to put it like that?
M: 하루 종일 왜 동해있는지 너나 말씀이나 하셔. 왜 그래? Just tell me why you’re in such a bad mood. What’s wrong?

D: 아니에요. It’s nothing.

M: 원 일 있나? What happened?

D: 어제 밤엔 잘 주무셨어요? Did you sleep well last night?

M: 응. 간만에 좀 찔. 왜? Yes, I had a good rest. Why?

D: 아니에요. It’s nothing.

Ex. 35.D. Repetition of part of request / circumlocution

M: 너 재 어떡할래? What will you do with her?

D: 아니 어떻게 하긴요? What do you mean?

M: 너 재 시집 안보낼거야? Aren’t you going to marry her off?

D: 아이참, 나이가 몇 살인데 벌써 시집을 보내요. My goodness! She’s not old enough to get married yet.

M: 그러면 맨날 저러고 연애질하고 있는 꼴을 보고 있을거야? Are you going to let her meet men all the time then?

D: 아고 어머님도 젊은애들인데 어떡해요. 아유, 결혼하면 뭐 좋은게 있는데요. 시집가서 친정 부모들한테 효도하는 딸들 보셨어요? 예호 지엄마나 부러먹거나 아니면 우리집 누구처럼 보따리 싸가지고 와서 속썩이는 딸들밖에 더 있겠냐구요? 저는 그냥 시집가는거보다 연애하면서 사는 딸 보는게 훨씬 나을거 같아요. Mother, she’s young. What’s so great about being married anyway? Daughters are no good once they get married. They just make their moms work or come home like you know who. They’re just trouble. I prefer to see my daughter dating than live as a married woman.

M: 하긴 너 말도 일리가 있기는하다. 딸들만 그나라 아들들도 똑같애. 찐 지워줘봤자 저희 마무라방 사네 못사네하면 그 꼴을 어떻게 보고사냐? You have a point. It’s not just daughters. Sons are exactly the same. What if they talk about breaking up with their wives? How could you live with that?
Ex.36. M. circumlocution

M: 아고 무국이 시원하네. The radish soup’s good.

D: 그러세요, 어머님? Is it, mother?

M: 맞았어. 근데 내일도 무국 먹는 일은 없었으면 좋겠다. 너는 뭐하나 맛있다고 하면은일주일내내 출장 그것만 하는 이상한 습성이있잖니. Yes, but I hope we don’t have to eat it again tomorrow. You have a habit of making the same food for a week if it’s good.

D: 어머 제가 언제요 어머님은? (laugh) I don’t do that…

Ex.37. M. criticism / sarcasm / say "No" / shout

The second daughter-in-law (D2): 말을 안하박아요. 쫋끔한게 그냥 맹랑하박아요. She won’t tell me. She’s so rude.

M: 맹랑은 나가 맹랑해. You’re the one who’s rude.

D2: 제가 원요 어머님은 정말. What did I do, mother?

M: 제가 원요라니, 너는 나가 지금까지 어떻게 살아왔는지 물러서 하는 말이나? 활영이다 뭐다 임하는 아줌마한테 남편이랑 자식은 내팽개쳐놓고. What did you do? Don’t you know how you’ve lived until this very day? You left your husband and son to your maid to shoot dramas.

D2: 내팽개쳐 놓은건 아니죠. I didn’t leave them.


D2: 알겠습니다. 그럼 빨리 대사 치세요. All right. Please finish your lines then.

M: 내가 어쩌다가 올라가보면, 김작가는 글 쓰는데 밥도 제대로 못먹어먹고 비실거리며 있지, 일하는 아줌마는 우는 주인이 달래느라고 그냥 정신이 없지. 내가 속이 뒤흔들 때가 한두 번이 아니었다. 그래서 애미까지 동원해가지고 음식구가 날고 뛰었던거 너 아냐 모르나? When I would visit, your husband was busy writing. He was so afraid because he never got fed a proper meal. The maid would be busy trying to stop Ujin from crying. I got mad many
times. I had to ask for your sister-in-law’s help. We all tried to convince you. Do you remember that?

D2: 알아요 어머님. 그래서 제가 나중에는 일을 줄였잖아. I know, mother. That’s why I cut down work later.

M: 세월이 흘러서 안착아주는 배우가 된거는 아니고? Or you just got old and no one casted you.

The first daughter-in-law (D1) : 어유 어머니, 그만하세요. Mother, stop it.

M: (테이블을 치며) 가만 있어봐. 나도 오늘 할 말은 해야겠다. 우진이 나이 20이 넘어서 일을 줄인건 줄인데 아니지. 애미가 한창 같이 있어줘야 할 나이에는 일 할당시고 밝으므로만 나돌아놓고 이제는 애미같이 온갖 간섭 다 할려고 하면은 응 그래 옛다구나 어서옵소 아이가 하나? 애가 잡혀냐구? (She hits the table.) No, I want to speak today. You cut down work after Ujin was 20 years old. When he needed his mother… you always went out to work. Now you want to be his mother and interfere with his life. Do you think he’d be happy? That he’d get caught?

D2: 어머님 저도 그래서 이제는 우진이한테 잘 할려고 노력하고 있잖아. 샌프란시스코는 왜 특하면 제가 가겠어? 우진이가 거기 있으면가 나는거죠. Mother but I’m trying to be good to Ujin now. Why do you think I went San Francisco often? That’s because Ujin was there.

M: 문제는 너는 왜 자식들이 애미 결을 떠나는 시점 이때에 잘할려고 하느냐 그 말이야. 평상시 쌓아놓은 것도 없고 깠아놓은 것도 없는 애미가 이제 성인이 돼서 독립해 봤자고 하는 애한테 알려봐 마이 베이비 왜 하나구 징그럽고 뒤愎치게. 타이밍을 못마추는거는 사랑이 아니야. 네 좋을 때 하는게 사랑이라? 너 시간날 때 하는게 자식교육이야? Why did you try to be good once, it’s too late? You never did anything for him as his mother. Now he’s an adult and wants to become independent. Why do you say, ‘I love you, my baby?’ it’s gross! If you don’t have the correct timing, then it’s not love. Do you love when you have time? Look after the kids when you’re free?

D2: 어머님은 왜 꼭 그렇게만 보세요. 저는요. Mother, that’s not the whole picture.

M: 시끄러. 우진이 유에프오처럼 또 나타나면 그때 알려줄테니까 유에프오를 타고 지구를 떠나든지 아니면 아들을 잡아차서 같이 살든지해. 오늘은 그만 올라가. 나도 내 방으로 들어가고. Be quiet! I’ll tell you if Ujin shows up like a UFO again. Then get on the UFO and
leave the earth. Or catch your son and live with him. That’s enough for today. I’m going to my room.

D1: 어머님 그만 쉬세요. Mother takes a rest.

Ex.38. M. circumlocution

D: 어머니, 과일 좀 드셔보세요. Mother, have some fruit.

M: 어우 이판국에 내가 무슨 과일을 먹어. (She lies in her bed with illness.) I’m not in the mood for fruit.

D: 란이 아빠가 회사 사무한테 사온건데 무공해래요. 제가 일으켜 드릴게요. 좀 드셔보세요. Donghun bought it from a colleague. They’re organic apples. I’ll help you up. Have some.

M: 어유 무슨 무공해라고 나까지 먹일려고 그래. I don’t need to try them.

D: 여기요. (Help her sit up) Here.

Ex. 39. M. Say "Do it yourself"

M: 아이고 내가 정말 말년에 볼짓을 다한다 볼짓을 다해. Why do I have to do this in my old age?

D: 아주 죄송해요, 어머니. I’m sorry, mother.

M: 세상에 다 늙은 시애미가 예순이 다 된 며느리 밥 떠먹어줄지 누가 알았냐? Who’d imagine that I’d be feeding you when you’re almost 60?

M: 제가요, 팔이 이렇게되서 그렇게 된거 아녜요. 그래두요, 어머님이 넘어지신거보다 조금이라도 더 나이가 젊은 제가 넘어진게 다행인지 아녜요. 우리집 운세에요. 누구 하나 욕실에서 넘어져야되는데 그게 바로 것거예요. 제가 어머니 대신 살신성인한지 아시구요 빨리 밥주세요. 아아 아~ 어머니 아~ It’s because of my arm. It’s better that I slipped than you. I’m a few years younger. Someone in our family was bound to fall over, and I did. I fell over instead of you. Be grateful and feed me, please. Mother feed me.

M: (Spoon-feed)

D: 반찬 반찬, 반찬주셔야죠. Side dishes, please.

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M: 뭐 줘? What do you want?

D: 무말랭이, 무말랭이. Dried radish, dried radish.

M: 근데 왜 너 시애미한테 반말이나? Why are you talking down on me?

D: 어우 힘이 들어서, 힘이 들어서 그래요, 어머니. (Smile) Because I’m not well, mother.


D: 음, 그리고 어머니. 란이 애미한테 전화해서요 오늘은 좀 빨리 들어오라고 하세요. 아주 장도 봐야하고 할 일이 너무 많아요. And mother. Please call Hyejin and ask her to come home early. She needs to shop for groceries. There’s so much work to do.

M: 너가 전화해 왜 나한테 시켜? You call her. Don’t tell me to do it.

D: 제가, 제가 이래서 못하 kapsa요. I can’t because of my arm.

M: 오이씨. Oh, my!

D: 어머니도… (Laugh) Mother.

Ex. 40. D. Say "No"

M: 야 이거 먹어볼래? Do you want some?

D: 아유 됐어요, 금방 아침 먹었는데요. No, we just had breakfast.

M: 너는 배부르면 안먹냐? 나는 배불러도 먹을거 있으면 먹는데. 어구 흔자한테 유난히 우아한척해라. You don’t eat when you’re full? I still eat when there’s food around. Don’t act so elegant.

D: 주세요 어머니 그럼. (Smile) Then, I’ll have some.

Ex. 41. M. Ignore

D: 아니 어머니 아니 어떻게 된겨냐니까요? Mother, what happened?

M: 있어. It’s nothing.
D: 아니 뭐가 있어요? Tell me.

M: 아이고 난중에 알아도 돼. 나도 아주 정신사나워 죽겠어. 너 좀 저리가있어. I'll tell you later. I'm really on edge right now. Go over there.

Ex. 42. M. Ignore

M: 아이고 이걸 어디다 쓰냐? What will we do with this?

D: 아니 어머님은 아까부터 석유통을 왜 들고 다니세요? Why are you carrying that oil container around?

M: 애, 우리 집에 석유난로 있냐? Hey. Do we have a heater?

D: 겨울이 다 지났는데 난로가 어딨어요 어머님은? Winter is over. What do we need a heater for?

M: 왜 화를 내고 그래? 내가 오늘 석유를 사왔는데 쓸데가 없어서 그렇지. Don’t get mad at me. I bought oil, but there’s no use for it.

D: 아니 석유를 왜 사셨는데요? Why did you buy it then?

M: 있어. I have my reasons.

Ex. 43. D. propose other options

D: 어머 아참, 어머님 영희네도 밥 주러 가야되요. 장바서 밥 해결려면 지금 나가야하는데… Mother, I have to go to Yeonghui’s to feed the boys. I have to go to grocery shopping now.

M: 애, 그러면 여기 밥은 어떻게. What about our meal then?

D: 그런 어머님이 알아서 하세요. 아니면요 란이 엄마보고 일찍 들어와서 하라고 하시든지요. You take care of that, mother. Or ask Hyejin to come home early.

M: 야! 이미경 니 딸 밥 해준다고 나한테 이래도 되는거야? 야 이미경! Yi Migyeong! You’re going to dump me for your daughter?

Ex. 44. D. Circumlocution / shout / criticism
D: 아유 속상해 정말. (Sight) I’m so upset.

M: 왜그래? What is it?

D: 동훈이네 부부 말이에요. 어머님. Donghun and Hyejin.

M: 동훈이네가 왜? What about them?

D: 어제밤에요, 부부싸움을 크게 한 모양이에요. They had a big fight last night.


D: 좋긴 뭐가 좋아요. 그게 다 우리 동훈이가 참고 살아서 그런거죠. They’re not. It’s all because Donghun’s patient with her.

M: 너 바로 네 아들 편드는구나. You take your son’s side right away.

D: 어머니 편드는게 아니라 사실이 그렇게야요. 동훈이 저희도 알다시피 남한테 개가 어디 싫은 소리 한마디라도 하는 애에요? 누구한테나 헤 очер실하신 애 아니에요. Mother, I’m not taking sides. Donghun doesn’t say bad things to other people. He smiles at everyone.

M: 남자로서는 좀 매력이 없고, 답답한데가 있지. He’s not attractive as a man. He can be frustrating.

D: 어머니, 2-30 년 살아보세요. 매력으로 살아지나. 배우자는 뭐니뭐니해도. 배려심있고 편한 사람이 제일인 거에요. Mother, you don’t live 20 or 30 years on good looks. A good partner is considerate and makes you feel comfortable.

M: 그건 녀 생각이고, 랜이애미는 안그럴 수도 있잖아. That’s what you think. Maybe Hyejin doesn’t think so.

D: 어머 어떻게 안그럴 수가 있어요? 어떤 남편인데요. How can she not think like that? He’s a great husband.

M: 어떤 남편인데? How so?

D: 어머, 마누라 유학까지 보낸 남편 아니에요. 요즘 세상에 그런 남편이 어딨어요? He sent her aboard to study. What kind of a husband does that these days?
M: 또 나온다 또 나와. 왜 안나오나 했다. Here we go again. I was waiting for that.

D: 아니 뭐 저… 우리도 허락한 마당에, 기왕 다녀온 마당에, 생색 내자는 건 아니지만요. 아니 저도, 래미에미가 동혼이가 저한테 그렇게까지 했으니까 작은 일에는 언성높이지 말고, 지가 속상한 일이 있더라도 좀 참고 넘어가겠으면 하는 거죠. 쳐 때문에 싸웠는지 모르지만, 아침까지 저러고 있을 일은 아니라는 거죠. 그리고 막말로요, 동혼이가 좀 빠졌으면 지가 좀 다가가서 그냥 부드럽게 애교있게 풀어주면 어디가 덥냐요? I know we gave her permission too. But Donghun was good to Hyejin. She shouldn’t shout at him even if she’s upset. She should just go easy on him. I don’t know why they fought, but it should be over by this morning. If Donghun’s sour, she should approach him and try to act cute and help him feel better.

M: 너 솔직히 말해봐. 너 가끔 래미에미 보면은 아이고 재 때문에 내 아들이 혼자 고생한거 생각하면 불끈 화가 확 슷아오르지? Tell me the truth. When you see Hyejin sometimes… Do you think about how hard a life Donghun had alone? Does your rage start soaring up?

D: 아니 무슨 불끈 화가그냥 확 슷아 오르지. 어머니는 참. Rage doesn’t soar up…

M: 아니야? No?

D: 아니 그런게 아니고요. 저기 아니 제가 워낙 살갑지도 않고 애교도 없고요 뭔가요, 시집과서 내내 얼굴을 보고살아도요 내 식구갈지가 없다는 거죠. It’s not like that. She doesn’t act cute and friendly. She’s so quiet. She doesn’t feel like family to me.

M: 다 살아온 가정환경이란게 있는거야. 래미에미는 친정에서 불쌍하게 자란 아이나? 그런 애가 어떻게 나이가 원하는 만큼 그렇게 박고, 조잘조잘 할 수 있겠어? 저만큼하면 아주 잘하는 애야. Everyone has a different family upbringing. She didn’t have a good life. How could she be chatty and bright like you want? She’s good enough.

D: 아무튼, 저는 너무 속상해요. 우리 아들이 그냥 너무 고생하고요 손해보는거 같아서요. Anyway, I’m upset. My son has such a hard life. He doesn’t deserve this.

M: 아이고 나참, 이래서 시애미는 시애미에요. Goodness. This is why you’re a mother-in-law.

D: 어머님은! (Lose her temper) Mother!

Ex.45. D. criticism
M(also can be a D when she talks to her mother-in-law in this situation): 어머애, 동훈이는 늦는데? Is Donghun going to be late?

D: 글쎄요. 전화 안해했는데… I don’t know. I didn’t call him.

M: 어머애, 너는 어떻게 여자가 살가운데가 없니? Why not? How can you be so insensitive?

D: 에? Excuse me?

M: 저녁무렵이 되면 남자가 전화를 하든 안하든 여자가 이렇게 전화를 해가지고, 여보 오늘은 어떻게 일찍 들어오실 수 있혀요? 제가요 둘이쳐게 끌어놨는데요 일찍 들어오세요. 뭐 이래야 되는거 아니니? If he doesn’t call in the evening, you should call him up. “Honey will you be able to come home early tonight? I made bean paste stew for you. Come home early.” Shouldn’t you be like that?

D's husband's grandmother: 애가 그걸 어떻게 안한다고 그걸 야한테 시키냐? Don’t make her do that.

M: 왜 안되요, 연습하면 되는거 어머님은… Why not? All she has to do is practice, mother.

D's husband's grandmother: 무슨 연습을 해. 그게 연습해서 되는 일이야? Practice? How will that help?

M: 아이고 왜 안되요? 하여튼 너, 네 남편한테 살갑게 애교있게 좀 대해봐, 너 네 남편이 너한테 얼마나 잘하니? 너 유학도 보내줘, 애도 봐조, 세상에 그런 남편없다. 그러니까 내가 좀 잘 하고 살어, 알았지. Why not? Anyway, you should be cuddly and cute. Your husband’s so good to you. He sent you abroad, and looked after your baby. He’s one of a kind. So you should be good to him okay?

D: 네. Yes.

Ex.46. D. Repetition of part of request

M: 너 어떻게 야한테 관심이 없냐? You take no interest in her.

D: 어머니 제가 자식이 몇이에요? 저도 정신없어 죽겠어요. 있다가 또 영희네도 가봐야해요. Mother, how many children do I have? I’m tired too. I have to go to Yeonghui’s again too.
M: 엽희네는 왜 또 도우미 쓰네며? Why are you going to Yeonghui’s? I thought they had a helper.

D: 도우미가 오늘 안온데요. 그래셔 있다 또 제가 가봐야해요. The helper’s not coming today, so I have to go over.

M: 참나, 아니 그 살림을 다른 여자한테 맡기고서는 뭐하는거야. 권서방은 가만히 있는데? Why does she leave her home to another woman? Gichang isn’t saying anything?

D: 아니 지가 가만히 안있으면 어쩔건데요. 아니서 엽희가 옛날 엽희지 아세요? 그리고 엽희 지돈 벌어서 지가 쓴다면 아니 권서방이 무슨 상관할게 있어요? How can he do then? She’s not the Yeonghui that she’s used to be. Yeonghui’s spending her own money. It’s none of his business.

M: 왜 상관할게 없어.애, 니 딸레미 작가된거 이제 그만 좋아해, 여기서 멈추라구. 모든 일에는 영역이반반이야. 영화로운 것과 욕된 것은 반반이라고, 그렇게 고대하던 작가가 됐으니 얼마가 좋으니, 하지만 그 대가가 반드시 있다는 것도 알아야 된다 이 말이야. How is it none of his business? Stop being so happy about your daughter becoming a writer. Everything has two sides, both good and bad. It’s great that she’ finally become a writer. But there’s also a price to pay.

D: 아니 무슨 대가를 치雇요? 그동안 엽희 대가 다 치雇어요. 제가 볼 때 이제 우리 엽희 인생은 아주 그냥 쪽 퇴인거에요. What price is there to pay? She’s done enough paying. I think she’s going to have a great life from now on.

M: 퇴은거 좋아하네, 너는 호사다마라는 말도 모르냐? Don’t you know that the good comes with the bad?

D: 몰라요. I don't know.

M: 뭐야? What?

Ex.47. D. Circumlocution

 Daughter: 할머니, 엄마, 권서방 어떻게해요, 네? Grandma, mom, what should I do about him?

Mom/ also Daughter-in-law(D): 세상에 세상에, 이게 무슨 일이야. Goodness. I don’t believe this.

Grandma/ also Mother-in-law(M): 버려. Throw him away.
Daughter: 네? What?

D: 네? 어머니 지금 그게 무슨 말씀이세요? Mother! How can you say that?

M: 너 잘 나가잡아. 너희 에미 말대로 앞길이 쪽 퇴어서 탄탄대로를 걸을 김영희 작가 아니라? 그러니까 새 옷 갈아입듯이 버리라고. 부부라도 해어지면 남남인거 뭐 어짜피 지긋지긋한 남편 잘봤자니. 너 여기 와서 너 작가 돼가지고, 돈 많이벌고 유명해지면 너 바로 이혼한다고 그랬잖나. 이혼이 돈 작가의 신비로운 사생활이 된데나 뭐 어쩐다나, 아이고 말대로 됐네. 축하해, 버려. You’re successful. Your mom says you have a bright future now. You’re Yeonghui Kim, the screenplay writer. So just throw him out like he’s last season’s clothes. You’ll be strangers once you break up. You’re rich and famous, you were going to divorce him right away. You said divorce would create a mysterious aura for you. It’s come true at last. Congratulations, throw him out.

D: 아이고 어머니, 지금 무슨 말씀을 하시는거에요. 애 지금 애 3 달린 애에요 셋. Mother! How can you say that? She has three sons!

M: 그러니까 내가 너한테 자만을 떼지말라고 그랬지. 무슨 일이든 영역이 반반이라고 내가 그랬어 안그랬어? 그걸 못참고 운동네 다 돌아다니며… 아이고 잘봤네 딸래미 작가되면 월하나 사위가 백수가 돼가지고 딸래미가 사위 벌어먹이게 생겼는데, 어? I told you not to get so excited, didn’t I? I told you that every good thing comes with a bad thing. But instead, you went around bragging to all the neighbors. So what if your daughter’s a writer? Your son-in-lsw’s unemployed. She needs to be the breadwinner in her family now.

Daughter: 할머니, Grandma!

D: 어머니! Mother!

M: 조용히 안해? 너희 둘 아줌 짝같아. 한심하기는… 너희 둘이 자만 떼때부터 내가 알아봤어. Be quiet! Both of you are the same.

Ex.48.D. Use incomplete sentence/ hesitate

M: 아니 근데 우리 들째 며느리 샌프란시스코께서는 표정이 왜그래? My second daughter-in-law, San Francisco! Why do you look so down?

The second daughter-in-law (D2): 아…저…클쎄요 어머니 …저한텐… I don’t know… Mother … I…

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M: 왜 맛이 없어? Why? You don’t like it?

D2: 아니 저 … 제 입맛에는 좀… It’s not really to my liking.

M: 그럼 먹지마 애! 재앞에꺼는 치워라. Don’t eat then. Remove her plate.

The first daughter-in-law(D1): 어머니 왜 그러세요. 동서 밥먹어 김치찌개 있는데 귀하고 밥줄까? Mother, stop it. Have some rice. We have kimchi stew. Do you want that with rice?

D2: 아이고 아니에요, 그냥 이걸로 먹지요. No, I’ll just eat this.

Ex 49.D. repetition of part of request

M: 너는 애한테 왜그래? Don’t shout at her.

D: 아 재가요 정신을 말대로고 있잖아요. 아까도 식사준비하는데 그냥 아니 무슨 소잡아먹은 귀신처럼 뚱하게 있네가 옆에있는 사람까지 스트레스를 받게 하잖아요. She’s so pre-occupied. She looked so depressed making breakfast earlier. She was stressing me out too.

M: 란이애미 천성이 그런걸 왜 애한테 스트레스를 주고그래. Don’t be that way. That’s just what she is.

D: 어머니, 제가 언제 재한테 스트레스를 줬다고 그러세요 어머님은. When have I stressed her out, mother?

Granddaughter: 아이 그만하세요. 별것도 아닌걸로 두 분은 왜 싸우고 그러세요. Stop it. It’s nothing serious. You don’t need to fight over it.

M: 뭐야, 싸워? 지금 너희 애미가 나랑 싸울 레벨이 된다고 생각하니? (Angry) What? Fight? Do you think she’s on the same level as me that we can fight?

D: 알았어요. 어머니 죄송해요. Okay. I’m sorry, mother.

M: 죄송하다면 다야. 이게 어디에서 걸핏하면 시어미한테 대들어. 너 나한테 혼 좀 한번 나볼래? 있다 내 방에서 면담 좀 해볼까? Don’t just say that you’re sorry. You always stand up to me. Should I scold you? Do you want to come to my room later?

Ex. 50. D. shout

D: 어머니는 이게 진정할 일이에요? Mother, how can I?

M: 그럼 들이 의논해서 결론을 내온 일인데 나가 소리지른다고 달라질게 있겠니? They discussed it and made a decision. You shouting isn’t going to change a thing.

D: 어머님! Mother!

M: 아니 왜 나한테까지 소리를 지르고 그래? Don’t shout at me.

Ex. 51. M. shout

D: 아니 저기 어머니, 영희말을 권서방이 너무 돈을 막 쓰니까 애가 속상해서. Mother, Yeonghui is just upset that Gichang is so frivolous.

M: 너도 시끄러워, 딸이 뛰면은 애마라는 것이 말릴 생각을 해야지 어낄게 더 뛰어? You be quiet too! You should try to stop your daughter. You’re even worse.

D: 영희가 너무 그냥. Yeonghui’s just so…

M: 조용히 하라니까! 영희나 너나 할 말 없어. 조용히 해. I said be quiet! Neither of you have anything to say. Be quiet!

Ex. 52. M. Sarcasm

D: 어떻게 뽀아도 뽀아도 잡초가 올라올까. 너희들도 잡초가 올라오니까 귀찮고 성가시지? There’s no end to these weeds. These weeds are making your lives difficult too, aren’t they? Wait. I’ll pull them all out. My pretty ones!

M: 아유 너 시애미를 그렇게 예뻐해봐라. Why aren’t you that nice to me?

D: 어머 어머니, 어디 가세요? Mother, are you going out?

M: 며느리가 시애미 볼 생각은 안하고 꽃하고 나무한테만 정신이 팔려있어서 나 서운하고 속상해서 나 집 나간다. You care more about the flowers and trees than me. I’m upset so I’m going out.

D: 아이참, 어머님두 어디 볼 일 있으세요? Mother, Goodness. Do you have an appointment?
M: 있어. 자꾸 문지마. 너는 꽃이랑 계속 하던 이야기나 계속해. Well... Don’t keep prying. Just keep talking to the flowers.

D: 아이참 어머님두. 아참, 그나저나 어머니. 이번 주말에요 식구들 모여서 마당에서 고기나 구워먹으면 어떨까요? Goodness… by the way, mother, should we call everyone and have a barbeque this weekend?

M: 고기? A barbeque?

D: 네. 꽃들도 이렇게 예쁘게 피었는데 멀리 꽃구경갈 필요없이 여기서 식구들 모여서 고기 구워먹으면서요. 꽃구경 대신하면 어떨까요 하는데요. 어머님은 어떻게 생각하세요?

M: 너 식구들은 테니 꽃이랑 나무 자랑할려고 그러지? You just want to boast your garden to the rest of your family.

D: 네, 사실은 그래요. 어머니. Yes, that’s true. Mother.

M: 고기를 굽든 꽃을 구경하든 건 그건 알아서 하고 난 간다. Do whatever you want. I’m going out.

D: 네 어머님, 잘 다녀오세요. 어머님 차조심하세요. Yes mother, see you later. Mother, watch out for cars.

Ex.53. D. Circumlocution

M: 이 콩나물 머리 말이야 이거그냥 따지말고 그냥 넣지, 괜찮아. 야구찜에는 콩나물머리 들어가도 되잖아. Why don’t you add the bean sprouts in whole? you don’t have to cut them up for the steamed monkfish.

D: 아유 어머니 지저분해서 안돼요. They’ll look too messy.

M: 그런가? Really?

Ex. 54. M. Propose other options

D: 어머니 뭐하세요? 제가할게요 그냥 두세요. What are you doing? Mother, I’ll do it.
M: 다했어. 너는 그냥 주방에 가서 청정리나 좀 해. 맥주컵 몇 개 있을거야. I’m already finished here. Why don’t you go to the kitchen? You’ll see a few glasses there.

D: 네. Okay.

Ex. 55. D. Use apologetic expressions / use incomplete sentence

D: 아버님 어머님, 아버님 어머님. Father, mother.

M: 와? What is it?

D: 저 죄송하지만, 제가 지금 서울에 좀 올라가야해서요. I’m sorry, but I need to go back to Seoul right now.

M: 뭐라? What?

Father-in-law: 뭔일인데? What’s the matter?

D: 네, 방송국에서 급한 연락이 와셔요. I got an urgent call from the TV studio.

Father-in-law: 뭐야? What?

D: 죄송합니다. 아버님 어머님. I’m sorry father and mother.

M: 너 지금 제정신이가? 작간가 원가 때리치라 하니까는 뭐? 이 밤에 방송일 때문에 올라가야 된다고? 니 나한테 그리 혼나고서도 뭐? 헐허 참말로 니가 쫓겨나고 싶어서 한장을 했구만. Are you out of your mind? I told you to give up being a writer. You have to go back in the middle of the night for work? After I scolded you like that? You’re really eager to get thrown out, aren’t you?

D: 저기 어머니 크게 사정이 지금… Mother, the situation right now…

Husband: 따라와 야 뭐하냐고, 따라와 빠리! Come with me. What are you doing? Come with me.

D: 왜 이래요? Stop it. What’s wrong?

Ex. 56. D. Criticism
M: 얼른 밥리 저녁이나하고 윤희 고기 좀 구워죠. 애 배고프잡어. Go and make dinner and cook some meat for her. She must be hungry.

D: 애가 뭐가 예쁘다고 저녁을 줘요? She doesn’t deserve a good meal.

M: 아니 그럼 애를 굶길려고 그래? Will you let her starve then?

Ex. 57. M Circumlocution

D: 어머니 힘드신테니 들어가서 쉬세요. 퇴원하신지도 얼마 안되셨는데… Mother, go and rest. You haven’t been home long.

M: 됐어. 내가 무슨 죽을병 걸린 것도 아니는데, 아니 뭐 검사를 좀 한거가지고 그래. 아닌 그래도 그냥 윤희가 돌아왔으니 내가 저녁이라도 한끼 해먹어야 될거 아니야. 내가 아무튼 알아 저녁 먹이고 방으로 데리고 가서 본격적으로 훼날꺼야 그냥. It’s okay. It’s not like I’m ill and am going to die. All I did was have a few tests done. Yunhui is home now. I need to make dinner for her. After dinner, I’m going to take her to her room. I’ll teach her a good lesson.

D: (smile)

M: 왜 왜 웃어? 아이구 내가 왜 못 훼날끼봐? What? Why are you smiling? You don’t believe me?

D: 어머니, 그래도 아가씨 돌아오니까 좋으시죠? Mother, are you happy that Yunhui is home?

M: 좋긴 돌아가야. I’m not happy!

Ex. 58. D Propose other options /circumlocution

M: 나다, 니 시애미 기남이다. It’s me, your mother-in-law.

D: 어머님이세요? Mother?

M: 그래 나보다도 빨리수술하고 병상에 누운 기분이 어떨까? How do you feel having an operation sooner than me?

D: 편안하고 좋아요. Comfortable and fine.

M: 뭐야? 너 죽을래? What? Do you want to die?
D: 어머님은, 병원에 와있는 사람한테 죽을래가 뭐예요? Mother, don’t say that to a patient.

M: 니가 말을 웃기게하니까 그렇잖아. That's because you made fun.

D: 아침밥 안하니까 편안하다고요 어머니. I just mean I feel comfortable not having to make breakfast.

M: 그래 기분은 어떻게? How do you feel?

D: 좋아요. Good.

M: 아픈데는? Are you in pain?

D: 다 나아가요 어머니. I’m getting better, mother.

M: 내가 있다가 갈려고 하는데, 너 뭐 필요한거 없어? I’m going to visit you later. Do you need anything?

D: 아유 뭐하러 오세요. You don't need to come.

M: 그래도 네가 그러고 있는데, 가야지 안가? Since you are like that, how can I not go!


M: 아니 그래도 가야지. 정확히 병원이 어디라고? No, I have to go. Which hospital is it?

D: 어머니 오지마시라니까요. Mother, please don't come.

M: 걸핏하면 오지말라그래. Stop saying that.

D: 누가 보면 창피하다구요. It’s embarrassing if people see.

M: 뭐가 창피해? What’s embarrassing?

D: 시어머니보다 먼저 자리보존하고 누온 며느리라고 사람들한테 흥 поск린답 말이에요. People will criticize me for being ill in front of my mother-in-law. What will people say? They’ll say I have no respect for elders.
M: 그런가? Really?

D: 어머니 그러지마시구요. 저 대신 정원일이나 좀 바주세요. 내가 아직 풀도 안뽑아주고 있어서 여기 이리고 있어도 걱정이 돼 죽겠네요. Mother, look after the garden for me instead. I haven’t pulled all the weeds. I’m so worried lying here.

M: 정원일? 나보고 병원에 오지 말고 풀 뽑으라고? The garden? You want me to pull out the weeds for you?

D: 네. Yes.

Ex. 59. M. Circumlocution

D: 어머님 식사하셔야죠. Mother, let’s eat.

M: 아우애, 나는 진짜 별로 생각이 없는데. I have no appetite.

D:아유 그래도 좀 드셔야죠. 여기요. But you have to eat. Here.

M: 아고 죽겠다. Oh dear.

D: 천천히 드세요. Eat it slowly.

Ex. 60. M. Criticism / show refusal by action / sarcasm

M: 왜? What is it?

D2: 아까 형님 병원에 다녀왔어요. 어머니. I went to see Migyeong at the hospital earlier.

M: 아까 말했잖아. 근데 왜? You already told me that. So?

D2: 형님보니까 인생 허망하다는 생각이 들어서요. Seeing Migyeong made me realize life’s so pointless.

M: 니가 그렇게 패악만 안떨었어도 개가 그렇게 아팠어? She wouldn’t have gotten ill if you hadn’t been so cruel.

D2: 아니 어머니. 식구들은 왜 형님 아픈게 죽다 제 탓으로 돌리는거죠? 제가 될 잘못했는데요? Mother! Why does everyone blame me for her being ill? Why did I do?
M: Let's stop it. Stop whining about life and just go to your house. I'm pulling out weeds for my ill daughter-in-law. Don't talk to me about life having no meaning.

D2: 어머니 우진이 내일 미국으로 떠나요. (Sigh) Mother, Ujin is leaving for the States tomorrow.

M: 들었어. 바라던거 아냐? I know. Isn’t that what you wanted?

D2: 어머니! Mother!

M: 그래. 하나 밖에 없는 아들 미국으로 떠나보니까 너 좋냐? Are you happy that your only son is leaving for the States?

D2: (sigh)

M: 23 년은 남의 손에 키우고 10 년은 남의 나라 떠돌게한 아들 겨우 6 개월 같이 붙어 살아놓고 그렇게 내쫓으니까 너 좋나? He was raised for 23 years by another person. He spent 10 years overseas. You lived with him for mere 6 months and forced him out. Are you happy?

D2: 어머니. 제가 언제 내쫓았다고 그러세요. Mother! I never forced him out.

M: 그러면, 우진이가 지발로 나갔냐? Did he leave because he wanted to?

D2: 어머니. Mother.

M: 너 그러지마. 너는 미경이 아픈거 보면서 뭐 느끼는거 없냐? 갑자기 그렇게 아파버리는 미경이 보면서 뭔느끼는바 없냐구? 너도 보장없어. 너두렇구 나두 그렇고 우리가 앞으로 살면 얼마나 살겠냐? 나아 괜찮지많은 너 네 그 금쪽같은 네 아들 앞으로 보면 얼마나 보겠냐? 부모가 뭐냐? 애마가 뭐야? 아들이 그렇게 좋다고 하면은 한 번쯤은 재가 왜 저러나 알아볼려고 하는게 부모야. 그리고 그렇게 대세에 큰 지장이 없으면 뭐주는데 부모라고. 근데 너 이겼냐니. 자식 이기는 부모없다는 말을 아주 뒤엉겨버렸냐니. 너는 승자야. 왜 자식한테 이긴 얘가 여기와서 코 빼트리고 있어? Don’t be that way. Haven’t you learned anything from seeing Migyeong ill? Didn’t you feel anything seeing her fall ill all of a sudden? Neither you nor I are guaranteed. Who knows how long we’ll live? How long do you think you have to keep seeing your precious son? What are parents? What is mother? Your son likes her. Take time to think about why he does. If it doesn’t have a huge impact, let him do as he
wishes. Anyway, you won. They say parents can’t win over their children, but you did. You are the winner. You’re the winner, so why come here and whine?

D2: 어머님, 저는요. Mother, I…

M: 녀 아직도 윤희가 믿냐? Do you still hate Yunhui?

D2: 네. 아직은요. (Sigh) Yes, I still do.

M: 윤희가 너하고 우진이 사이를 갈라썼다고 생각하는거야? Do you think that Yunhui split you and Ujin up?

D2: 그게 아니면요? If that’s not the case?

M: 윤희가 너하고 우진이 사이를 갈라놓은건가 아니면 윤희 때문에 너희 모자가 가까워졌나 한 번 잘 생각해봐. Did she split you up? Or did she bring you closer together? Think about that.

D2: 무슨 말씀이세요? 아니 윤희 때문에 저희 모자가 더 가까워졌다는니요? 우진이가 내일 미국으로 떠나다니깐요 어머니! What do you mean by that? How can we become closer because of Yunhui? Ujin’s leaving for the States tomorrow, mother!

M: 우진이가 떠나기 전에 너한테 무릎꿇고 울면서 빌었더니, 잘못했다고. He got on his knees, cried and begged you before he left.

D2: 그랬답니다. 여자때문에요. Yes, over a girl.

M: 여자 때문이건 꼬건 둘째치고, 너 여태 살아오면서 우진이라 그러고 애길 나눠본적 있어? 우진이가 그렇게 행복하게 너희 집에 있었던 적이 있었냐고? 우진이가 있는 동안은 너 엄마로서 대접을 잘 받았잖아. That’s not important. Have you ever spoken properly with him before now? Has Ujin ever been that happy living in your home? He treated you as his mother while he was here.

D2: 글쎄요. Well…

M: 문제의 본질을 잘 보라구. 윤희가 정말 너희들 사이에 어떤 존재지 애미하고 자식을 갈라놓은 요망한 물건인지 아니면 윤희를 통해서 평생 서로 말 한마디 안하고 지내던 너희 모자가 서로 원망을 털어놓고 서로 이해하는 계기가 됐는지를 잘 생각해보란 말이야. Look into the real issue. Think about what Yunhui’s presence means to your relationship. Is she
really a sly girl who has spilt you up? Or you and Ujin, who have never had a real conversation… she helped you to get over your issues and understand each other?

D2: 어머니, 저는 요 mother, I …

M: 아무튼, 녀 승리자야. 이겼어. 그것도 아주 깨끗하게 완봉승으로. 어때 자식 이겨먹으니까 좋으나? 그래 자식 이겨먹어서 너한테 남은게 뭐냐? Anyway, you won. You won fair and square. Are you happy that you’ve won over your son? What has that left you with?

D2: 어머니. Mother!

M: 시끄럽고. 니가 얼마나 이득이 남았는지는 너 혼자 계산해라 나는 들어간다. I don’t want to hear it. Think about how much you’ve been left with. I’m going inside.

Ex. 61. D. Circumlocution


D: 아니에요 어머니. It’s alright, mother.

M: 어고 초 불 부치려 들어가는데 쓰러질까봐 내가 더 조마조마했네. 얼른 들어가서 쉬어. I felt so nervous watching you light the candle. Go and rest.

Son: 그러죠 어머니, 제가 이불 깔아 드릴게요. Yes, I’ll lay out your blanket.

D: 아니야, 참, 그럼 어머니 먼저 들어가서 쉬리. It’s too early to go inside and lie down.


Daughter: 그러세요 엄마. Yes, mom.


M: 그래. 얼른 들어가서 쉬어. Yes, go and lie down.

Ex. 62. M. Avoid the subject

D: 어머 어머니, 벌써 나오셨어요? (She wakes up late.) Mother, are you up already?
M: 응. Yes.

D: 어...죄송해요, 제가 늦잠을 자서. I’m sorry. I slept in.

M: 아이 괜찮아. 너도 어제 결혼식 쳐 떴다고 피곤했나보다 했어. 밥은 내가 앵쳤다. It’s alright. You must be tired from yesterday’s wedding. I already set the rice cooker.

D: 저 꺼우시지 그러셨어요. Why didn’t you wake me up?

M: 어유 월 깨워. 집안에 너도 있고 나도 있는데 먼저 일어나는 사람이 하면 되는거지 월. Why? There are two of us here. The person who gets up first can make breakfast.

D: 그래도 어머니. Still mother…

M: 애, 양파나 좀 까라. Hey, can you peel the onions?

D: 몸은 좀 어때세요. Are you feeling alright?

M: 괜찮아. I’m okay.

D: 정말 괜찮으세요? Are you sure?

M: 아니고 괜찮다니까. 얼른 양파나 가지고와. I said I’m fine. Just go and get the onions.

D: 네. Yes.

Ex. 63. M. Propose other options/ show refusal by action

(The mother-In-law is scrubbing the floor.)

D: 어머니, 그만 두세요. 제가 하게요. Mother, stop. I’ll do it.


D: 이러시다가 아버님 보시면 또 역정내세요. Father will get so mad of he sees you doing this.

M: 낼둬. 아유 나쁜양반, 사람을 완전 환자치급을 한다니까 …날더러 누워 지내라는 거야 뭐야 그냥. Forget him, that terrible man. He treats me like a patient. Does he want me to just lie down or what?
D: 어머니. Mother…

M: 언능가 얼른, 얼른. (She keeps scrubbing) Go, just go.

Ex. 64. M. Circumlocution

M: 그나저나 우리 윤희 샌프랑시스코 널에서 시집살이나 잘 하고 있는지 모르겠네. I wonder if Yunhui is doing well at Hwayeong’s house.

D: 그러니까 어머니, 제가 있다가 한번 가볼까요? I know, should I go over later?

M: 그렇다고 너는 사돈댁에 아침 댓바람부터 가게? You can’t go over to your in-laws at the break of dawn.

D: 아니 그래서 제가 동서 좋아하는 음식이라도 하나 장만해가지고 가서, 윤희 잘하고 있으 보고올려구요. I thought I’d take a dish that Hwayeong likes. I want to go check on Yunhui.

Ex. 65. D. Repetition of part of request/ hesitate/ silence

Second son: 형님하고 형수님 왜 시골로 내려갔다구요? Yeongho and Migyeong have left you to live in the countryside?

M: 애는 말을 해도 꼭 그렇게 해. 시골로 내려간게 아니라 내가 분가를 시켰다면. Don’t say it like that. They didn’t leave. I told them to move out.

D: 아니 왜 분가를 키시네요, 어머님? 여기 집은 어떻게요? 그리고 애들하고 어머님은 어떻게요? Why did you do that, mother? What about the house? What about the children and you?

M: 내가 걱정하지 말라고 그러면서 분가를 시켰어. 애 미경이 우리집에 시집온지 40 년 아니냐? 그 시간동안 자식 넷 키우고 남편 수발하고 평생 나 모시면서 개가 좀 고생을 했니? 이제 좀 미경이 실때 되지 않았어? I told them not to worry about me and made them go. Migyeong has been with our family for 40 years. She raised four children and looked after her husband. She has worked hard to take care of me her whole life as well. She deserves a rest now.

Son: 허긴, 형수님 몸이 안좋으니까 뭐 그러긴한데, 아니 그렇다고 분가를 키시면 어머님은 누가 모셔요? 란이애미 바쁜거 세상이 다 아는데 어머님 괜찮겠어요? Yes, she’s not feeling too well so I can understand. But if you let them move out, who will take care of you? Everyone knows Hyejin is busy. Will you be alright?
M: 응, 그래서 내가 윤하영이 너한테 물어볼 일이 있는데. Yes, that’s why I want to ask you something, Hwayeong.

D: 뭐 원데요, 어머니? What is it, mother?

M: 너네 집에 방 있나? Do you have a spare room here?

D: 네? 방이요? Excuse me? A room?

M: 그래 방. Yes, a room.

(2 sec later)

M: 이제 나 남은 여생을 여기서 살까하는데 네 생각은 어때? I’d like to spend my remaining years here. What do you think?

D: 네? Excuse me?

M: 오래 안살아. 윤희야 애남아서 애 학교가는거 까지만 보고 내가 죽을꺼니까 뭐 길어봤자 한 10 년이지 못할거야. 이젠 나 좀 모셔라. 니형님은 나 40 년 모셨는데 그까짓 10 년정도야 식은 죽 먹기 아니야. I won’t be around long just until Yunhui has a child. I’ll pass away once that child goes to school. It will be at best, ten years. I want you to take care of me now. Migyeong did it for 40 years. Ten years will be a breeze.

D: 제..제가 어머니를요? You want me to do that?

M: 그래. Yes.

D: 저기… But … (3sec)

M: 아유 나 이거 달아서 못먹겠다. (Drinking tea) This is too sweet for me.

Ex. 66. D. hesitate / repetition of part of request / silence

M: 알른 수고했다. Anyway, good work.

D: 글쎄요. (Sigh) I don’t know about that.

D: 복 받을려고 한건 아니에요, 어머니. I didn’t do it to get blessed, mother.

M: 됐어. 어른이 말하면 그냥 들어. 한번 저주고 누군가를 폼어주면 두루두루 다 복이가게 되는 거야. 넌 아마 너 일생일대에 최고의 복을 가지게 될 것이다. 그렇게 알고 내일 저녁에 보자. Stop arguing and just listen. If you give in and embrace someone, you’ll be blessed. You’ll have the most fortune that you’ve ever experienced. I’ll see you tomorrow evening.

D: 내일 저녁엔 왜요? Tomorrow evening? Why?

M: 아이들 결혼 시킬려면 상견례를 해야될거야. We should have a meeting with the in-laws to marry the kids.

D: 상견례요? A meeting with the in-laws?

M: 애들 결혼시킬려면 의논할 일이 어디 한둘이야. 양가 부모들 얼굴보고 서로 인사도 하고 덕담도 주고받고 그래야 될거 아니야? We need to discuss a lot of things to arrange their marriage. The parents should meet in person and greet each other. We should exchange words of blessing, don’t you think so?

D: 어머님, 저기 그건… Mother, that…

M: 이런 결혼일수록 지킬건 지키기 할일은 해야 더 변듯한 결혼이 되는 거야. 그렇게 알고 내일 저녁에 김작가랑 내려와 응? (2sec) 아 왜 대답이 없어? We need to follow proper procedures for this wedding. That will make it a proper marriage. Just come here with Subong tomorrow evening. (2sec) Why don’t you answer me?

D: 네 알겠어요. 내일 내려갈게요. 네 끝습니다. Yes, alright. We’ll be there. Yes, goodbye. (ring off)

Ex. 67. M. circumlocution

D: 아무튼 동훈이도 못말려요 정말 그러고 싶은가? 아이 큰며느리도 없이 이렇게 왜예요? Donghun’s really something. How can he do that? Hyejin should be here cooking.
M: 그만해. 나 속상하니까. Stop it. I’m upset as it is.

D: 너무하พอใจ. But it’s just so ridiculous.

M: 그만하라잡아. 너도 특하면 샌프란시스코 갔던거 생각해봐. I said stop it. San Francisco.  
Think about how you would just go to San Francisco.

D: 어머니. Mother.

Ex. 68. D. silence/ say "No"

M: 형우 진짜 간거니? Did Hyeongu really leave?

D: 네. Yes.

M: 아니 도대체 무슨 일이길래 부부여행까지 포기해? What’s happened that he’s even giving up his vacation?

D: 제 말이요. That’s what I’m saying.

M: 진짜 답 없는 애네. 엄마 무시해, 마누라 팽개쳐. I can’t figure him out. He ignores his mother, shoves his wife to the side.

D: 제가 같이 살기 얼마나 힘들겠어요. Do you know how hard it is for me to live with him?

M: 나도 너한테 개 넘겨서 편하긴해. After offloading him to you, I have been more at ease.

D: 어머님한테 다시 넘기면 안될까요? Can’t I give him back to you?

M: 말이 너무 심하다. 그래도 내아들인데. Your words are too harsh. He’s still my son.

D: (4 sec)

M: 내가 교육을 잘 시켰어요, 이런 일이 없지. If you had trained him well, this wouldn’t have happened.

D: 이게 전부 다 제 잘못이란 말씀이세요? Are you saying this is all my fault?

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21 The mother-in-law is calling her pet names like San Francisco
M: 아니 뭐 꼭 그런 아니지만, 여행은 어렵잖아요? Well, that’s not exactly what I mean. What are you going to do about the trip?

D: 갈 상황이 아니잖아요. We are not really in the situation to leave.

M: 이게 뭐니? 돈버려 시간버려. 최기사 차돌려. 차돌려. 며느리랑 아들이랑 같이 여행 못갔다. 뭐? What is this? A waste of money and time. (Call to driver Choe) Driver Choe, turn back the car. Turn back the car. I wasn’t able to go on the trip with my son and daughter-in-law, okay? Satisfied?

D: (leave)

M: 같이 타고가? Let’s go together.

D: 아뇨, 그냥 갈게요. No, I’ll leave by myself.

Ex.69. M. Sarcasm

D: 어머니, 승미왔어요. Mother, Seungmi is here.

M: (looks back)

Seungmi: 안녕하셨어요? How have you been?

M: 어유 그래, 경영팀에서 아무지게 일 잘 배우고 있다고? Oh yes, right. I heard that you are now a trainee in the management team.

S: 네. Yes.

M: 근데 일요일 아침부터 어떤 일이야? 환이도 없는데. But what are you doing here so early on a Sunday morning since Hwan is not here either?

D: 제가 불렀어요. 희한하게 옷 좀 창겨 보낼려구요. I asked her to come over since I want her to pick up some clothes and send them to Hwan.

M: 옷? Clothes?

D: 환이가 정말 안들어올 모양이에요. 글쎄 이녀석이 무슨 말을 어찌나 단단히 먹었는지 제 말은 씨도 안먹혀요. It looks like Hwan doesn’t intend to return. I really don’t know why this kid really hardened his heart this time. He won’t listen to what I say this time.
M: 근데 에미야, 차라리 트럭을 부르지 그랬냐? But daughter, you should have called a delivery truck instead.

D: 트럭이요? Truck?

M: 한이 옷이 좀 많아? 그 집 다 싸서 보내야 할텐데 승미 저 팔뚝으로 가방 하나 밖에 더 들고 가겠어? You should have called someone over to take them all away since Hwan has so many clothes. Seungmi’s arms are so skinny that she can only take a bag to him, right?

Y: (She is embarrassed and is at a total loss for words.)

Conversations between mothers and daughters

Daughter: D, Mother: M

Ex.1. D's refusal: ignore

M: 아니 너 어디가? Where are you going?

D: 어딜가긴 어딜가요, 방송국 가죠. To the TV station.

M: 아이 할머니 어디가시던데, 나갈때면 니가 할머니 요앞 큰길까지 모시고 나가지 그랬니. Grandma just went out. You should’ve accompanied her.

D: 됐어도. Forget it.

M: 뭐야? What?

D: 저 이제 할머니랑 안놀아요. I’m not hanging around with grandma from now on.

M: 아니 무슨 소리야 할머니랑 안놀다니. 버르장머리없이 이게 무슨 소리야? What do you mean by that? You’re so rude.

D: 아 몰라요. 저 나가요. I don’t know. I’m going.

M: 애 애 명희야! 재가 정말. Hey! Myeonghui! Goodness…

Ex. 2. Daughter, Jumi and mother (daughter's refusal) shout / circumlocution

M: 김서방 무슨 일 있니? Is something up with Donghun?
D: Why?

M: Why not coming in, he didn’t look pleased. I’ve never seen him that way. Is something wrong?

D: How should I know?

M: Who else would know?

D: He must still be upset over the $50,000.

M: Men act cool in the outside but are still sour on the inside. I think that’s the issue. Just go easy on him. He’s a good man. You married well. He sent you to study abroad. He looked after your baby. He worked hard to support you. You won’t find many men like him. Think about it, it’s not easy to send your wife abroad to study.

D: Don’t raise your voice at me.

M: It’s hard for me too. He’s not the only one who’s had a hard life. I’ve had it so hard, I want to die. I live together with his grandmother and his mother. I have two sisters-in-law. I work and look after my husband and child. I can’t ever complain and why not? That’s because
my husband is a good man. He let me go abroad to study. So I can’t say a thing. Don’t do this to me.


D: 어떤 사람인데요. 알아야도 그래. 그사람 좋은 사람인거 착한 남편인거 아는데, 그래도 내 구석구석 힘들고 외로울 때 많아요. 저도 아침 5 시에 일어나서 밥해요. 밥상 차려서 식구들 먹이고 시어머님이 설거지하시면 8 시에 아니면 내가 하느라고 8 시 30에 집에서 나가요. 미술관에서 하루종일 그림 보러오는 부잣집 사모님들 비위 맞추느라고 정신없구요. 그러다 퇴근하면 6 시 일어서 조금만 늦게가도 언제 오느냐고 시어머니 전화하세요.

M: 너만 그러고 사는거 아니야. 대한민국 일하는 여자들 다 그러고 살아. All working mothers in Korea live like that.

D: 그래서 내가 뭐 아무 말 안하겠어요. 그런데 왜 김서방만 좋은 사람이구 나는 호강에 겨운 여자처럼 대접 받아야하죠? So I don’t complain. Then why is it that only Donghun is so great? Why am I the spoiled one?

M: 애가 정말. Goodness!

D: 김서방이 아무리 좋은 사람이라고 해도 김서방보다 가족들 위해서 일하는 건 제가 더 많아요. 저는 1 년 365 일이 시댁에서 일하지만 저 사람은요. 이렇게 1 년에 한 두번 생신 명절때만 다녀가도 좋은 사외, 좋은 남편 대접받아요. 저 사람은 허허 웃고, 사람 좋은 틀만 내면 되지만, 저는 하루종일 발 동동 구르고 뛰어다님요. 그러다 내가 일하는거 봐주고 용인해주고 라니 봐주면 저는 그게 더 고마워서 동동거리고 감사하고 미안해하며 살아요. 아세요? 엄마 말 좀 해봐요. 여자가 일하는건 사람들이 참아주는거랑 감사하고 미안해한거고, 내가 가정일에 조금만 소홀해하면 그건 죄를 죄어요? 그런 거예요? Even if he’s a good man… I work harder for the family than he does. I work 365 days a year for my in-laws. He comes here a few times a year, for holidays and birthdays, and he’s treated as a good husband and a good son-in-law. He laughs and just has to show that he’s a kind person. I have to run around all day. If he helps me out or if he looks after Rani, I’m grateful, so I have to work
harder and be more grateful than sorry. Do you know that? Say something. I have to be grateful and sorry for having a job, and if I make even the smallest mistake, it’s a crime. Is that it?

M: 너너 정말 무슨 일 있니? 김서방이랑 무슨 일 있어? What’s the matter with you? Are you two having problems?

D: 나도 힘들다구요. 아무리 김서방이 좋은 사람이라고 해도 내 속 한 번 안살펴주고 자기 혼자 잠잘 때 많구요. 자기 식구들끼리 어울려서 웃고 떠드는 날 더 많아요. 나 혼자 외롭게 고민할 때가 더 많다구요. It’s hard for me even if he’s a good man. There are times when he goes to sleep without asking me what’s wrong. His family chats and laughs to themselves a lot of the time. Sometimes I’m lonely.


D: 내가 얼마나 참고 있는데요. 잘 해볼려고 어떻게든 잘 살아살려구 얼마나 애쓰고 있는데요. 힘들어 정말, 미쳐버리겠네. 내가…I’m being really patient too. I’m trying so hard to live a good life. It’s so hard. It drives me crazy…I…(weep)


Ex.3. Daughter, Myeonghui - mother (mother's refusal) Say "Do it yourself"

D: 엄마, 나 더줘. Mom, I want more.

M: 너는 네가 떠다 먹어. You go get it yourself.

D: 엄마는 할머니랑 나랑 차별해! Mom! Don’t discriminate between me and grandma!

Ex.4. Mother- Daughter, Myeonghui (Daughter's refusal) Say "No"

D: 엄마는 내 꽃에 물 좀 주지? 이걸 이렇게 나두고 싶으세요? Can’t you water these for me?


D: 알아둬요. 됐어요. Alright. Forget it.
M: 아니 재가 정말, 야 김명희 너 왜 갑자기 들어와서 엄마한테 신경질이야? 네가 뭐했다고 큰소리야! 누가 그런거 받아오래? Goodness…Hey! Kim Myeonghui! How dare you snap at your mother like that? What are you to shout? Who told you to receive flowers?

D: 주니깐 받아오지, 제가 그냥 받아왔어요? He gave them to me. I didn’t ask for them.


D: 싫어요. I don’t want to.

M: 저게 저게, 정말. Goodness, listen to you.

Ex.5. Mother - Daughter, Myeonghui (Daughter's refusal) show refusal by action

Mother: 아니 대체 어디갔다 오는거야? 왜 이제 오는거야? 너 오늘이 무슨날인지 알기는 아는거야? Where have you been? Why are you so late? Did you forget about today?

D: 몰라요. I don’t know.


D: (bang a door)

Mother: 재가 정말…Goodness.

Ex.6. Daughter, Younghui - mother (Daughter's refusal) show refusal by action

M: 그러니까 권서방하고 어떠냐고? 나가 권서방하고 말해봤어? How are things with Gichang? Did you talk to him?

D: 몰라, 내가 무슨 말을 해. 자기가 필요해서 샀다는데 내가 무슨 말을 더해. 아무튼 엄마 내가 지금 엄마하고 한가하게 통화하고 있을 시간 없거든. 나 원고써야돼. 엄마 끝아. What more can I say? He said he needed the money. Mom, I don’t have time to chat. I have to write my screenplay. I’m hanging up.

M: 영희야! Yeonghui!

Ex.7. Daughter - mother (Daughter's refusal) show refusal by action
D: 여보세요. Hello.

M: 날씨가 젤통이다. The weather is really hot today.

D: 어떻게? What should I do?

M: 날씨도 더운데 안 죽었는지 궁금해서. The weather is so hot that I am curious of you had died from the heat.

D: 그게 왜 궁금해? Why are you curious about that?

M: 나 엄마랑 인연 끊은거 잊었어? Did you forget that I’ve cut off all contact with you?

D: 시끄럽고 살았다면 병원 한 번 가자. Be quiet. Since we’re alive, let’s go to the hospital.

M: 나 바빠. I’m busy right now! (She hangs up.)

Ex.8. Mother - Daughter (Daughter's refusal) show refusal by action

Phone ringing

D: 왜? What is it?

M: 월 그렇게 팽하고 가? 2 년만에 얼굴빼 주면서. Why did you walk out angrily? It’s been two years since I saw you.

D: 뭐 착각하는 거 아나? 이번 일로 엄마 다시 빼켜 갈래? Aren’t you misunderstanding? Do you think I want to see your face this time?

M: 쌓纠 summedki는? 얼굴은 왜 그 모양이야? 조만간 사라지게 생겼는데. You really can’t be gentle. What’s wrong with your face? Since you’ve been living well.

D: 그러는 엄마? 옷같이 그렇게뭐야? What about you? What kind of clothes are you wearing?

M: 야 사죄보고나 그런 소리해라. Hey! I bought it.

D: 어째 그렇게 여전하냐? How can it be still like that?

M: 아 이제 좀 그만 좀 해. 그렇게 날카롭게. 아 피곤해 어찌살아? Stop it already! How old are you acting like that? Are you not tired living like that?
D: 날 버린건 엄마야. The one who abandoned me is you.

M: 연서방 잡진마. 내가 말하지말라고 했으니까. Don’t be angry toward son-in-law. I told him not to say anything to you.

D: 연서방 아냐 이제. He’s not your son-in-law anymore.

M: 그건 또 무슨 소리야? What does that mean?

D: 다시 전화하지마. 받지도 않을꺼니까. (전화를 끊어버림) Don’t call me again. Because I won’t answer. (hanges up)

Ex.9. Mother - daughter (Mother's refusal) circumlocution / show refusal by action / sarcasm

D: 진짜 그 집에 들어간다는거야? Are you really going to let her in?

M: 어. Yes.

D: 어떻게 그런 생각을 할 수가 있어? How could you think of something like that?

M: 아이 그 사람 자식들이 다 버렸대. 그러니까 나래도 거둬줘야지. That person has been abandoned by all his kids. I should at least take care of him.

D: 말이 돼? 그 사람 때문에 우리가 얼마나 상처받고 살았는데. Does it make sense? Because of that person, how much did we get hurt?

M: 아프데야. He’s sick.

D: 그러니까. 멀쩡할 때는 찾지도 않더니 왜 이제와서 그러는데? So, now that his body isn’t well, why are you doing it now?

M: 아이고 오죽하면은 나를 찾았겠어. Regardless he’s come to find me.

D: 가서 또 무슨 고생을 하려고? Go and you’re only going to suffer more and then what?

M: 내가 좋아서 하는 고생이야. I’m okay with having a hard time.

D: 가지마. 나 분명히 말했다. Don’t go. I told you clearly.

M: 넌 어째 그렇게 니 생각만 하나? How can you just think of yourself?
D: 엄마 생각하는 거잖아. I’m thinking about you, mom.

M: 엄마 생각하는 거면은 그냥가게 내비둬. If you’re thinking about me then just let me go.

D: 속도 없어? 그렇게 사니깐 매번 사람들한테 무시당하지. 아 제발 정신좀 차리고살아. Aren’t you afraid? Please come to your sense.

M: 너 엄마 가르쳐? 어떤해된 기지배가 그냥 엄마가 무슨 말하면 고분고분 듣는 법이 없어 그냥. How can you teach your mom? How can this girl…not listen to what her mother wants to say?

D: 맛이 통해야 들어줄거 아냐. I’m not trying to ignore what you said.

M: 그래 나 무식하다.那你처럼 잘난 변호사하고 무슨말을 하겠니. Yes, I am not bright.
You’re such a great lawyer. Is that what you want to say?

D: 말 이상하게 틀지말고 말해. 끝까지 고집피울꺼야? I’m not trying to say anything strange. Tell me. You’re going to do it even if I’m opposing?

M: 그래 잘난 난 엄마 없어도 되지만, 그 사람은 안그래. That’s right! You might be able to live without mom but… he can’t.

D: 누가 그래? 난 엄마 없어도 된다고? Who said that? That I’m okay without a mom?

M: 무식한 엄마네 엽에 두느냐, 없는게 낫تاح아 난! Wouldn’t it be better for you if your ignorant mother isn’t by your side? You!

D: 그래. 그렇게 하고 싶으면 가. 대신 나 다지는 엄마 안봐. Sure. If you want to go that badly, then go. But I won’t ever see you again, mom.

M: 그래 보지마. 나쁜 기지배. 어떤 이렇게 사람속을 몰라. Sure! Don’t! This girl! How can you not know how I live? How can you not know my heart?

D: 엄마 인생이니까, 엄마 마음대로해. Since it’s your life, live as you like.

M: 에이그 (자리를 나간다.) Sigh… (then she leaves.)

Ex.10. Mother- daughter (Daughter's refusal) show refusal by action / criticism

D: 은재야. Eunjae…
(just ignore her and try to go in)

M: 어디 가서 얘기 좀 해. Where are you going to? Let’s talk for a moment.

D: 할 얘기 없어. I have nothing to say.

M: 너 이혼한다면서. About the divorce.

D: 무슨 상관이야? 나 떠날때 다 버리고 떠난거 아니었어? What has it got to do with you? Didn’t you abandon me when I left?

M: 따라와. Let’s go.

(coffee shop)

M: 연서방이 나 만난거 때문이다. Is it because my son-in-law met up with me?

D: 이제 상관없어. Now it doesn’t matter.

M: 너 언제까지 이렇게? 싸가지 않는 기지베야. How long are you going to be like this, you rude little bastard?

D: 엄만 언제까지 그 사람 병간호할건데? What about you mom? How long must you be concerned with that person?

M: 그 사람이 아니라, 너희 아빠다. He’s not “that person,” he’s your dad.

D: 태어나서 얼굴 한 번 못봤는데, 무슨 아빠? 엄만 왜 그사람만 쥘겨? 난 내가 얼마나 나 힘들었는데? I couldn’t see his face ever since I was born. What dad?! Why are you only concerned about that person? How difficult was it for me?

M: 니가 힘들게 뭐가 있어? Whatever was difficult for you?!

D: 나 학교다닐 때 왕따였다. 몰랐지? I was an outcast in school. You’re surprised, right?

M: 니가 왜 왕따야? 너 인기 많았잖아. Why were you an outcast? You were very popular.

D: 엄마한텐 말 안한거지. 한번 아빠없는 애라고 소문나니까 고등학교때까지 가더라. 공부 잘해도 아빠 없어서 독하다 선생님이 이뻐하면 엄마가 뭐든 했다더라. 한번은 야자하는데
그 사람 와이프가 찾아왔어. 엄마한테서 그 사람 빼어놓고 그 사람이 엄마랑 바람 피고 빼까지 때리더라. I just didn’t tell you. Once others found out that I don’t have a father, I was always bullied. Even when I studied hard, I was reminded that I don’t have a father. You gave the teachers bribes so they would favor me. Once a person’s wife came to find me. She told me to keep you away from her husband.

M: 너한테도 갔었다구? She came looking for you too?

D: 난 아무한테도 기댈 데가 없었어. 엄마한테 휘어놓고 울고 싶어도, 엄만 지적만하고 칭찬 한 번 안했잖아. I didn’t have anyone to count on. Even if I wanted to run crying to you, you we’re indifferent and you wouldn’t have praised me.

M: 너 애비없는 자식 소리 듣기 싫어서 그랬어. 강하게 키울려고. I didn’t want to hear other people saying you’re a child without a father. I wanted you to be strong on your own.

D: 덕분에 많이 외로웠어. Relying on myself… I was very lonely.

M: 그러니까 연서방이랑 잘 살아야? That’s why you should live well with your husband.

D: 그 사람 옆에 있으면, 더 외로워. When I’m next to that person, I’m more lonely.

Ex.11. Mother-daughter (Daughter's refusal) criticism

M: 너 진짜 연서방이랑 진짜 끝낸거야? You and he are really done?

D: 다시 싸울까봐 겁나서 그땐 진짜 휘들어했거든, 그냥 지금처럼 친구로 봐. I’m scard we’re going to fight again. It was really hard then. I just want to see him as friends.

M: 친구는 무슨 …그러다가 뒷이래 채가면? Friend? What if another woman takes him?

D: 거기까지는 생각 안해봤는데. I don’t think of that.

M: 잘 생각해 너. 연서방 인물 좋겠다 능력 있겠다 놀랄 만도 없어 지금처럼 마냥 네 옆에만 붙어있을거 같애? 막말로 남자는 처녀장가도 갈 수 있어. Think about it! Hyung Woo is handsome and talented and he has no children. Do you think he’ll always stay by your side? You can say that men can get married to an unmarried woman.

D: 치, 엄마 참 어전해. 어쩌면 그렇게 듣기 쉽은 말을 쩔룩 쩔룩 웃러서할까? Jeez, mom, you are still the same. How can you say only the things I don’t want to hear?
M: 아니, 나는 너희 둘이 잘되기를 바래서 그렇지. It’s because I want things to work out between you two.

Ex.12. Mother- Daughter (Daughter's refusal) circumlocution

M: 오늘 자고 갈꺼지? You’re going to sleep over, right?

D: 자긴? 내일 출근해야하는데…엄마 나 지금 가야될 거 같애. What do you mean? I have to go to work tomorrow. Mom, I think I have to go now.


D: 또 올께. 그동안 못 본거 억울해서라도 자주 올꺼야. I’ll come again. I’m going to come often to make up for not seeing you all this time.

M: 그럼 가. Then, go.

D: 갈께. I’m going.

M: 아이참, 뭐가 저렇게 급해? Oh, Jeez. Why is she in such a hurry?

Ex.13. Mother- Daughter (Daughter's refusal) circumlocution

D: 엄마 나랑 같이사는건 좋은데, 잔소린 절대 사양이다. Mom, I’m fine with you living with me, but don’t nag.

M:니가 잘 해봐. 잔소릴 왜 해? If you do well, I wouldn’t have to nag.

D: 어우, 시작부터 불안한데. I’m already feeling nervous.

M: 아까 석훈이 가게 왔다가갔어. Seokhun stopped by the shop before.


M: 아니 근데 난 어쩌자고 그렇게 끝을 낼거야? 아직도 감정은 그대로인데? But how could you have ended things like that? His feeling for you haven’t changed.

D: 오해가 있었더라구. There was a misunderstanding.
M: 어우 나는 연서방 편들기도 석혼이 편들기도 워니까 나기 선택 잘 해. I can’t be on either Yoon’s or Seokhun’s side. So you choose well.

D: 개량 다시 시작하는건 말이 안되죠, 엄마. I can’t start the relationship with Seokhun again. It doesn’t make any sense, Mom.

M: 개 입장에서는 충분히 해볼만하지. 너 이혼했는데. From his perspective, he’s more than willing. You’re divorced.

D: 개는 왜 아직도 그래. Why is he still like that?

M: 너가 개 돼봐. 일방적으로 이별당했는데 보면은 더 애절하고 속상하지. Why don’t you take his place? He was kicked to the curb for no reason, he probably feels sad regretful every time he sees you.

Ex.14. Mother- Daughter (Daughter's refusal) circumlocution

M: 나 왔다. I’m back.

D: 어. Yes. (with a sullen look on her face)

M: 왜? 너 무슨 일 있어? Did something happen?

D: 나 아무래도 연서방이랑 진짜 헤어질까 같아. I thought about it carefully. You really separate from son-in-law!

M: 언제는 안 헤어졌어? When did you break up?

D: 다시 잘 해보려고 했는데 왜지 불길한 감이 들어. We already agreed to start over nicely. I don’t know why I’m suddenly feeling ominous.

M: 그러니까 일치감치 합치랬지. So, didn’t I tell you to get back together earlier?

D: 다 귀찮어. 너무 힘들어. 평생 독신으로 엄마랑 같이 살까봐. You’re nagging too much. I’m tired. I’m afraid I’ll be single my whole life living with mom.

M: 어유 이 완수 진짜. 그리고 결혼사진들을 왜 다 돌려놨어? 다 갖다밟고, 방에 있는 큰사진 벽에다가 벽지 다 발라버려. Oh, you, enemy. Why are these wedding photos all over the place?! Then I’ll just throw it away. There’s a big picture in the room. Tear it down and throw it away.
Ex.15. Mother - Daughter (Daughter's refusal) circumlocution / show refusal by action

M: 아이 너 일요일 하루종일 집안에서 흉글거리고 뭐하는거야? (Vacuum a room) On Sunday, why were you twisting and turning at home.
D: 내가 할께 줬. I'll do it.
M: 됐어. 누가 너보고 일하래? 아니 너는 만날 친구도 없다? Fine. Who let you come? Don’t you have a friend to see?
D: 어. (방에 들어감) mmm… (She walks in the room.)
M: 엄마랑 싸우나 가자. (Walks behind) Let’s go to a sauna?
D: 귀찮다니까. Lazy shells.
M: 아이 얼른 일어나. 맛사지라도 받아야지, 얼굴이 엉망이야. Quickly get up. With a massage, you can’t believe it.
D: 어유씨. Sigh. (She goes out of the room, but her mom walks behind again.)
M: 아니, 이럴때 연서방을 만나든지. Otherwise, just go see son-in-law.
D: 엄마 정말 이럴꺼야? 나 당분간 아무 생각없이 살꺼라면. Don’t be like that please. I already said I won’t see him for the time being.
M: 아이 그래도… But…

Ex.16. Mother - Daughter (Mother's refusal) change the subject

D: 엄마 나량 데이트할래? 내가 잘가는 레스토랑이 있는데. Mom! Want a date with me? I frequent a western restaurant.
M: 은재야, 어제… Eunjae! Yesterday…
D: 들었어. 연서방이랑 그 사람 봤다며? I heard it. You and extension son-in-law went together to see that person.
M: 어. 어제 갑자기 전화가 왔서. Mmm…yesterday, a phone call came suddenly.
D: 나 설득안하기로 했다, 엄마. Didn’t mom agree that you wouldn’t try to persuade me anymore?

M: 그런 그런데 상황이 너무 안 좋아져서. That’s true. But his condition was extremely bad.

D: 모처럼 엄마랑 화해했는데 또 싸우기 싫어. 오늘 나 봐야 말꺼야. Our relationship just became fine. I don’t want to argue with you now. Today, do you want to follow me out?

M: 아 지금 그럴 정신이 어딨어? 병원에 언제 불려갈지 모르는데. Now, I don’t have that kind of mood. I don’t know when I would be called to the hospital.

D: 알았어. Ok, I know.

Ex.17. Daughter - Mother (Daughter's refusal) sarcasm / show refusal by action

M: 은재야 제발 병원 좀 가자. 시간이 많으면은 이런 재촉 안해. 상황이 많이 안 좋아. EunJae! Please go to the hospital once? If you have time, then I won’t be like this urging you. His condition is extremely bad.

D: 상관없어. Why does it matter to me?

M: 그렇게 싸가지없이 말하지말고. Don’t talk in such a crazy way.

D: 나 원래 싸가지 없잖아. I was originally that crazy.

M: 남이 부탁해도 이러진 않겠다. Is he a stranger to you?

D: 남이 아니니까 더 용서가 안되는거야. It’s because he’s not a stranger. So, you especially can’t forgive him.

M: 그래 보지만. 평생 후회 하든 말든 상관 안할게. Okay, then don’t go see him. You’ll regret it your whole life. I also don’t care.

D: 엄마 자꾸 이렇게면 집에가. 귀찮아 죽겠어 진짜. Mom, if you’re like that then go home. It’s really frustrating. (then she leaves)

Ex.18. Mother - Daughter (Mother's refusal) circumlocution/ say "No"

D: 엄마 배 안고파? Mom, aren’t you hungry?

M: (Sigh)
D: 내가 맛있는 밥 해드릴게. I'll make you something to eat.

M: 밥은 무슨. I don't need to eat.

D: 내가 배가 고파서 그래. I am hungry.

(Later)

D: 어때? 맛있어? How about it?

Her younger brother: 짜. Salty.

D: 짜? 엄만 어때? Salty? Mother, you?

M: 염전이 따로없네. It’s different from before.

D: 이거 섞어. Eat it with plain rice.

Her younger brother: 에이 단순하기는. You are really pure.

D: 왜 짜다며. 엄마 섞어. How is it? Mom, you mix it.

M: 냉혀. No way.

D: 쥐. 그럼 다시 볶아줄게. Give me, I'll redo the rice.

M: 야유 그냥 냉혀. 매일 먹는 밥 한끼 맛없으면 어때? Just let me eat it. Every day, you eat the same bad food, then what?

D: 끝까지 맛없데. 쥐, 다시 볶아줄게. It’s not good. Let me redo it.

M: 야유 냉혀. Don’t need to!

D: 엄마꺼 쥐. Let me redo it.

M: 야유 냉혀. Leave it.

Ex.19. Mother - Daughter (Daughter's refusal) circumlocution
M: 근데 진짜 연서방이 너랑 합치기 싫데? Extension son-in-law really don’t want to be remarried!

D: 아니, 그렇게 아니라. Well, it’s not like that.

M: 아니 장례식 때도 그렇게 살갑게 죽기더니 왜? During the funeral, the mood was so good. How is it?

D: 그게 아니라니까. That’s not what I meant.

M: 아이참나, 생각할수록 서운하네. 아니 여자가 먼저 합치자는 소리까지 했으면 음 뭔가는 척하고서 받아주야지, 그래봐야 저만 손해지 난 석훈이도 있잖아. After thinking about, the more I think about it, the more there seems to be something wrong. The woman is the first to mention about getting remarried. How can he just act that way! So it’s just you that got hurt! Don’t you also have seokhun?

D: 석훈이는 이미 떠난 기차라네. He has already left, mom.

Ex.20. Yunhui - mother (Mother's refusal) Say "No"

Y: 아침 준비 도와드릴까요. 파 다듬을까요? I want to help make breakfast. Should I cut up the scallions?


Y: 네. Yes

Ex.21. Yunhui - mother (Yunhui's refusal) circumlocution

Y: 다녀왔습니다. Hello.

M: 아니 어떻게 일찍오니? You’re home early.

Y: 그냥요. Yes.

M: 밥 비빴어. 와서 좀 먹어봐. Come and have some rice.

Y: 됐어요. 저 그냥 들어가서 좀 싶어요. It’s okay. I want to rest.
VITA

Saem Han holds a Bachelor of Arts degree in Inter-Cultural Studies from the Kosin University in South Korea. During her undergraduate days, she received excellent grades scholarships for entire 4 years from Kosin University, and she worked as an assistant in Prof. Jaeguk Cha’s office from 1999 to 2001. She holds a Master of Arts degree in Applied English Linguistics from Chung-Ang University in South Korea. During her graduate, she worked as a member of the English Linguistic Science Association of Korea and the childhood English Education Society of Korea at Chung-Ang University. She also worked as a research assistant in the Department of English Linguistic Science at Chung-Ang University. She started teaching for about 2 years as an English teacher in Seoul. While teaching English she decided to move to the United States to expand her insights and knowledge in the area of foreign cultures and languages. While teaching Korean to speakers of other languages in Houston, TX, for one year, she entered the graduate school of the Louisiana State University in the Interdepartment of Linguistics in the fall of 2007. During the graduate program she served as a research assistant in the Department of English. She expects to receive her doctoral degree in Linguistics from Louisiana State University in the summer of 2013.