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Women's talk, mothers' work: Korean mothers' address terms, solidarity, and power

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Abstract

This study analyzes 400 minutes of natural conversations between Korean married women and investigates their interactions with focus on their use of address terms to index closeness. In particular, it examines the emergence of the female solidarity term *caki* 'you', and demonstrates solidarity's entailment of power. Traditionally, Korean women with children have been addressed by reference to their children's names (e.g. 'Ken's mom') even by her friends. *Caki*, which allows friends to directly address each other, has become a popular alternative, indicating solidarity. In addition, contrary to their traditional dismissal as gossip, Korean mothers' conversations and networks have become a socially recognized form of power, called the 'Married Women's Network', for sharing valuable information, particularly on children's education. Therefore, women's use of the solidarity term *caki* may also be motivated by a power factor to stay integrated in the mothers' network, demonstrating Tannen's 'paradox of power and solidarity'.

Keywords

Address term, language and gender, mother, personal pronoun, power, solidarity, women's network, women's talk

Introduction

Brown and Gilman's (1960) pioneering study and additional supporting studies (Brown, 1965; Friedrich, 1986; Kroger et al., 1984) have established power and solidarity as two opposing factors that determine the choice of personal pronouns and address forms in

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many different languages including German, Italian, Russian, Greek, Chinese, and Korean. A famous example is French *tu* and *vous*: between two speakers of symmetrical (solidarity) relations, one personal pronoun is reciprocally used whereas between two speakers of asymmetrical (power) relations, the two different pronouns are non-reciprocally used.

More recently, however, Tannen (1984, 1986, 1987, 1993, 2003) has challenged this framework and proposed that in interactional discourse, power and solidarity are not really distinct or separate from each other. She explains that the same linguistic strategy can be employed for both power and solidarity, creating room for ambiguity between the two factors. For instance, an overlap in conversation can be an interruption to steal the floor (power-motivated) or an enthusiastic co-construction of a turn (solidarity-motivated; Tannen, 1993: 175–176). Similarly, a strategy can be polysemous for power and solidarity. If a friend repeatedly picks up the check after dining together, this can be both an act of solidarity (generosity) and an act of power (display of wealth; Tannen, 1993: 169). Based on these examples and more, Tannen (1993, 2003) proposes 'the ambiguity and polysemy of power and solidarity'.

In the same vein, Tannen (1993) proposes that power and solidarity are in fact in a paradoxical relationship to each other because one entails the other:

> Any show of solidarity necessarily entails power, in that the requirement of similarity and closeness limits freedom and independence. At the same time, any show of power entails solidarity by involving participants in relation to each other. This creates a closeness that can be contrasted with the distance of individuals who have no relation to each other at all. (p. 167)

In this study, starting from Tannen's arguments, I will explore the dynamic relationship between power and solidarity, in particular, solidarity's entailment of power. Based on an ethnographic study of Korean married women friends' conversational interactions, I will demonstrate that in a group whose members are relatively equal, solidarity can constitute a new form of power, in the sense that (a) requirements of similarity and closeness force individuals to reciprocate favors (power) and (b) a tight-knit solidarity group can emerge as having collective power.

This article analyzes 400 minutes of naturally occurring conversations between Korean married women friends and examines their use of *address terms*, that is, terms used to address and refer to the hearer. Along with honorific or non-honorific speech levels, address terms serve as an excellent *indexical* device (Lyons, 1977; Ochs, 1990; see Note 1 for more on indexicality), which Korean speakers use to define and negotiate their relationship with their hearers in the given interaction.[1] In particular, this article will focus on a new phenomenon in the Korean married women's community, the replacement of the traditional address form 'Child's Name Mom' (e.g. Ken's Mom) with the newly emerging female pronoun *caki* 'you'.

Park (1992) defined *caki* as the 'female second person pronoun' because it is mostly used between female speakers. At the same time, *caki* can be labeled as a solidarity term because it can only be used between interlocutors with close or at least established relationships (Kang, 2002; Park and Chae, 1999). The term *caki* was originally a reflexive pronoun; in the 1970s, it started to be used as a second-person pronoun between lovers and within married couples (Jang, 1984; Kim, 1984; Park and Chae, 1999). Starting in the early 1990s, it began to be used as a second-person pronoun between female speakers

in close relationships. Presently, these three uses of *caki* co-exist, as shown in Excerpts (1) through (3). Among the three, this study will focus on the female second-person pronoun *caki*, shown in Excerpt (3):

(1) (Kim & Nue):[2] Reflexive pronoun

1=> Kim: emma-ka:: **caki**-uy cwukwan-i iss-eya tway-yo::,[3]
Mom-NOM **caki**-GEN subjectivity-NOM exist-OBL become-POL
'Moms should have their **own** independent thoughts (about their children's education)'.

2 Nue: kuleh-ci-yo:,
be.that-COMM-POL
'Yes, that's right'.

(2) (At the Church): Second person pronoun (between lovers or within married couples)

1=> Kim: **caki**-ya, i-ke penho cek-eya-ci,
caki-VOC this-thing number write-OBL-COMM
'**Caki**, we have to write the number of this (picture to order)'.

2 pol phen iss-eyo::?
ballpoint pen exist-POL
'Do you have a ballpoint pen?'

3 Hus-: eps-e.
band not.exist-IE
'I do not have'.

(3) (Three Friends): Second person pronoun (between female friends)

1=> Kim: kuntey **caki**-ya:? cenhwa-ka eti-ss-nya:::?
but **caki**-VOC telephone-NOM where-exist-Q?
'By the way, **caki**, where is the telephone?'

2 Pia: cen::hwa? (0.2) ceki.
telephone there
'Telephone? There'

There have been two previous studies on the new female second-person pronoun *caki*: Park (1992) and Park and Chae (1999). Park (1992), which was the first study that noted the emergence of *caki* as a female second-person pronoun, focused on linguistic aspects and discussed the mechanism through which a reflexive pronoun can change into second-person pronoun. In the history of Korean, reflexive pronouns have repeatedly served as sources for the second-person pronouns as with *caki*, *caney*, *tangsin*, and *inyek* (Hwang, 2001; Jang, 1984; Kim, 1984; Lee, 1978; Park, 1992; Sohn,

1999). As Hwang (2001) notes, with time, existing second-person pronouns have undergone semantic derogation (*tangsin*), functional narrowing (*caney*) or obsoleteness (*inyek*), and this made room for another reflexive pronoun to become a second-person pronoun.

Park and Chae (1999) was a quantitative study on *caki*, which conducted surveys on 342 subjects (both genders of various ages). Based on their surveys, they confirmed the female predominance of this new use of *caki* and pointed out that its use is most typical and popular among married women who have children and who range in age from their late-20s to mid-50s.

Although these studies have made significant contributions to the study of *caki*, they have left a few crucial questions unanswered. In particular, with respect to the motivation for the new female use of *caki*, Park (1992: 497–498) concluded that with women's increased social activities, some women started to have more diversified relationships beyond their homes, and among these women, a new second-person pronoun was needed. However, considering that the most typical women having social activities are career women rather than women with children, this conclusion seems to be at odds with Park and Chae's (1999) finding that married women with children are the most typical and avid users of this new pronoun. Furthermore, neither of the studies looked at actual conversational data, and their examples were invented sentences. This study will try to fill these gaps left by the previous studies.

While the previous studies focused on the term *caki*, this study, as an ethnographic study, will focus on a specific user group, married women with children, who have been identified as its most typical users. Using their conversational data, the study will address the following two questions. First, unlike in the case of Japanese, where speakers use different first-person pronouns depending on their gender, gender has not been considered to be a strong factor in the use of Korean personal pronouns. Why, then, has *caki* emerged as a specifically female pronoun?[4] Second, among female speakers, why is this term especially popular among women with children?

Investigation of these questions led to much more complex issues surrounding Korean married women, which have not been discussed in the previous studies: (a) linguistically, the extensive replacement of mothers' names with children's names and (b) socio-culturally, the importance of mothers' collective networks and the intertwinement of solidarity and power in women friends' interactions. The socio-cultural factors are more complex and culturally specific, and hence require some background information.

In Korea, mothers' solidarity relationships with fellow mothers allow them to form a collective network which shares information about various topics, but most importantly, about children's 'private education' and academics at school. 'Private education' (*sakyoyuk* in Korean) means tutoring outside of school, mostly in academic subjects. A survey in 2007 showed that 77% of Korean students learn through such private education.[5] As indicated by one of the world's highest college entrance rates (81.3% in 2004), 'academic elitism' (*hakpel cwuuy* in Korean) is deeply rooted in the Korean psyche and is central to one's success in Korea. As a majority of students go to college, competition is intense for better colleges as well as for private education that prepares students for college entrance exams (believed to be the driving force in getting into the better colleges).

In this situation, as managers of their children's education, mothers often have to make efforts to obtain exclusive information on quality private education and schoolwork, and close relationships with fellow mothers within the mothers' network can function as a gateway to access such information. The Korean mass media labels this new aspect of mothers' roles 'mothers' information power' (*emeni-uy cengpolyek*) or 'the married women's network' (*ajumma neythuwekhu*); as these labels demonstrate, it has already become a socially recognized form of power in Korea. Considered against this socio-cultural backdrop, mothers' use of the solidarity term *caki*, which facilitates the building of solidarity relations with fellow mothers, can also be viewed as an act of creating power, illustrating Tannen's (1993) argument that power and solidarity can co-exist or entail each other ('the paradox of power and solidarity').

This study will analyze linguistic as well as socio-cultural factors that underlie the popular use of *caki* within the community of Korean married women. The organization of this article is as follows. The following section describes the data used for the study, after which Korean adults' use of address terms focusing on gender dichotomies and the entwinement of power and solidarity is surveyed. The findings of Park and Chae's (1999) surveys on the new female pronoun *caki* are then briefly reviewed. The next two sections analyze Korean married women friends' use of address terms using conversational data and statistical information, after which the Korean 'married women's network' as a factor behind the popularity of *caki* among married women is examined. Finally the last section further implications of this study are presented.

Data

This study is based on 400 minutes of conversations between Korean married women which were recorded in 1999 by one of the participants, Kim, in the southern city of Pohang in Kyengsang province, Korea. Kim is the author's older sister. In 1999, the author was studying in graduate school at the University of California, Los Angeles, and taking Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis courses. As the author needed naturally occurring conversational data for courses and research, Kim was asked to randomly record her conversations. A majority of the recorded conversations turned out to be between her and her female friends.

Before recording, Kim informed her friends that she would send the tapes to her sister in Los Angeles for her research. The participants agreed to the recording and Kim put the video or audio recording device on a piece of furniture facing them. The device was set in one place until they finished the conversation. The participants appeared not to be disturbed by the recording since there was no one else present besides the usual friends.

In 2007, while examining the data, I noticed striking and intricate strategies that the speakers adopt to address and refer to each other, sometimes for cultural reasons and sometimes for interpersonal reasons. For instance, Kim is always present in the 400 minutes of conversations, but her real name, Kim, is not mentioned even once. In another instance, two newly acquainted friends (see 'Kim & Nue' later) carried on their

conversation for 24 minutes without really addressing each other (see the 'Acquaintances' conversation and absence of *caki*' sub-section later for a discussion).

The Korean language lacks an egalitarian, generic second-person pronoun like the English *you*, and it is generally inappropriate to address an adult by their first name. In this situation, Korean speakers have to choose a term from a group of second-person pronouns and additional terms such as kinship terms and job titles to address the hearer, and in choosing one term over another, they can actively *define* and *create* their relationships with the hearers. The clear indexical power of the Korean address terms observed in the data led to this study.

The data for this study are composed of 13 conversations with 12 different participants. Among them, eight conversations were video-taped (285 minutes) and five were audio-taped (115 minutes). Detailed information on each conversation and its participants is listed in Table 1. The total amount of data that Kim recorded was much larger, but I only transcribed 400 minutes. The entire conversations of 'Four Friends' and 'Three Friends' were transcribed. For two-party conversations, I tried to transcribe 30 minutes from each conversation with four exceptions as follows: the whole 36 minutes of 'Kim & Un' are transcribed for its detailed analysis in the '*Caki* as a linguistic device to create solidarity relationships' sub-section; 'Kim & Woo (1)' was a short conversation; and I curtailed 'Kim & Dee' and 'Kim & Nue' at 20 and 24 minutes respectively to fix the data size at 400 minutes.

The participants are middle-class married women ranging from their mid-30s to mid-40s. They are all friends or acquaintances of Kim (37 years old) and live in or near Kim's apartment complex. Many of them have children whose ages are the same as or similar to Kim's son, Ken (12 years old).[6]

In Table 1, the conversations are ordered from the top downward based on the degree of closeness between Kim and the participating interlocutor(s). Relationships cannot be measured precisely, but at the time of recording, this was the approximate ordering of closeness as described by Kim. In addition, Korean has linguistic devices that encode interpersonal closeness (e.g. intimate vs polite style ender, honorific suffix); these can function as indicators of closeness signaled by the interlocutors themselves.

One peculiar feature of the Korean women's conversations in this study is the spatial setting of the apartment complexes. In Korea, the majority of people live in densely situated high-rise apartment complexes. Due to their physical proximity, women in these apartment complexes can easily get together and form close relationships. Coates (1996, 1998) states that participants in her study on women friends' conversation originally started their relationships to provide 'a support network for mothers with young children'. This is how Korean mothers' networks or friendships, including the ones in my data, started as well. Kim has been living in the neighborhood for 12 years at the time of recording. Neighborhood women who have children with similar ages maintain their relationships for many years as their children grow up as friends. In terms of temporal setting, many of the conversations were recorded in the early afternoon or while having lunch together. These hours, when children are at school and husbands are at work, are typical hours when women can talk at leisure.

Table 1. Data summary.

	Title	Minutes	DA[a]	Relationship and location of recording[b]
1	Kim & Jen (1)	30	Aud	Best friends; same age; Kim's son and Jen's daughter are of the same grade and grew up together; (1) and (3) were recorded at Kim's and (2) at Jen's house.
2	Kim & Jen (2)	30	Vid	
3	Kim & Jen (3)	30	Aud	
4	Four friends (Kim, Pia, Val, Min)	92	Vid	Four close friends for 7 years; all same age; children are also friends and attend same school
5	Three friends (Kim, Pia, Val)	18	Vid	Kim, Pia, and Val from 'Four Friends'; at Pia's house
6	Kim & Ho	30	Aud	Church friends; Ho is older than Kim; sons are also church friends
7	Kim & Moon	30	Vid	Friends; Moon is older than Kim
8	Kim & Jung	20	Vid	Friends; similar age; Kim's son and Jung's son are friends of same grade, at same school; husbands work at same company
9	Kim & Woo (1)	10	Vid	Friends; similar age; Kim's son and Woo's son are friends of same grade at same school
10	Kim & Woo (2)	30	Vid	
11	Kim & Un	36	Vid	Friendship just started; from same hometown; similar age; children of same grade, same school
12	Kim & Dee	20	Aud	Same church; Kim is older and is assigned by church as Dee's Godmother for Dee's baptism; at Dee's house
13	Kim & Nue	24	Aud	Neighbors; similar age; have a mutual friend; Nue visits Kim's house for the first time

[a]DA represents data type: whether the conversation is audio or video recorded.
[b]When the location of a conversation is not listed, it was recorded at Kim's house.

Addressing adults in Korean: Gender dichotomy and linguistic indexicality

In Korean, both the first name and the most common, intimate second-person pronoun *ne* cannot be used in addressing an adult because their use to an adult is considered disrespectful unless the relationship between the speaker and hearer started when they were still young (e.g. at school). A different term besides the intimate *ne* 'you' and first name has to be chosen, and the new use of *caki* 'you' can be a convenient option. Then why haven't most men adopted the new term *caki*? This discrepancy can be answered by two

additional forms that men have at their disposal: the extensive use of job titles addressed next and the alternative second-person pronoun *caney* see the sub-section.

Extensive use of job titles in Korea: Mr President versus mother

Second-person pronouns cannot be used to people of higher status in Korea (Lee, 1978: 330). Instead, as Park (1997: 512) notes, job titles with the honorific *nim* (e.g. *Kim sen-sayng-nim* 'Teacher Kim') are typical ways to address them. Regardless of status, Koreans generally consider the use of job titles to be one of the most respectful ways of addressing or referring to adults.[7]

Unlike in the United States, Korean men use job titles to address each other at work. These job titles are also widely used to address men in private settings, at times, even to family members such as a son-in-law. Excerpts (4) and (5) demonstrate the use of job titles in the private sphere.

In Excerpts (4) and (5), from a Korean drama, the elderly mother addresses her own son as 'Chief Physician Lee' and her daughter-in-law (Dr Lee's wife) as *eymi*, meaning 'mother (of my grandchildren)'. Both Excerpts (4) and (5) occur during a two-party dialog at home: in her room and in the living room. Nevertheless, the elderly mother calls her own son Chief Physician Lee. This practice is not at all uncommon in Korea, especially to someone who is in a respected position, such as a CEO or lawyer:

(4) (*Full House* episode 5, 2004)

1	Mother:	teyliko	sal-ato	kwaenchanh-ci::	
		with	live-CONC	good-COMP	
		'It will be good to live with them (the grandson and his new wife)',			
2=>		siph-ki-nun	ha:-ntey::, (0.8)	**Lee wencang**?	
		seem-NMZ-TOP	do-CIRCUM	**Lee Chief.Physician**	
		'Right, **Chief Physician Lee**?'			
3	Son:	(TSK) (0.2) citul-i	silh-ta-nuney-yo	mwe:::,	
		they-NOM	dislike-DC-CIRCUM-POL	well	
		'Well, they said they dislike (the idea)'.			

(5) (*Full House* episode 7, 2004)

1=>	Mother:	**eymi-**ya?
		eymi-VOC
		'***Eymi*** (mother of my grandchildren)'
2	Daughter-in-law:	yey.
		'yes'
3	Mother:	wuli olaynman-ey kulim-ina po-le naka-lkka::?
		we long.interval-LOC painting-just look-PURP go.out-Q?
		'should we go out to look at some paintings since it has been long?'

Because of the preference for titles, when addressing male adults that the speaker does not know, such as in the service sectors (e.g. stores and restaurants), common titles with the honorific *nim* such as *sacang-nim* 'company president' or *sensayng-nim* 'teacher' are adopted regardless of whether the male addressees are actually company presidents or teachers (Kang, 2002: 6–8; Sohn, 1999: 208). On the other hand, in similar situations, kinship terms such as *emeni* 'mother' or *enni* 'older sister' are employed to politely address female adults because women traditionally have not held jobs outside of the house (Kang, 2002: 6–8). For instance, in the 2014 TV drama series *Incomplete Life* (*Misayng*) (episode 15), the male protagonist, who is selling socks to subway passengers, addresses middle-aged males as *sacang-nim* 'company president' (three times), while addressing middle-aged females as *emeni* 'mother' (two times) and *acwumeni* 'aunts' (two times). The female novelist Jung-Ae Park writes about this asymmetry in a newspaper article excerpted below:

(6)

> When people address a woman, they commonly use kinship terms such as *enni* 'sister', *imo* 'aunt', and *emeni* 'mother'. In contrast, when addressing a man with whom one is unacquainted, they use *sensayng-nim* 'teacher' or *sacang-nim* 'company president' which is closely associated with societal authority … These 'intimate' appellations [such as kinship terms] become often abused for their 'easiness' which is far from authority, and as a result, recurrently undergo value depreciation. (*Joongang Daily*, 11 September 2005)

Problems behind these asymmetrical address practices between genders are multifold: first, the reproduction of fixed gender role expectations, and second, the higher symbolic status of job titles compared to that of kinship terms. Lastly, as Jung-Ae Park points out, easy and casual address terms are often subjected to value depreciation, as observed in the now unflattering use of *enni* 'sister' in some contexts (for more discussion on *enni* 'sister', see Kim, 2008).

Male second-person pronoun caney

Another important reason why Korean men do not use *caki* is that at work they can use another second-person pronoun, *caney*. Like *caki*, *caney* was originally a reflexive pronoun, and in the 16th and 17th centuries was extended into a second-person pronoun, including use within married couples (Hwang, 2001). Subsequently, however, with the decrease of its popularity, its use is now specialized to use (a) by middle-aged or older male speakers and/or (b) in institutional settings.[8] As a second-person pronoun, it is used to address people of equal or lower status.

Caney is mostly used by male speakers such as between middle-aged male friends; in contrast, middle-aged female friends use *caki*. As *caney* is a male second-person pronoun, men use it frequently in the workplace. For instance, Samsung Electronics conducted a survey on their 600 employees (gender not specified) and reported the top 10 phrases that they want to hear at work. Among them are the following: no. 1 'As expected, *caney* (you) are the best'; no. 2, 'Thanks to *caney* (you), we could finish this project well'; and no. 8 'I trust *caney* (you)' (published in *Donga Daily*, 21 June 1999). As

shown here, *caney* is the most commonly used second-person pronoun addressing people of equal or lower status in the workplace.[9]

Most Korean men spend much of the daytime at work. There, when addressing people of higher status, they use job titles with the honorific *nim* and when addressing people of equal or lower status, they use job titles without the honorific *nim* as well as *caney*. With these two linguistic resources at their disposal, men have less need to adopt the new term *caki*.

Entwinement of power and solidarity

As introduced earlier, the Korean language has linguistic tools that allow the speakers to define and index their relationships with their hearers, and to set up the context of their interaction. The most representative tools of such indexicality are address terms and honorific levels. This section will discuss three examples that demonstrate how Korean speakers, fully aware of the entwinement of power and solidarity, strategically use these linguistic tools to achieve their communicative goals.

The first example is the selective use of two second-person pronouns, *caney* and *caki*. The distinctive use of *caney* and *caki* seems to exemplify the common dichotomy of the public sphere and formality on the men's side and the private sphere and casualness on the women's side. It is true that through its frequent use in workplaces and institutional settings, *caney* has obtained clear nuances of formality and authority. To evoke such nuances, some female executives or professors use *caney* when addressing lower-rank workers or students as in Excerpt (7). Excerpt (7) was recorded in 2003 during an engineering class at Yonsei University in Seoul, Korea:

(7) (7CM00001)[10]

1	Prof.:	etten kyengwu-ey, kukseng-i	te sey-ci-lkka?
		what case-LOC magnetic.power-NOM	more strong-become-Q
		'In what cases does the magnetic power become stronger?'	
2=>	(2.7)	**caney**-ka yaykiha-y po-a,	
		caney-NOM speak-CN try-IE	
		'***Caney*** (you) try to answer'.	
3		ung (0.2) ung	
		'yes' 'yes'	
4	Student:	wenso-kan (0.5) cenkiumsengto-ka khu-lttay.	
		element-between electronegativity-NOM big-when	
		'When the electronegativity is strong between elements'.	

In Excerpt (7), the female professor in her 40s consistently uses *caney* to address her students. Korean native speakers would agree that the female professor's use of *caney* here clearly evokes a sense of authority and formality (the traditional sense of power) that the use of *caki* (which would sound too feminine and unprofessional) cannot do. The female professor strategically chooses to use *caney* to reinforce her authority in a class in

the traditionally men's field of engineering at one of the most prestigious private universities in Korea.

On the other hand, as Park (1992: 498) also notes, overall, the use of *caney* is on the decline while that of *caki* is on rise. I would like to suggest that one of the reasons behind the decline of *caney* is its very sense of formality and authority. When *caney* is used to a lower-status person, it delivers a sense of hierarchy and rigidity. With its rapid westernization and democratization, the preference of Korean society is moving from formal hierarchy toward casual solidarity; accordingly, the authoritative connotation of *caney* makes its use less appealing. As a result, Park and Chae (1999) report a limited trend in which some male speakers have started to use *caki* instead of *caney*, while taking the risk of implying homosexuality when *caki* is used to male addressees (due to its pre-existing use between lovers) and the risk of implying sexual harassment when used to females. In this sense, the case of *caney* and *caki* serves as an example of 'the paradox of power and solidarity' (Tannen, 1993): *caney* is the linguistic form expressing hierarchical power and authority, but because the new 'power' is solidarity, it is currently giving way to *caki*.

The second example concerns the selective use between the formal forms of address, job title and *caney* versus the casual forms, first name and *ne*. A job title used with the last name for identification is the formal and default form of address in the workplace. For instance, in the 2014 TV series *Incomplete Life*, which depicts the lives of Korean office workers, characters are generally identified and addressed by titles such as Deputy Department Head Oh (Oh *kwacang* in Korean) and Executive Director Choi (Choi *cenmwu*). Sometimes, however, people choose to use a first name instead of a title to evoke a sense of solidarity.

In *Incomplete Life* (Episode 18), Executive Director Choi tries to convince Deputy Department Head Oh to take on the project that he has designed, although the relationship between the two workers has been uncomfortable. At their office meeting, Choi, who is a superior, addresses Oh as 'Deputy Department Head Oh' or '*caney*', but in the subsequent lunch, Choi addresses Oh as 'Sangsik', which is Oh's first name and '*ne*' (intimate second-person pronoun) to appeal to the solidarity relationship that they once had when Oh first started working without any title under Choi's supervision; see Excerpt (8):

(8) *Incomplete Life* (episode 18, 2014)

1=> Choi: **ne**-to:: (0.6) pyengsayng ka-l chinkwu (0.6) sakwi-eya-ci ceytaylo: (0.8) ung?

you-too life.long go-REL friend make-OBL-COMM properly right?
'***Ne* (you)** also have to properly make life-long friends, right?'

2=> (4.0) **Sangsik**-a:. (1.0) ipen ke-n (3.0) cal ha-ca:.
Sangsik-VOC this case-TOP well do-PR
'Sangsik (first name), for this case, let's do well'.

3 Oh: (5.0) ney
'Yes'.

Switching from a job title to a first name clearly constitutes a power movement highlighting their status difference since Oh cannot reciprocate and address Choi by his first name. However, Korean speakers would agree that this is not a humiliating gesture to Oh. On the contrary, Choi intentionally switches the address term to highlight the solidarity of their relationship and to bring Oh closer to the solidarity axis, reminding Oh of the close relationship they once had when they were younger. Choi's actions also demonstrate that he is trying to appeal to their solidarity relationship. Despite the substantial difference in their ranks and the presence of another man of middle rank, Choi himself pours a drink for Oh and serves a piece of sashimi on Oh's plate. Solidarity limits one's freedom and binds individuals to reciprocate favors. By addressing Oh with first name and *ne*, Choi privatizes and personalizes his request to Oh and appeals to him capitalizing on the solidarity relationship that they once had.

The last example concerns honorific speech levels, in particular, the selective use of the polite and the intimate styles. In everyday speech, Korean speakers generally use four speech levels – the intimate, plain, polite, and deferential styles – depending on their relationship with the hearer (Sohn, 1994, 1999). Among them, the intimate and plain styles are non-honorific and are often mixed. In this study, I will use 'intimate level' as an umbrella term to refer to these two non-honorific levels. The deferential and polite styles are honorific speech levels. Between the two, the deferential style is more formal and polite; it is used, among other settings, in news broadcasting, presentations, announcements, and the military. The polite level is a less-formal honorific style and is more commonly used in everyday speech.[11] In sum, in descending order of honorific level, we can identify three style levels: deferential (formal and honorific), polite (informal and honorific), and intimate (informal and non-honorific; Sohn, 1994, 1999: 236–237).

More directly relevant to this study is that the honorific style (to show respect) can function as a device to signal distance between people of equal status. Martin (1964) states that 'a Korean may open up a conversation with the deferential style, slip into the polite style, and then occasionally throw in a deferential form' (p. 411). At work, two strangers of equal status would start out their relationship with the deferential style mixed with the polite style. As their relationship develops over time and becomes closer at the personal level, they would 'slip into' the intimate style as a next step. Conversely, if two people of equal status continue to use the deferential or polite style, this often indicates (rather than their being respectful to each other) that their relationship has stayed at the formal, business level and is not close enough at the personal level to warrant the use of the intimate style.

For instance, in the Korean drama *Incomplete Life* (2014), three young men Han, Jang, and Baek start their career together as new employees at a company. In the third episode, Han meets Jang, and uses mixed deferential and polite styles to Jang. Soon the two work on a project together, and through that experience, they build a strong relationship. Consequently, in the fifth episode, Han, who is social and friendly, now consistently uses the intimate style to Jang. On the other hand, Han continues to use the polite style to Baek in the sixth episode since they have not had a chance to become closer. In later episodes, Han eventually uses the intimate style to Baek as well. Han's different pace in switching to use the intimate style to these two males of equal status

demonstrates how the removal of the honorific marking, which is a downward movement on the power axis, also constitutes an inbound movement on the solidarity axis.

The three examples in this section serve as a backdrop for our discussion of the entwinement of power and solidarity observed in Korean married women's interactions. Korean speakers can strategically use the linguistic tools of address terms and (non-) honorific styles to signal their stance toward hearers. Formality and honorific marking are symbols of respect (power); however, as shown in this section, sometimes people avoid formality and dismantle honorific marking to appeal to solidarity relationships at the personal level because this can function as a more effective 'power' tool in achieving their communicative goals.

Caki as a female second-person pronoun

This section will briefly review Park and Chae's (1999) study on the new female second-person pronoun *caki*. Based on their survey, they outlined factors that condition women's use of *caki*, as follows (Park and Chae, 1999):

(9) (Conditions for the use of *caki* among females) (Based on Park and Chae, 1999)

a. Usually, the speaker and addressee are both women; housewives in their late 20s to mid-50s with children being the most typical users.

b. The relationship between speaker and addressee is close, but the relationship began after the two speakers graduated from secondary school.

c. *Caki* is used when the two interlocutors are of similar age or status, or when the speaker is older or higher in status than the addressee.

In Korean society, if a relationship is begun while at school (or at young age), first names and the intimate second-person pronoun *ne* can be used. As stated in Excerpt (9b), when the relationship is begun after graduation from school and thus a more polite term than *ne* is needed, *caki* can be used. Excerpt (9c) states that like other second-person pronouns, *caki* can be used between speakers of similar age or status. When the age and status difference is significant, *caki* is only used from the more senior or higher-status person to the more junior or lower-status one.

What was most fascinating in Park and Chae (1999) was that after identifying 'women with children' as the most typical users of *caki*, they actually interviewed one such woman, Mrs Choi (Park and Chae, 1999: 171–173). Choi was a 40-year-old homemaker with two sons (2nd and 7th grade) at school. In the interview, Choi explains that she uses *caki* typically to two groups of friends, including approximately 10 mothers of her two children's friends. Choi says that she uses *caki* to most of the women in these two groups, with the exception of those women whom she does not feel close to, for reasons such as 'her personality is cold'. When she does not use *caki*, Choi reports that she addresses the other women as 'Child's Name Mom', or does not use any address term at all (possible in Korean as demonstrated in the 'Acquaintances' conversation and absence of *caki*' sub-section later).

In Choi's report, the two groups of friends consisting of mothers of her children's friends are a *married women's network*. My data confirm that as Choi herself reports, among Korean mothers 'Child's Name Mom' and *caki* both function as address terms. Next two sections will examine married women's use of these two address forms. The first section will examine use of Child's Name Mom focusing on how extensively the child's name replaces the mother's name in women's interactions. The second section following this will investigate the use of *caki*, focusing on its replacement of Child's Name Mom.

Use of child's name as an address term among women friends

Identification of women through their children

As mentioned earlier, although Kim is always present in my 400 minutes of data, her real name, Kim, is not mentioned at all. Instead of her real name, three forms of address are used to address and refer to Kim: *caki*, Ken's Mom (child's name plus mom), and Ken (child's name itself).

Once their children are born, Korean women are traditionally addressed and referred to in the private sphere by reference to their children's names (when there are multiple children, by reference to the name of their first child). Hence, Kim is addressed as Ken *emma* 'Ken's Mom', by her friends, neighbors, and even members of her family. As an extension of this use, the child's name itself (e.g. 'Ken') can be used to address or refer to the mother. When addressing a more senior woman or in a formal setting, the more respectful term *emeni* 'mother' such as 'Ken's Mother' (Ken *emeni*) is used instead of 'Ken's Mom' (Ken *emma*). However, as this is formal, it is witnessed only once in my data (Example (14)). In this article, an address form such as 'Ken's Mom' is coded as 'Child's Name Mom' and using the child's name itself such as 'Ken' is coded as 'Child's Name'.

The practice of addressing women through their children is so widespread that mothers usually do not know each other's names since they only use their children's names. For instance, in Excerpt (10), Kim and Jen are talking about their mutual friend. In Line 1, Kim introduces the friend into the conversation as 'this mom' and subsequently, Kim and Jen try to identify her with a more concrete name. In that effort, from Lines 4 to 6, they are actually searching for the friend's child's name, Ran, to identify her as Ran's Mom. In the end, Kim and Jen still do not know Ran's Mom's real name:

(10) (Kim & Jen (1))

1=> Kim: kulay **i emma** chinceng emma-ka:,
be.that **this mom** own mom-NOM
'So this mom's mom (i.e., Ran's mom's mom, Ran's grandmother)',

2 Jen: ung
'yes'

3 Kim: ttal:: tases-ul nah-ko, atul-ul nah-ass-ta-n-ta::,=
daughter five-ACC bear-CN son-ACC bear-ANT-DC-IND-DC
'gave birth to a son after giving birth to five daughters'.

4 Jen: =Bae ky-ay- ani ky-ay-ka Bae-ka ani-ko, nwukwu-ya ilum-i::=
Bae that-kid no that-kid-NOM Bae-NOM NEG-CN who-CPL name-NOM
'Bae that kid no that kid is not Bae, who is that? the name is …'

5=> Kim: **=Ran.**
'Ran'

6=> Jen: **Ran emma.**
'Ran's Mom'

7 Kim: uh, uh,
'Yeah, yeah'

The rest of this section presents actual examples of children's names being used to address women friends.

Use of child's name as an address term between friends of similar age

Among the three forms of address that Korean married women friends use, that is, Child's Name Mom, Child's Name, and *caki*, the most traditional and conventional form is Child's Name Mom. An example of its use is shown later in Line 11 of Example (15) sub-section later.

When the relationship is close enough, Child's Name itself can be used as the mother's name as in Excerpt (11). Kim calls her friend Min 'Jin', the name of her child. When Kim and Pia are waiting for Min at Kim's house, the doorbell rings. Kim tells Pia, 'This is Jin now', then goes to the door asking 'is that you Jin?'

(11) (Four Friends)
1 ((the doorbell rings))

2 Pia: ((shouting to the door)) tulew-a:::::?
Come.in-IE
'Come in'.

3=> Kim: **Jin**-i-ta, (0.2) incey.
Jin-COP-DC now
'This is **Jin** now'

4=> (1.0) ((walking to the door)) **Jin**-i-ya::?
Jin-CPL-IE
'Is that you **Jin**?'

As shown in the use of the intimate style ender (glossed as IE) *-a* in Lines 2 and 4 (instead of the polite style ender *-yo*), the four friends are close. Between close friends (in addition to *caki*), both Child's Name Mom and Child's Name can be used, and the

choice between two options seems to depend on personal preference (e.g. Kim's use of Child's Name in Excerpt (11) vs Jen's use of Child's Name Mom in Excerpt (15)).

Use of child's name as an address term between friends of different ages

It should be noted that similar to the case of *caki* (see Excerpt (9C)), between two female friends of different ages, only the older friend can address the younger one using Child's Name Mom or Child's Name, while the younger friend usually reciprocates with kinship terms. Among kinship terms, the older generation prefers *hyengnim* 'older sister-in-law', whereas the younger generation prefers *enni* 'older sister'. Excerpt (12) shows the use of address terms between two friends of different ages: while talking about their sons' heights, the younger friend Kim uses *hyengnim* to Moon and the older friend Moon uses Child's Name, that is, Ken, to Kim:

(12) (Kim & Moon)

1=> Kim: 75-nun **hyengnim,** yosay cakun ke-la-nikka,=
75-TOP **Hyengnim,** these.days small-DN-CPL-SFP
'**Hyengnim**, these days (1)75 (centimeters) is on the small side'.

2=> Moon: = a, 75-pota cak-ulkka pw-a nay kekceng-ila-nikka, **Ken**,
Ah 75-than small-DUB see-CN I worry-CPL-SFP, **Ken**
'Ah, I am worrying that he may become smaller than 175, **Ken**'

3 Kim: na-to (0.5) na-to,
I-too I-too
'Me too, me too'

By using the sibling terms *hyengnim* 'older sister-in-law' and *enni* 'older sister', female friends emulate family relationships, as is often done in Korean friendships. In Korean sibling relationships, however, while older siblings are addressed by kinship terms, younger siblings are addressed by their first names. Since friends are not real siblings, it is degrading to address an adult friend by her first name; hence, Child's Name Mom or Child's Name is used instead to address younger friends.

A housewife's search for her own name

To an unquestioning eye, the use of the child's name in place of the mother's own can appear as a benign tradition, especially given that men are also addressed as Child's Name Dad in some social contexts (e.g. children's parent gatherings, Parent–Teacher Association (PTA) meetings).[12] However, with the prevalent use of job titles as address terms in Korea, the extensive use of the child's name in place of the mother's own can make women who do not work outside of the home feel that they are lacking titles and deprived of their own names or even identities. For instance, in Excerpt (13), which is from a Korean drama, Mrs Pak Pok Ca, a woman in her 50s, is talking to a younger woman in her 20s about the importance of having one's own career:

(13) (*Ocakkyo Brothers* episode 57, 2012)

1 Pak: kunyang (0.2) Pak Pok Ca-nun epseci-ko:::?
just Pak Pok Ca-TOP disappear-CN
'Just Pak Pok Ca (her name) disappeared'

2 nwukwu myenuli-ko::, nwukwu emma-ko::, nwukwu manwula-ko,
someone daughter.in.law-CN someone mom-CN someone wife-CN
'someone's daughter-in-law, someone's mom, and someone's wife'

3 kunyang na-nun eps-tela-nikey,
just I-TOP not.exist-RETRO-DM
'Simply I do not exist'.

(48 seconds skipped)

4 ne-nun kulako sal-ci mal-e. (0.4)
you-TOP be.that live-COMP NEG-CN
'As for you, don't live like that'.

5=> **ni ilum sek ca-lo** pwul-li-myense, ni il ha-myense,
your name three character-with call-PASS-while you work do-while
'Being called with your (full) three-syllable name, doing your work'

6 ni kkwu:m phyelchi-myense sal-e.
your dream pursue-while live-CN
'pursuing your dream, live (doing all these)'.

Due to the practice of not using adult's names unless in an institutional setting, the middle-aged housewife is saying that her own name and identity have disappeared and been replaced by those anchored in her familial relationships. In this study, I argue that one of the main reasons why *caki* has gained popularity among married women is that it could replace Child's Name Mom, which uses the child's name to address a woman.

Use of *caki* among women friends

Drawing on my conversational data and statistical information, this section compares *caki* with Child's Name Mom and Child's Name as they are used between acquaintances (immediately following), close friends and new friends (see successive sub-sections). Special attention will be paid to linguistic devices and conversational patterns that index the three different degrees of closeness (or solidarity).

Acquaintances' conversation and absence of caki

This section examines a conversation between relatively new acquaintances ('Kim & Nue') to demonstrate that (a) the use of *caki* is possible only between established friends

Table 2. Use of address terms between new acquaintances from 'Kim & Nue' (24-minute conversation).

Form used	*This house*		Child's name mother		Polite ender	
User	Kim	Nue	Kim	Nue	Kim	Nue
Frequency	1	0	0	1	Consistently	Consistently

and that (b) for Koreans, the use of address terms is more motivated to create a particular relationship with the hearer rather than by grammatical necessity as in English.

Kim and Nue are of similar age, live in the same apartment building, and have a mutual friend. In the conversation, it is revealed that although they greet each other in passing, this is Nue's first time visiting Kim's house. 'Kim & Nue' demonstrates typical traits of Korean women acquaintances' conversation such as Next two sections will examine married women's use of these two address forms. The first section and the avoidance of address terms to each other. During the 24 minutes of the conversation, they do not address each other directly because they do not know which address form to use, as their relationship has not yet been established. Unlike English, the Korean language does not require marking of the subject or object in a sentence, and most of the time, the omitted subject or object can be easily understood from context. Hence, in 'Kim & Nue', the subject or object in their sentences referring to each other is tactically avoided; only two instances of addressing (indirect or overly polite) are found as shown in Table 2.

Kim refers to Nue indirectly by reference to the house. Nue informed Kim that children should take an anthelmintic drug each fall and Kim replies, 'Thanks to *this house* (i.e. Nue), I will feed my son the drug this fall'.[13] On the other hand, Nue refers to Kim directly once as 'Ken's Mother' (see Line 1 of Excerpt (14)), which is an overly polite and formal term for a casual dialog between two women of similar age such as this.

Example (14), which shows the use of 'Ken's Mother', also nicely demonstrates a typical characteristic of newly acquainted women's conversations, that is, a mixture of the polite and intimate styles. Here, Nue asks Kim the cons and pros of becoming a PTA representative (*Imwen* in Korean). Kim states in response that when a child is in a lower grade, it is advisable to be a PTA representative. Otherwise, Kim explains, there is no excuse for mothers to go to school to talk to the teacher or to check on the child at school. Nue points out the difficulty of having to socialize with other PTA representative mothers:

(14) (Kim & Nue)

1=> Nue: **Ken emeni** kathun kyengwu-ey-nun:,
Ken mother like case-LOC-TOP
'In the case like **Ken's Mother'**

2 sengkyek-i coh-unikka:: amwuna hwipssul-li-canh-**a:,**
personality-NOM good-because anyone sweep-PASS-DM-**IE**
'because (your) personality is good, (you) can get along with anyone'.

3 ce-nun sengkyek-i cokum amwuna hwipssul-li-ci anh-ketun-**yo::**.=
I-TOP personality-NOM bit anyone sweep-PASS-COMP NEG-DM-**POL**
'My personality is a bit … I don't get along with anyone'.

4=> Kim: =ce po-ki-hako tall-**ayo:::.** @@@ po-ki-hako tall-**a.**
I look-NMZ-with differ-**POL** look-NMZ-with differ-**IE**
'I am different from what appears, ha ha ha, different from what appears'.

Kim and Nue use the polite style ender (glossed as POL) *yo* consistently in their conversation but as shown in Excerpt (14), they also once in a while throw in the intimate style ender (glossed as IE): Nue uses the intimate ender in Line 2 and the polite ender in Line 3, whereas Kim says the same thing with the polite ender first and with an intimate ender second in Line 4. This mixture of polite and intimate style enders attests that they cannot decide on their terms of relationship. In congruence, they cannot decide on the proper address term to each other, either. Nevertheless, they carried on their conversation pleasantly without directly addressing each other.

Friends' conversations and their use of caki

This section examines use of *caki* between women friends: first, between those with a substantial age difference and second, between those of similar ages. Table 3 shows the use of address terms between friends with a substantial age difference.

'Kim & Ho' and 'Kim & Moon' are conversations between close friends of different ages in which Kim is the younger friend. Kim uses *hyengnim* to address the older friends, whereas to address Kim, the older friend Ho uses *caki* and Moon uses child's name (as shown in Excerpt (12)). It seems that Moon never uses *caki* because of her personal preference. Moon used to work as a middle-school teacher and may not consider the new use of *caki* appropriate for her to use. Lastly, in 'Kim & Dee', Kim is the older friend, and Kim and Dee are not close yet. Dee does not address Kim directly, while Kim, who is assigned by her church to be Dee's godmother for her baptism, uses *caki* to bring Dee closer to her.

Table 3 attests that overlapping the usage range of Child's Name Mom, when there is a significant age difference, the use of *caki* is only possible from the more senior to the more junior friend. However, with 80 minutes of conversational data involving only three older interlocutors (who can use *caki*), the results in Table 3 do not clearly show a preference for *caki* by the older friends. Table 4 shows the use of address terms between friends of similar ages; this presents a clearer preference for *caki*.

Between close or established friends of similar age, as demonstrated in Table 4, *caki* (88.2%) is clearly preferred to the other address forms Child's Name Mom (6.4%) and Child's Name (5.4%). Example (15) exhibits the use of *caki* and its interchangeable use with Child's Name Mom. As shown here, both of them can be used between close friends, but overall, as shown in Table 4, *caki* is much preferred.

Example (15) deserves our attention because it demonstrates many typical features of conversation among close female friends. In Example (15), which is part of the same conversation as Example (10), Kim and Jen are talking about their friend, Ran's Mom, and her

Table 3. Use of address terms between friends with a substantial age difference.

Title	Duration[a]	*Junior→ Senior*[b]	*Senior→Junior*		
		Hyengnim	*Caki*	Child's name mom	Child's name
Kim & Ho	30	2	1	0	0
Kim & Moon	30	6	0	0	8
Kim & Dee	20	0	2	0	0

[a]Duration of the conversation in minutes.
[b]In *A→B*, A (left of the arrow) signals speaker or user, and B (right of the arrow) signals hearer or addressee of a given address term.

Table 4. Use of address terms between friends of similar ages.

Title	Duration[a]	*Caki*	Child's name mom	Child's name	Polite ender
Kim & Jen	90	29	5	0	Never
Four friends	92	31	0	5	Never
Three friends	18	7	0	0	Never
Kim & Jung	20	7	0	0	Never
Kim & Woo	40	8	1	0	5 times
Total	260	82 (88.2%)	6 (6.4%)	5 (5.4%)	

[a]Duration of the conversation in minutes.

mother (i.e. Ran's grandmother), who gave birth to a son after five daughters. With high expectations for the son, she disapproved of her son's bride-to-be; in return, the daughter-in-law now behaves disrespectfully to her. Example (15) is the 'discussion section' of this story (Coates, 1996) in which participants express their own feelings and opinions about it. In light of the story of Ran's grandmother, Jen warns Kim of the future mother-in-law role. In Line 7, Jen addresses Kim as *caki*, and alternatively, in Line 12, as 'Ken's Mom':

(15) (Kim & Jen (1))

1 Kim: cel::tay issci:,
Absolutely DM
'Absolutely, you know',

2 ku aph-eyse kule-myen: an [toy-n-ta::,
that front-LOC be.that-COND NEG become-IND-DC
'(the mothers-in-law-to-be) should not do that in front of her (i.e., bride-to-be)'

3 Jen: [Ung an toy-ay, an toy-ay=
Yeah NEG-become-IE NEG become-IE
'Yeah, she should not, she should not'

4 Kim: =kule-myen ku ke-y: twu-ko [twu-ko isscanha:::,
do that-COND that thing-NOM put-CN put-CN DM
'If she does that, that for a long time, you know'

5 Jen: [twu-ko twu-ko kasum-ey::,=
put-CN put-CN heart-LOC
'for a long time, in her (the bride-to-be's)

heart'

6 Kim: =ung mos-i toy-n-ta::,
Yeah nail-NOM become-IND-DC
'Yeah that becomes a nail'

7=> Jen: wuli-nun-, <**caki**-nun thukhina atul hana-ki ttaymwun-ey::?
We-TOP **caki**-TOP especially son one-NMZ reason-LOC
'We-, especially **caki**, because (you) have only one son',

8 siemeni yekhal-ul acwu::- cham::,
mother.in.law role-ACC very.. much…
'the role of mother-in-law very.. much …'

9 Kim: @@ [@

10 Jen: [na-nun mwe atul twul-i-nya-manseto:
I-TOP well son two-CPL-DUB-CONC
'Well, although I don't have two sons (i.e., I also have only one son)'

11 na-ya mwe ku nai-ey:: mwe ku:: i-kes ce-kes ttaci-myense sayksi-lul::,
I-EMP well that age-LOC well tha- this-thing that-thing check-SIMUL bride-ACC
'For me, well at that (old) age (it is not likely that I would) be picky in finding a bride-to-be'.

12=> <Kulayto **Ken emma**-nun:: celm-ul ttay po-ci anh-keyss-ni::,
But **Ken mom**-TOP young-REL time see-COMP NEG-MOD-Q
'But wouldn't you, Ken's Mom see (the bride) when (you are) still young?'

As close friends, Kim and Jen use the intimate style ender and *caki* throughout. In addition, their conversation in Excerpt (15) shows many typical features of close women friends' conversation that Coates (1996, 1998) suggested, such as latching, non-competitive simultaneous talk, co-construction of turns (Lines 4–6), collaborative development of topics, and frequent minimal responses (as a token of active listenership). Also, the reuse of the other interlocutor's words (e.g. *an toy* 'should not' in Lines 2 and 3 and *twuko twuko* 'for long time' in Lines 4 and 5) shows that they agree in their opinion that it is the mother-in-law who should take the blame for this problem.

Kim and Jen's conversation in Example (15) is a cooperative and harmonious conversation, reflecting their long friendship. In contrast, Kim and Un's conversation which next sub-section will examine is more of an unharmonious discord, resulting from their different stances on their relationship.

Table 5. Use of address terms between starting friends of similar ages from 'Kim & Un' (36-minute conversation).

Form used	*Caki*		Child's name mom		Polite ender	
User	Kim	Un	Kim	Un	Kim	Un
Frequency	9	0	0	13	9	52

Caki *as a linguistic device to create solidarity relationships*

As Table 4 attests, between close friends, *caki* is the most preferred address term. For this reason, *caki* can also serve as a linguistic device to promote solidarity relationships, as Kim tries to do in 'Kim & Un'. In 'Three Friends', Kim excitedly talks about Un who Kim is waiting to visit. Kim describes her new friend Un as tall, pretty, and stylish. Kim gets to know Un through a mutual friend and it turns out that Kim and Un grew up and attended college in the same hometown.

Spoiling Kim's anticipation, Kim and Un's conversation shows symptoms of discord due to their different stances, and Table 5 manifests them.

To begin with, during their 36-minute-long conversation, Kim uses the polite ender *yo* nine times while Un uses it 52 times. The striking discrepancy between the two signals that in their interaction, while Kim defines their relationship as good friends on intimate terms, Un still sees them as new friends on polite terms. At first, Kim uses only intimate enders, but as Un intermittently mixes these with polite enders, Kim also starts to mix in polite enders toward the end of the conversation.

Second, in tandem with their different alignments, Kim exclusively uses *caki* (nine times) while Un exclusively uses Ken's Mom (13 times) as shown in Table 5. One example of Kim's use of *caki* is shown in Example (16). At the beginning of their conversation, Kim tells a joke to compliment Un's dress. The recorded video tape shows that Un is much more fashionable and physically fit than Kim. Nevertheless, Kim jokingly says that like Un, she also has the body and money for fashionable clothes such as those that Un has on. The joke is intended to bring them closer by emphasizing their similarity and Kim addresses Un as *caki*:

(16) (Kim & Un)

1=> Kim: **caki**-nun eti ka-se kulehkey ippun os-ul sa-a ip-[nya:::?
caki-TOP where go-CN like.that pretty clothes-ACC buy-CN wear-Q
'Where do ***Caki*** (you) go and buy such pretty clothes like those you have on?'

2 Un: [ah:: ee::
'ah ee-'

3 Kim: na-nun mommay-to toy-ko: ton-to toy-nuntey,
I-TOP body-also work-CN money-also work-CIRCUM
'I have both good body and money'

4 way (0.2) [os-i eps-nya::?
why clothes-NOM not.exist-Q
'how come I don't have such clothes?'

5 Un: [chee-
'chee-'

However, as conversation unfolds, it becomes clear that Un has a different stance. Offsetting Kim's effort, Un states a qualifying expression that distances Kim on three different topics during their 36-minute conversation: 'I don't know about your case, Ken's Mom, but in my case …'. In collectivistic Korean culture, this qualifying expression (emphasizing relational distance) between friends is marked and unusual, and when saying this, Un addresses Kim as 'Ken's Mom'. In Excerpt (17), Un is saying that depending on their husbands (and their income level), women's lives can change drastically, and she uses the qualifying expression and Ken's Mom in Line 1:

(17) (Kim & Un)
1=> Un: **Ken emma**-nun cal molu-keyss-ko::.=
Ken's Mom-TOP well not.know-CONJ-CN
'I don't know well about **Ken's Mom's** (your) case'

2 Kim: =ung,
'yeah'

(1.8) ((eating lunch))

3 Un: .hh kunyang phyengpemhakey (0.1) mwe nay nai-ccum ha-nun,=
just ordinarily well my age-approximate do-REL
'just ordinarily, well, people of approximately my age'

4 =nana mwe ilen salamtul-un:::,
I well be.this people-TOP
'I and people like me'

5 kunyang phyengpemhan namca-lul manna-ss-ko:,
just ordinary man-ACC meet-ANT-CN
'met just ordinary men'

This conversation between Kim and Un shows signs of discord, because their friendship is still at an early stage. Un had visited Kim with bakery goods to inquire about Kim's recent surgery on her ear, and Kim tried to bring them close together quickly. In this effort, Kim deliberately utilized *caki* as a linguistic device along with intimate style enders and complimentary jokes.

Preference for caki *over Child's Name Mom*

Earlier the present study demonstrated that the usage range of *caki* overlaps with that of Child's Name Mom or Child's Name except that *caki* can be used only between established or close friends. It was also shown that among the three forms of address, *caki* is

the most popular form between close friends, and for that reason, *caki* can be intentionally recruited over Child's Name Mom to build a solidarity relationship.

After marriage, Korean women often have to settle in a new location to follow their husbands' jobs, and in that place make friends with fellow married women. The convention for housewives has been to use Child's Name Mom to address each other. However, Child's Name Mom addresses women only indirectly through the intermediary of their children. Extensive use of children's names in addressing women also imposes their maternal identity over the women's own. In this situation, the most commonly used reflexive pronoun *caki* emerged as a new second-person pronoun and was quickly adopted by married women. Unlike Child's Name Mom or Child's Name, the second-person pronoun *caki* can directly address the woman. Furthermore, *caki* can encode a sense of solidarity compared to the generic Child's Name Mom. With these factors on its side, *caki* could emerge as the most popular address term among Korean married women friends.

Women's talk and mothers' work

This section will discuss Korean married women friends' popular use of *caki* as an another case demonstrating solidarity's entailment of power. Tannen (1993) states 'the requirement of similarity and closeness limits freedom and independence' (p. 167). One such example from my conversation data is shown in Excerpt (18).

In Excerpt (18), Kim confesses to Jen that Ken started a new math tutoring group with two other boys. Kim's son and Jen's daughter had thus far studied math together in a math tutor team, but as the children are about to start middle school (seventh grade), Kim, like many Korean mothers, wanted to segregate boys from girls to reduce 'distraction'. Jen, who had a hard time finding tutoring team girls, was hoping to continue with the existing math tutoring team:

(18) (Kim and Jen (2))

1=> Kim: ↓kuntey na caki-hanthey::: kopaykha-l ke-y iss-nuntey::,
By.the.way I caki-to confess-REL thing-NOM exist-CIRCUM
'By the way, there is one thing that I need to confess to caki (you) …'

2 Jen: kopayk-ul ha-y::? mwe-[ntey::?
Confession-ACC do-IE What-CIRCUM
'Make a confession? What is it?'

3 Kim: [ani cincca-n[tey::,
Not, real-CIRCUM
'Well, really …'

4 Jen: [e, hoycholi hana kac-ko @ [o-nna..@@
yeah, stick one take-CN come-IMP
'Yeah, Bring me a spanking stick …'

5 Kim: [@@@

6 Jen: eti-lul twutulyephay-lkka:? (0.2) Congali?
Where-ACC spank-Q? calves?
'Where should I spank? Your calves?'

7 Ppalli yaykiha-y [pw-a,
Quickly speak-CN see-IE
'Say it quickly'

8 Kim: [.hh ecey cenyek-ey (0.3) cheum-ulo:,=
Yesterday evening-LOC First-as
'Last evening, for the first time'

9 Jen: =ung
'yeah'

10 Kim; .hh swuhak-ul=cwunghakkyo swuhak-ul [ha-yss-e.
Math-ACC middle.school math-ACC do-ANT-IE
'did math, middle school math',

11 Jen: [ung ung Ken?
'yeah, yeah Ken?'

(2.4)

12 Kim: ↓thim-ul mantul-ess-e=
Team-ACC make-ANT-DC
'(I) made the (tutoring) team',

13 Jen: =calna-ss-e. @@@
Super-ANT-IE
'Super … hahaha'

Kim and Jen's solidarity relationship requires Kim to stay in the same tutoring team and limits her freedom to get out. This is well understood by Kim and Jen. In Line 1, Kim starts out by saying 'there is one thing that I need to confess to *caki* (you)' and perhaps sensing it will be regarding the math tutoring team, Jen responds with 'Bring me a spanking stick …', and tries to smooth out the awkward moment of schism in their solidarity with a joke.

Building on such bonding power and 'requirement of similarity' (Tannen, 1993), mothers' solidarity relationships create a type of power network in Korea, called the 'married women's network' or 'mothers' information power' (p. 167).

The ajumma *(married women's) network*

Ajumma is a Korean word referring to a woman who is married or who is middle-aged, regardless of her marital status. In the plethora of titles, this term inevitably signals the connotation that the woman referred to is an insignificant middle-aged housewife. With *ajumma* becoming almost derogatory, nowadays, instead of *ajumma*, *emeni* 'mother' is used as a euphemistic replacement to refer to an unknown married woman. Recently,

however, *Joongang Daily* (one of the top three daily newspapers in Korea) ran a special series of three articles on a new power network, the *Ajumma* Network, titled 'From Private Education and Investment Techniques to Shopping and Childrearing, *Ajumma* Network is Changing the World' (19 September 2008).

The main idea of the newspaper articles is well depicted in their picture of an empowered mother: she is clad in full ice hockey gear, which symbolizes a tough and powerful sport. The articles present that *Ajumma* Network has emerged as a power network in Korea. Based on the survey of 624 *ajumma* (married women), the articles state that married women find networking with fellow mothers of great value because they can get essential, sometimes exclusive, information on private education (70.6%), shopping (54.7%), investment techniques (45.7%, e.g. real estate or stock investments), and beauty and health (37.2%); multiple answers were allowed. The remainder of this section will examine the married women's network with a focus on its most representative function of getting information about children's private education.

Mothers' networks for children's education

According to the 2003 report by the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development), South Korea was ranked first out of the 30 member countries in its expenditures on private education (2.9% of its gross domestic product). Due to one of the world's highest college entrance rates (81.3% in 2004) and the intense competition to enter better colleges, the majority of Korean students from elementary school pursue additional study at private institutes or with private tutors after school, often learning material ahead of the school curriculum. In this situation, a consensus among Koreans is that the decisive factor for college entrance is private education rather than public education, which has led to the despairing phrase 'public education (i.e.school) is dead' (e.g. *The Hankyoreh*, 22 November 2002; *Mwunhwa Daily*, 3 February 2004).

Korean people often say that in order to get into the best universities, you need your 'father's economic power (*apeci-uy kyengceylyek*)' to pay the high costs of private education and your 'mother's information power (*emeni-uy cengpolyek*)' to find good tutors and institutes as well as essential information regarding school tests and extramural competitions. In this situation, mothers' ability to network has become a new, socially recognized power (*Chosun Daily*, 8 December 2007; *Joongang Daily*, 17 February 2007; *Kukmin Daily*, 3 August 2001; *Tonga Daily*, 25 January 2002), and it has reached the degree that the college entrance guidebooks *Private Education Mecca Taychi area Moms' College Entrance Strategy* (*sakyoyuk ilpenci taychitong emmatuluy ipsicenlyak*, Kim, 2004: 82–83, 210–215, 240) and *Working Moms' Children Cannot Go to Top Colleges?* (*macpeli pwupwu ai sewultay-ey mos kan-ta?* Lee, 2007) repeatedly emphasize the importance of mothers being well connected with other mothers.

In my conversational data as well, mothers constantly exchange information on their children's private education. In Excerpt (19), four friends are comparing the different options of a private tutor, a private institute, or an after-school program at school:

(19) (Four Friends)

1=> Kim: <na-nun hakkyo-eyse ha-un ke-nun ayey an ha-y.
I-TOP school-LOC do-REL DN-TOP absolutely NEG do-IE
'I absolutely don't do any classes from school'

(0.3)

2 ayey an ha-y.=
absolutely NEG do-IE
'Absolutely not'.

3 Min: =kuntey icey (.) kwahak ilen ke-un::,
But now science this DN-TOP
'But now things like science …'

(0.5)

4 Pia: caki-ka cikcep kaciko: caki-ka silhemha-nun ke-nun:,
self-NOM hands.on holding self-NOM experiment-REL DN-TOP
'(The science class) in which students themselves hold and experiment hands on',

5 kwaynchanhun-kes katha-y::.
okay-DN seem-IE
'seems to be good'.

In Line 1, although Kim says that 'I don't do' any classes from school, the person who actually takes classes is her son. Nonetheless, since the mother is the decision maker, she becomes the main agent. Subsequently, Min and Pia inform Kim that in fact the science classes in the after-school program are good since they do hands-on experiments. As in (19) valuable insider information is shared among mothers through their talks.

Mothers' solidarity and the flow of information

In a very competitive educational situation, high-quality information such as information on good tutors, upcoming project assignments, or extramural competitions is shared only selectively with close friends within the mothers' network. Thus, interpersonal relationships between mothers become a gateway to such exclusive information, and at this juncture, solidarity transforms into power. Joongang Daily (19 September 2008) reports:

(20)

When a child enters middle and high school, the mother's network is considered as the key that decides the child's grade at school. The working mom Mrs. Lee (40 years old) with a 7th grader child says with a sign, 'These days, mothers with children of similar grades get together and make a tutoring team, which is called 'customized private education'. As this style becomes popular, if a mother' relationship with other mothers is weak, her child cannot get into a good tutoring team'.

(*Joongang Daily*, 19 September 2008)

As private tutors are expensive, two to four students often make a team and share the tutoring time. Finding teammates for tutoring is also typically mothers' work, and mothers' relationships become a decisive factor in forming tutoring teams, as noted in Excerpt (20):

Joongang Daily (19 September 2008) also reports:

(21)

> As the mothers' network is becoming stronger, the mothers who cannot be part of the network are stamping their feet with anxiety. From the project assignments from previous years, to homeroom teachers' likes and dislikes, to the good private institutes in the neighborhood, these mothers cannot have access to the information that the network-insider mothers have. A new Korean term *emtta* (*em* mom, *tta* ostracized) was coined to describe ostracized mothers who cannot belong to any of the networking groups; these are usually working mothers.
>
> (*Joongang Daily*, 19 September 2008)

Given Korea's current situation, the title of the book *Working Moms' Children Cannot Go to Top Colleges?* (*macpeli pwupwu ai sewultay-ey mos kan-ta?* Lee, 2007) may not be an exaggeration. Korean mothers' increased role in managing their children's education causes mothers anxiety. A TV drama series *Copying Moms in Gangnam District* (*Gangnam emma ttala haki*), aired in 2007, well depicted Korean mothers' struggles trying to fulfill this new role. In the series, a mother moves to the wealthy *Gangnam* district for her son where the best private institutes and tutors are concentrated, and she tries to break into a clique of mothers there.

Korean mothers' role as managers of their children's education is a recent phenomenon which was brought about by Korea's rapid economic growth and the new trends associated with it, such as a low birth rate (1.15 births per woman in 2004), one of the world's highest college entrance rates, and an increased dependency on private education. With the advent of these changes, Korean mothers are striving to fulfill their new gender role.

Further implications

This study examined 400 minutes of naturally occurring conversations between Korean married women and investigated their use of address terms including the new female solidarity term *caki* 'you'. As a female second-person pronoun, its use has become most typical and popular among married women with children. This study suggested that the primary reason behind Korean married women's popular use of *caki* is their lack of proper terms to address each other. As an alternative to the traditional address term Child's Name Mom, which relies on children's names, *caki* has become popular because it allows women to address each other directly. In addition, as a socio-cultural factor, this study argued that Korea's competitive educational situation has intensified a mother's managerial role. This in turn fostered the strengthening of mothers' networks which circulate essential information about children's education and promoted their popular use of *caki*.

On the face of it, a group of married women friends can be considered to be one of the least power-oriented groups, and my data also demonstrate that women in such groups are solidarity oriented. Most of their conversations are cooperative and show many of the

discourse features that Coates (1996, 1998) described as characteristic of women friends' cooperative conversations. On the other hand, these groups of women friends are not free from underlying power motivations; for one, exclusion from the groups would cause not only the mothers but also their children to lose important benefits. In this sense, the solidarity term *caki* can also be motivated by a power factor. This study is not arguing that Korean women friends are solely concerned with utilizing solidarity ties to seek power; instead, it points out that similar to most groups, Korean married women's groups also contain possible power motivations underneath their surface solidarity, demonstrating the dynamic interactions between power and solidarity.

Lastly, this study has shown that Korean women friends' groups have transformed into a socially recognized power network. Traditionally, women's talk has been viewed negatively as useless chatting or malicious scandalmongering (Jones, 1980: 246–248). In the Confucian tradition as well, women's garrulousness constituted one of the seven legitimate causes to divorce wives (七去之惡). With the recent interest in women's talk, studies have tried to re-evaluate women's talk positively, often focusing on their friendships and roles in moral/emotional support (Coates, 1996; Johnson and Aries, 1998; Jones, 1980). What has been lacking in the literature on women's talk is a discussion of its potential to foster power groups. This study has shown that in Korean society, where information on education has become of crucial importance, women's talk and networks have emerged as a socially recognized power.

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Notes

1. Drawing on Peirce (1940), Lyons (1977) distinguishes the 'indexical' (pp. 99–109) relationship between form and meaning from 'symbolic' (based on arbitrary convention) or 'iconic' (based on natural resemblance) relationship. He explains that the indexical relationship is an indirect one as in the case of smoke and fire; at the same time, 'smoke does not merely imply that there is somewhere a fire; it indicates the fire as the source of the smoke' (Lyons, 1977: 107). Similarly, the indices can indicate the state of the speaker (including stance) and can cover many aspects of social meaning. Recently, studies on indexicality (e.g. Ochs, 1990, 1996) have examined the relationship between linguistic form and its social meaning in actual use. See Strauss and Eun (2005) and Lee and Cho (2013) for more discussions on 'indexicality' observed in Korean.
2. Excerpts (1) and (3) are from the main data used for this study. Excerpt (2) is from a short conversation between Kim and her husband, which was also recorded by Kim.

3. The abbreviations used in this article are ACC (Accusative), ANT (anterior), CN (Connective), COM (comitative), COMM (Committal), COMP (Complementizer), CONC (Concessive), COND (Conditional), CONJ (Conjecture), CPL (Copular), CIRCUM (Circumstantial connective), DC (Declarative), DM (Discourse marker), DN (Dependent noun), DUB (Dubious), GEN (Genitive), HON (Honorific), HSAY (Hearsay), IE (Intimate ender), IMP (Imperative), IND (Indicative), LOC (Locative), MOD (Modal), NCOMM (Non-committal), NF (Nonfinite), NMZ (Nominalizer), NOM (Nominative), OBL (Obligation), PASS (Passive), PR (Propositive), PROG (Progressive), PURP (Purposive), Q (Question), QUOT (Quotative), REL (Relativizer), RES (Resultative), RETRO (Retrospective), SFP (Sentence Final Particle), TOP (Topic), TRANS (Transferentive), and VOC (vocative).
4. Japanese speakers use different first-person pronouns depending on their gender: *watashi* (female speakers) versus *ore* and *boku* (male speakers).
5. In this study, unless noted otherwise, statistical information is taken from the Korean government's statistics office – the Korean Statistical Information Service – and from their website at kostat.go.kr.
6. Three participants who had moved from Seoul used standard Seoul Korean (participants Jen, Val, and Ho) while the rest, to varying degrees, spoke with a Kyengsang province accent.
7. For this reason, a *Los Angeles Times* article, 'To know *you* is to love *you*' (July 24th, 2006), states that Koreans 'love titles'.
8. Another prominent use of *caney* occurs when parents-in-law address their son-in-law. However, reflecting its gender specificity, *caney* is not used to address daughters-in-law. Park (1992) notes that *caney* 'can only be used for adult male addressees' (p. 491), but this is not sufficient because a male speaker can use the term to a female co-worker of lower status.
9. On the other hand, companies in which the majority of workers are female, such as in the fashion industry, have a different company culture than companies such as Samsung Electronics. The Korean drama series *I Need Romance 3* (2014) depicts the former case and there female workers use *caki* to other females, whereas *Incomplete Life* (2014) depicts a trading company where the majority of workers are male and there the male workers use *caney* to other males.
10. This excerpt is from the data corpus of the National Institute of the Korean Language. This government-sponsored institute collected and transcribed a variety of naturally occurring conversations and speeches, and made the audio files and transcripts available to researchers of Korean.
11. For more discussion on the differences between the deferential and the polite style, see Strauss and Eun (2005).
12. In Korean, as a way to avoid calling an adult by their real name, the practice of addressing or referring to an adult by way of that adult's relationship to a child is common; King (2006) names this practice 'teknonymy' (p. 107).
13. Combinations of demonstratives and locations such as *i cip* 'this house' and *ku ccok* 'that side' can substitute for second-person pronouns in Korean conversations.

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Appendix

(1.2)	pause, timed
=	latching
[ ]	overlap
<	jump start
:	lag (prosodic length)
wor-	truncated word
.hhh	breathe (in)
hhh	exhale
@	laugh
(TSK)	click
XXX	unintelligible
word	accent
↓	low pitch
.	terminative
,	continuative
?	appeal, rising