A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF NET-LINGO IN ENGLISH AND KOREAN

by

JI-YOUNG LEE DANIEL

(Under the Direction\(^1\) of Keith Langston)

ABSTRACT

Over the past decade, the use of the Internet has become an indispensable part of life in the new millennium. One of the most popular activities in the era of the Internet is online communication. Net-Lingo, which is a product of online communication, is a new language variety that differs from both writing and speech as traditionally understood. Given that Net-Lingo is considered as a language variety (Crystal, 2001), I describe the salient linguistic characteristics of Korean Net-Lingo (KNL) and English Net-Lingo (ENL) respectively, from orthographic, morphological, syntactic, lexical and discursive perspectives, based on written data collected from casual online situations. Along with the descriptions, I investigate the specific mechanisms that govern the observable linguistic characteristics. I also explain why the cross-linguistic investigation of linguistic characteristics of Net-Lingo is important in showing the impact of language contact. The globalization of the Internet is prompting different languages to come into contact online, which is different from a physical contact. As evidence of language contact in electronic communication, I investigate the influence of English on KNL. Net-Lingo

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\(^1\) To clarify any confusion regarding the composition of my committee, it should be stated that Dr. Baptista directed this dissertation. Dr. Marlyse Baptista, my mentor, was my major professor until she received a position at the University of Michigan. Thus, I have officially changed my major professor to Dr. Keith Langston. I am thankful to Dr. Langston and the Graduate School for allowing Dr. Baptista to serve as a committee member. Even though Dr. Baptista went to Michigan, she promised to direct the rest of my dissertation. I am proud to say that she kept her promise. I took a trip to Ann Arbor during the academic year 07-08 to carry out revisions on this dissertation under Dr. Baptista's continuing supervision. She remains my major professor in my heart.
has become so widespread that it is breaking through the boundaries of online communication and ultimately reaching Korean school curricula in South Korea. Based on offline data, I investigate the influence of Net-Lingo on multi-layered offline domains. Given the influence of KNL on Korean language education, I also discuss pedagogical implications by raising questions such as whether KNL should be introduced into the KFL classroom, and to what extent it should be incorporated.

Net-Lingo is still in its infancy. There is a need and space for consistent scholarly investigation on the direction of language change. Given the number of significant consequences such as language contact effects, the influence on offline domains, and pedagogical issues, the investigation of Net-Lingo becomes more valuable and robust and in the long run contributes to the study of language change and history. In this sense, Net-Lingo is a window to the future of language.

INDEX WORDS: Online communication, Net-Lingo, English Net-Lingo (ENL), Korean Net-Lingo (KNL), Internet language, Telecommunications, Language contact online
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August 2009
Dedicated to my late father, Moo-Jin Lee, and my husband, Ben Daniel
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to those who guided and helped me through my life as a doctoral student at the University of Georgia, especially for the last few years working on my dissertation. First of all, my deepest gratitude goes to my major professor and mentor, Dr. Marlyse Baptista. Warm-hearted as a person and academically objective as a scholar, it is no wonder that graduate students long for her as a major professor. Her enthusiasm in the academic field and her countless devotion to her students have been simply inspirational, and I feel honored to have her as my major professor; and moreover, to know her as a person.

Her sincere support for the topic of my dissertation encouraged me to challenge myself in a new area of Linguistics. Even when other opportunities led her to a position at The University of Michigan, distance from Georgia did not prevent her from advising and supporting me both intellectually and emotionally. Regular discussion with her both online and offline helped me stay on the right track and continue to progress. Her deep knowledge on various aspects of Linguistics provided invaluable insight beyond my expectations. Whenever I felt discouraged by my studies, her encouraging comments helped me stay confident and continue my research. With her emotional support, her critical reading, and valuable input on my paper, she greatly contributed to the completion of my dissertation. She serves as my role model not only as a scholar but also as a human being, and I hope she will continue to be. I will not forget all the moments that I have shared with her.

My sincere thanks go to two other members of my dissertation committee, Dr. Keith Langston and Dr. Hyangsoon Yi. Both are specialists in their respective fields; they helped me
see my study through to completion. I am grateful to Dr. Keith Langston, who provided valuable suggestions and comments on various aspects of my dissertation. His passion for scholarship and personal work ethic, which I witnessed in his classes and in discussion with him on Korean data, have opened up to me the breathtaking world of Linguistics, and he showed me how to be a true linguist. Despite his busy schedule with both his academic and administrative responsibilities, his willingness to give me advice in analyzing Korean data certainly enriched my dissertation. I am also very thankful to Dr. Hyangsoon Yi, who not only provided timely direction on my research, especially on my Korean data, but also inspired my interest in Korean linguistics and Korean language education. I am grateful for Dr. Yi’s role in allowing me to teach Korean to undergraduates; I have gained a first-hand understanding of KFL (Korean as a Foreign Language) pedagogy, and I have met many remarkable students along the way. The future of the Korean Program at Georgia is bright. Finally, I will also treasure her thoughtful remarks, which encouraged me during difficult times in my graduate studies, and her genuine willingness to share her previous experiences as a graduate student and as a daughter.

My years of graduate study would not have been possible without my family in South Korea, whom I miss in every moment of my life. I thank my parents who gave me an opportunity to study in the United States. I appreciate my mother who has always prayed for me and has been cheering me up. I also thank my late father who always believed in the value of education and inspired me to pursue a PhD. To him, I dedicate this dissertation. I believe that he is going to give me a big smile and a big hug in my dream. Without their support and unconditional love, I could not have come this far in my education.

I will never be able to thank my husband, Ben, enough for his endless love, encouragement, sacrifice, understanding, patience and prayer. He brings joy and laughter to my
life, and it is an invaluable source of energy. His continuing faith in me is cherished. He made my goal of earning a PhD his goal from the beginning to the end. Without his support and belief in me, I doubt that I could have completed my dissertation. Thank you for being my best friend and soul mate.

Finally, I thank God who shows His love in my life in so many ways, but especially through those aforementioned.
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1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the dissertation. In section 1.1, I lay out the objectives of the study, regarding the investigations of Korean and English Net-Lingoes. In section 1.2, I examine the rapid and worldwide growth of the Internet and its function as a medium of online communication that is at the source of Net-Lingo. In section 1.3, I present the demographics of Korean and English netizens. Prior to defining Net-Lingo, in section 1.4, I compare Net-Lingo with writing and speaking respectively. In the following sections, I provide a basic definition of Net-Lingo, and explain its significance. Finally, section 1.7 introduces the organization of the dissertation.

1.1 Objectives of the Study

There are three main goals to this study: the first objective is to describe some salient linguistic properties of Korean Net-Lingo (KNL) and English Net-Lingo (ENL) respectively, in the orthographic, morphological, syntactic, lexical and discursive domains. My description is based on written data collected from online situations: social networking sites, blogs, bulletin boards (BBS), public posts and comments on public websites and Internet literature (for KNL). Along with the descriptions of Net-Lingo, a related objective is to investigate the specific mechanisms that govern the observable linguistic properties. For instance, vowel deletion is one of the orthographic characteristics of KNL. I will argue that vowel deletion does not occur arbitrarily, and it is triggered by the relation between vowel height features.

Crystal defines a netizen as “a regular citizen of the Internet” (2001, p. 3). In this study, however, in a broad sense, it is defined as any user of the Internet.
Clipping is one of the most productive morphological processes in KNL. Given the fact that all KNL clippings originated from English words, I will examine how English words are adapted to the Korean lexicon. To answer this question, Korean phonotactic constraints will be discussed.

Subject ellipsis is a common phenomenon in pro-drop languages. English is considered as a non pro-drop language. Nevertheless, in online situations, subject ellipsis commonly occurs in ENL. I will claim that English subject ellipsis is governed by restricted linguistic environments, so that the identity of the ellipted subject can be retrievable. I will show linguistic contexts as well as asterisk bracketing, which is defined as an expression in which the predicate in the third person singular is bracketed by asterisks, as in *explodes*, as mechanisms that govern subject ellipsis online.

The second objective is to address Net-Lingo related issues involving language contact online, the influence of Net-Lingo on offline domains and language education for KNL. The globalization of the Internet is prompting different languages to come into contact online which is different from traditional contact where there is physical space between the speakers of contact languages. I will examine how a language changes when in contact with other languages online. I will investigate the areas where English is clearly exerting its influence on the shape of KNL, as evidence of language contact in electronic communication, Net-Lingo is becoming more and more widespread in offline domains such as the publishing industry, oral speech, students’ school essays, corporate marketing and branding, and ultimately, in the Korean situation, school curricula. Given the influence of KNL on Korean language education, the third objective of this study is to confront the controversy and debate regarding the impact of KNL in Korean classrooms. I will discuss pedagogical implications by raising questions such as whether KNL
should be introduced into the KFL classroom, and to what extent it should be incorporated. To do so, I look at the development of the Internet, which will be discussed in the following sections.

1.2 The Development of ENL and KNL

1.2.1 The Development of the Internet and the Growing Number of Netizens

The Internet is a revolutionary invention. It is “really a system which links together a vast number of computers and the people who use them” (Naughton, 1999, p. 40). The rapid development and worldwide distribution of computer technology allowed the Internet to grow into a global phenomenon. According to Hobbes’ Internet Timeline (Zakon, 2006), in 1992 there were only thirty-one countries that were on the Internet, but by 1997, one hundred and seventy-one joined them. As of 2007, the CIA World Factbook (2007) shows that more than two hundred and twenty countries are now on the Internet. With increasing subscription by countries to the Internet, the number of people using the Internet has also rapidly grown. According to Network Computing (Hudgins-Bonafield & Higgins, 1996, p. 20), there were approximately 9.5 million people using the Internet in 1996, but as of June 2007, figures from Internetworldstats.com point out that world Internet users numbered more than 1.3 billion (Table 1), among whom, Asia accounted for 510 million, followed by Europe (348 million) and North America (238 million) (Figure 1).

______________________________

3 NOTES: (1) Demographic (Population) numbers are based on data from the US Census Bureau. (2) Internet usage information comes from data published by Nielsen/NetRatings, by the International Telecommunications Union, by local NIC, and other reliable sources.
### Table 1 World Internet Usage and Population Statistics (Miniwatts Marketing Group, 2007)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1,249,130</td>
<td>14.2 %</td>
<td>44,361,940</td>
<td>4.7 %</td>
<td>3.4 %</td>
<td>882.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>3,733,783,474</td>
<td>56.5 %</td>
<td>510,478,743</td>
<td>13.7 %</td>
<td>38.7 %</td>
<td>346.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>801,821,187</td>
<td>12.1 %</td>
<td>348,125,847</td>
<td>43.4 %</td>
<td>26.4 %</td>
<td>231.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>192,755,045</td>
<td>2.9 %</td>
<td>33,510,500</td>
<td>17.4 %</td>
<td>2.5 %</td>
<td>920.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>334,659,631</td>
<td>5.1 %</td>
<td>238,015,529</td>
<td>71.1 %</td>
<td>18.0 %</td>
<td>120.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America/Caribbean</td>
<td>569,133,474</td>
<td>8.6 %</td>
<td>126,203,714</td>
<td>22.2 %</td>
<td>9.6 %</td>
<td>598.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania / Australia</td>
<td>33,569,718</td>
<td>0.5 %</td>
<td>19,175,836</td>
<td>57.1 %</td>
<td>1.5 %</td>
<td>151.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORLD TOTAL</td>
<td>6,606,971,659</td>
<td>100.0 %</td>
<td>1,319,872,109</td>
<td>20.0 %</td>
<td>100.0 %</td>
<td>265.6 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 1 Internet Users in the World (Miniwatts Marketing Group, 2007)**

The statistics of usage growth of the Internet in Table 1 demonstrates that since 2000, the use of the Internet has significantly increased throughout the world. Since my study centers on KNL and ENL, in the following section, I will specifically focus on the development of the Internet in Korea and the USA, respectively.
1.2.2 The Development of the Internet in Korea and in the USA

The United States of America is the birthplace of the Internet. Although the history of the Internet dates back to the 1960s, it was not widespread until 1983, when the USA officially launched a worldwide Internet service (Moschovitis, Poole, Schuyler & Senft, 1999).

According to the United States Census Bureau (1999), in 1997 approximately 59 million people were using the Internet. By 2000, the number of Internet users had grown to 112 million adults, by 2004, 168 million adults, and by 2005, 172 million adults. As of 2007, Internetworldstats.com estimates that the number of Internet users in the United States may be as many as 215 million, including both adults and minors. Following graphical web browsers, the next significant technology that increased Internet use in the United States was broadband or high speed, Internet service. In 2006, approximately 19.3% of United States Netizens, or 58 million people, had broadband Internet access. Though the United States has the most Internet users worldwide, the highest penetration of broadband access belongs to South Korea, as shown in Table 2.

In South Korea, since the commencement of commercially available service in 1994, the number of Internet subscribers has rapidly increased. According to the results of a survey conducted by the Ministry of Information and Communication (MIC) and National Internet Development Agency of Korea (NIDA) (2007, ¶ 2), as of July 2004, there were approximately 1 million Korean Netizens in 1997, 10 million by 1999, 20 million in 2001, and by the first half of 2004, the number approached 30 million. As of December 2006, figures from the MIC and NIDA indicated that the number of users stood at 34.12 million, a three-fold increase over 1997. As of June 2007, both the USA and South Korea were ranked as Top 20 countries with the

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4 This survey did not include the number of minors who use the Internet service.
highest number of Internet users (Table 2). The US ranked first in the world with more than 210 million Internet users, an Internet usage rate of 69.7%, and South Korea ranked eighth with more than 34 million Internet users, an Internet usage rate of 66.5%.

Table 2 Top 20 Countries with Highest Number of Internet Users (Miniwatts Marketing Group, 2007)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Country or Region</th>
<th>Internet Users, Latest Data</th>
<th>Penetration (% Population)</th>
<th>% of World Users</th>
<th>Broadband Subscribers</th>
<th>Broadband Penetration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>210,575,287</td>
<td>69.7 %</td>
<td>18.0 %</td>
<td>58,136,577</td>
<td>19.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>162,000,000</td>
<td>12.3 %</td>
<td>13.8 %</td>
<td>35,300,000</td>
<td>2.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>86,300,000</td>
<td>67.1 %</td>
<td>7.4 %</td>
<td>25,755,080</td>
<td>20.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>70,426,117</td>
<td>61.1 %</td>
<td>4.3 %</td>
<td>14,085,232</td>
<td>17.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>42,000,000</td>
<td>37.7 %</td>
<td>3.6 %</td>
<td>2,100,000</td>
<td>0.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>39,140,000</td>
<td>21.0 %</td>
<td>3.3 %</td>
<td>5,846,000</td>
<td>3.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>37,600,000</td>
<td>62.3 %</td>
<td>3.2 %</td>
<td>12,993,354</td>
<td>21.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Korea (South)</td>
<td>34,120,000</td>
<td>65.5 %</td>
<td>2.9 %</td>
<td>14,042,728</td>
<td>27.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>32,925,953</td>
<td>53.7 %</td>
<td>2.8 %</td>
<td>12,699,000</td>
<td>20.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>31,481,928</td>
<td>52.9 %</td>
<td>2.7 %</td>
<td>8,638,873</td>
<td>14.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>28,000,000</td>
<td>19.5 %</td>
<td>2.4 %</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>0.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>22,700,000</td>
<td>21.3 %</td>
<td>1.9 %</td>
<td>3,728,150</td>
<td>3.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>22,000,000</td>
<td>67.8 %</td>
<td>1.9 %</td>
<td>7,675,533</td>
<td>23.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>20,000,000</td>
<td>8.9 %</td>
<td>1.7 %</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>0.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>19,765,033</td>
<td>43.9 %</td>
<td>1.7 %</td>
<td>6,654,881</td>
<td>14.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>16,511,849</td>
<td>19.4 %</td>
<td>1.4 %</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>16,000,000</td>
<td>21.1 %</td>
<td>1.4 %</td>
<td>2,773,685</td>
<td>3.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>15,085,600</td>
<td>71.9 %</td>
<td>1.3 %</td>
<td>3,939,288</td>
<td>18.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>14,500,000</td>
<td>63.0 %</td>
<td>1.2 %</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>14,000,000</td>
<td>16.0 %</td>
<td>1.2 %</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The high rankings for Internet use in the United States and South Korea lead us to believe that the Internet has been very pervasive in both countries. The extent of the Internet’s penetration into lives of netizens in both countries can also be well captured by looking into demographic information of those who use the Internet, which will be presented in the following section.
1.3 Demographics of Korean and English Netizens

1.3.1 Generation

1.3.1.1 South Korea

It has been reported that Internet use varies significantly across age groups. According to a report conducted by the National Internet Development Agency of Korea (NIDA) (2008), as of December 2008, Korean Netizens between their 10s and 30s are using the Internet most (ages of 10s, 99.9%; 20s, 99.7%, 30s, 98.6%), and the usage rates of the age groups of 40s (82%), 50s (48.9%) and over 60s (19%) have increased by 2.8%, 2.4%, 1.4%, respectively (Figure 2).

![Age Distribution of Korean Netizens (%)](image)

*Figure 2 Age Distribution of Korean Netizens (%) (Adapted from NIDA, 2008, p. 24)*

1.3.1.2 The United States

In the United States, similar trends are seen among generations online. Figure 3 demonstrates that over 80% of those younger than the age of 40 are active Internet users in the US. The numbers begin to decline by double-digits (13%) after age 60, but a majority of those in their 60’s are Internet users. The number of Netizens who are older than the age of 70 is less than half of those in the previous cohort groups (ages of 65-69).
When comparing the two groups of Netizens from Korea and the USA, it is interesting that South Korea has slightly more Netizens among the younger generations, whereas the United States has more Netizens in the older generations. However, given that the United States invented the Internet and initiated the use of the Internet in the world, it is not surprising that the US shows a wider range of generational distribution in Internet usage.

1.3.2 Gender

1.3.2.1 South Korea

According to the report "Informatization Fact Finding Survey of the Second Half of 2006," conducted by the MIC and NIDA (2007, p. 4), as of December 2006, the Internet usage of Korean men was 80.7% (18.5 million) and Korean women was 68.9% (15.62 million), (Figure 4).
1.3.2.2 The United States

In the United States, men dominated the Internet in its early days, but now there is much more parity between men and women in Internet use. According to the Pew Internet & American Life Project (Fallows, 2005, p. 2),

In 2002, a slightly higher proportion of men, 61%, were online than women, 57%. Though the difference was not large, it was statistically significant. It is important to note, though, that there were actually slightly more women online than men in 2002. There are more women than men in the country, so the smaller proportion of women using the Internet still yielded a larger overall number of female Internet users than male Internet users.

By 2005, men and women were equally likely to be online,
including 68% of men and 66% women. And it was still the case that the absolute number of women online slightly exceeded the number of men.

Though the majority of men and women were online in both countries, by 2005, South Korea had slightly more of its population by about 10% and 1% respectively from men and women engaged in online activities.

1.3.3 Professional Grouping of Users

1.3.3.1 South Korea

Figure 5 shows that each group of professions had an increase in Internet use, compared to 2007. As of November 2008, in Korea, the biggest group of Netizens was students. The second largest group was office workers, and the third largest group was professionals and managers followed by those in service and sales, housewives and production workers (laborers).

![Figure 5 Internet Use Penetration of Korean Netizens Grouped by Profession (NIDA, 2008, p. 5)](image-url)
1.3.3.2 The United States

In the United States, data from the U.S. National Opinion Research Center 2000-2004 General Social Survey (Yi, 2008) indicates that more than 82 percent of Internet users are private employees, and that 51.8% work full time, and the remaining 48.2% of adult respondents work in some other arrangement, either part-time or are unemployed. Of those that are employed, the vast majority (80.6%) are regular, permanent employees.

| Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Variables Used in the Analysis, U.S. Adults |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Variable                        | Percent/Mean    | S.D             |
| **Dependent Variable**          |                 |                 |
| Use www other than email        | 86.3%           |                 |
| **Independent Variables**       |                 |                 |
| Age                             | 46.3            | 17.4            |
| Male                            | 54.2%           |                 |
| Race                            |                 |                 |
| White                           | 78.7%           |                 |
| African-American                | 14.6%           |                 |
| Other                           | 6.7%            |                 |
| Never married                   | 25.6%           |                 |
| Region                          |                 |                 |
| Northeast                       | 21.4%           |                 |
| Midwest                         | 24.7%           |                 |
| South                           | 34.6%           |                 |
| West                            | 19.2%           |                 |
| Years of schooling              | 13.4            | 3.0             |
| Family income (23-point scale)  | 17.0a           | 22.0b           |
| Occupational prestige score     | 43.9            | 13.9            |
| Private employee                | 82.2%           |                 |
| Labor force status              |                 |                 |
| Working fulltime                | 51.8%           |                 |
| Other                           | 48.2%           |                 |
| Work arrangement at main job    |                 |                 |
| Regular, permanent employee     | 80.6%           |                 |
| Other                           | 19.4%           |                 |
| R has enough time to get the job done | 2a            | 3b              |

*Figure 6 Table of Descriptive Statistics from Internet Use Patterns in the United States (Yi, 2008)*
1.3.4 Education Background of Users

1.3.4.1 South Korea

Education is also one of the major indicators for Internet use. Figure 7 shows the Internet Usage rate based on education in Korea. On the left half of the graph are non-student groups, and on the right are student groups. As expected, the right side of the graph is more populous than the left side is. It is evident that almost all student groups are avid Internet users. As of December 2006, among student groups, middle school students were the largest group (99.9%) followed by college students (99.8%) and high school students (99.6%). Among non-student groups, as of December 2006, people who received a college education or higher (95.5%) used the Internet most, followed by those with a high school education (74.7%), a middle school education (31.7%) and an elementary school education (18.2%) in order.

Figure 7 The Internet Usage Rate by Education Level in Korea (Adapted from MIC & NIDA, 2007, p. 6)
1.3.4.2 The United States

In the USA, higher education strongly correlates with higher Internet usage. According to the Generations Online report by the Pew Internet & American Life Project, among non-student groups, 91% of adults with at least a college degree go online the most, and then adults who have some college education (84%), followed by those with a high school degree (64%) and those with less than a high school education (40%).

1.3.5 Income

1.3.5.1 South Korea

Figure 8 shows that there is, to certain extent, a correlation between income level and the Internet usage rate. Nevertheless, it is noticeable that except for the lowest income level, more than 66% of people use the Internet from all the other income levels.

![Income of Korean Netizens Between 2007 and 2008](image)

*Figure 8 Income of Korean Netizens Between 2007 and 2008 (Adapted from NIDA, 2008, p. 27)*

1.3.5.2 The United States

According to Direct (Magill, 2006), those in the lowest-income households are considerably less likely to be online. Just 53% of adults living in households with less than $30,000 in annual income go online, versus 80% of those whose income is between $30,000-50,000. Adults who
live in households earning $50,000 or more exceed the national average for Internet penetration; 86% of adults living in households with annual income between $50,000 and $75,000.

So far, I have presented demographic profiles of netizens in both Korea and the USA. This information, to a large extent, reflects that the Internet has spread cross-linguistically across the social spectrum. With its demographic penetration, the Internet has served as a new medium to facilitate a new language variety, which Crystal characterizes as “a huge change in communication not seen since the Middle Ages” (as cited in Straw (2005, ¶ 5)).

With the evolution of this new language variety, scholars have attempted to characterize it in relation to spoken and written language, which will be presented in the following section.

1.4 Net-Lingo: Writing or Speech?

Scholars have expressed different views on the relationship of Net-Lingo to writing and speech. Several authors characterized Net-Lingo as a spoken language. For example, Davis and Brewer (1997) mentioned that “electronic discourse is writing that very open reads as if it were being spoken- that is, as if the sender were writing talking” (as cited in Crystal (2001, p.25)). Hale and Scanlon (1999) also associated Net-Lingo more closely with a spoken language, characterized as a way to “write the way people talk” (as cited in Crystal 2001, p. 25). Gao’s (2004) statement, in his study of CIL (Chinese Internet Language), also aligns with views from authors just mentioned. He states that CIL partially maintains the characteristics of writing such as being space bound by the keyboard and standard, but it is closer to a spoken language in that people utilize the characteristics of a spoken language such as abbreviations, subjectless sentences and single-word sentences which create a dynamic online environment. He further characterized CIL as “written spoken style.” Although I am not sure if people use more abbreviations in speech than in writing, in this study, my investigation will include abbreviations,
subjectless sentences and single-word sentences, which Gao described as characteristics of Net-Lingo.

On the other hand, Crystal (2001) raised a couple of questions about claims that Net-Lingo is closely associated with speech. First, he questions to what extent it is plausible for Net-Lingo to mimic speech, given that a keyboard is limited to letters, numbers and other characters and symbols. Second, he questions what kind of speech should be written down, given that different types of people talk in many different ways, especially, when there are people with different language preferences. According to Crystal (2001), “write the way people talk” sounds sensible enough, “until we have to answer the question: which people?”(p. 25). With regards to Crystal’s question, taking his question one step further, I believe that it would be appropriate to ask “Is Net-Lingo a reflection of how some people perceive speech to be?” instead of asking “which people?”

Prior to answering these questions, Crystal (2001) discussed the differences between speech and writing, quoting from his previous work, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*, and he summarizes as follows:5

Speech is time-bound, spontaneous, face-to-face, socially interactive, loosely structured, immediately revisable and prosodically rich. Writing is typically space bound, contrived, visually decontextualized, factually communicative, elaborately structured, repeatedly revisable and graphically rich.

In consequence, he compares Net-Lingo in different online situations with the characteristics of speech and writing just mentioned above, respectively, as displayed in Table 3 and Table 4 by Crystal (2001, pp. 42-43) below:

---

5 For detail, see Crystal (2001, p. 26-28)
Table 3 Spoken Language Criteria Applied to Net-Lingo (which Crystal terms ‘Netspeak’)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Web</th>
<th>e-mail</th>
<th>Chatgroups</th>
<th>Virtual worlds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. time-bound</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes, but in different ways</td>
<td>Yes, but in different ways</td>
<td>Yes, but in different ways</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. spontaneous</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>variable</td>
<td>Yes, but with restrictions</td>
<td>Yes, but with restrictions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. face-to-face</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. loosely structured</td>
<td>variable</td>
<td>variable</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. socially interactive</td>
<td>No, with interesting options</td>
<td>variable</td>
<td>Yes, but with restrictions</td>
<td>Yes, but with restrictions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. immediately revisable</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. prosodically rich</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 Written Language Criteria Applied to Net-Lingo (which Crystal terms ‘Netspeak’)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Web</th>
<th>e-mail</th>
<th>Chatgroups</th>
<th>Virtual worlds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. space-bound</td>
<td>Yes, with extra options</td>
<td>Yes, but routinely deleted</td>
<td>Yes, but with restrictions</td>
<td>Yes, but with restrictions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. contrived</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Variable</td>
<td>no, but with some adaptation</td>
<td>no, but with some adaptation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. visually</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Variable</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes, but with some restrictions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decontextualized</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. elaborately</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Variable</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elaborated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. factually</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Variable</td>
<td>no, but with some adaptation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communicative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. repeatedly</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Variable</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>revisable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. graphically rich</td>
<td>Yes, but in different ways</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes, but in different ways</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Given the criteria for speech, he notes that not all online situations equally feature the characteristics of “speech.” There are several crucial differences between Net-Lingo and speech. The first difference lies in face-to-face conversation. He points out that Net-Lingo does not feature spontaneous feedback. Since messages sent via the Internet are unidirectional, a recipient cannot respond to the message while it is being typed. Net-Lingo lacks physical gestures and facial expressions, which are important “in expressing personal opinions and attitudes and in moderating social relationships” (2001, p. 36). As a result, the pace of interaction on the Internet is much slower than that of speech. Besides the lack of spontaneous feedback, he also shows
that Net-Lingo differs from speech because it is neither immediately revisable nor prosodically rich.

I question three aspects of his claims. First, in opposition to Crystal’s claim, Net-Lingo can feature spontaneous feedback when it comes to chat rooms. Secondly, Crystal claims that Net-Lingo lacks the facial expressions and gestures, but Net-Lingo utilizes emoticons which netizens have developed as a means to compensate for them. Third, he argues that Net-Lingo is not immediately revisable. It is true that Net-Lingo cannot be revised immediately, but it can be revised with only a slight delay.

Given Crystal’s comparison of Net-Lingo with speech, since Net-Lingo does not display the same features of speech, it is expected that it would display the same features of writing. However, according to Crystal (2001), given the criteria of writing, not all online situations feature contrived content, elaborate structure, repeated revisability and graphical richness. Following the comparison to the properties of both writing and speech, he considers Net-Lingo, as a whole, “a written language which has been pulled some way in the direction of speech rather than as spoken language which has been written down” (p. 47).

Even with two different opinions on the relationship of Net-Lingo to writing and speech, none of the scholars have expressed a dichotomized opinion. None of their opinions clearly state that Net-Lingo is identical to either speech or writing. In this sense, it is expected that everyone agrees with Crystal’s argument that Net-Lingo “is identical to neither speech nor writing, but it displays properties of both selectively and adaptively” (2001, p. 47). It is “something genuinely different in kind” (p. 48). He also attributes the emergence of Net-Lingo to technological factors. To support his claim, he quotes Deegan’s (2000) statement that electronic texts “display fluidity, simultaneity (being available on an indefinite number of machines) and non-
degradability in copying; they transcend the traditional limitations on textual dissemination; and
they have permeable boundaries [because of the way one text may be incorporated with others]”
(as cited in Crystal (2001, p. 48)). Thus, he concludes that some of these properties have
linguistic consequences and their combination with the properties of speech and writing give rise
to “a third medium” (p. 48), Net-Lingo. Given the fact that Net-Lingo has been considered as a
third medium, it is certainly worth investigating Net-Lingo from a linguistic perspective. To do
so, first, I will define the identity of Net-Lingo in the following section.

1.5 Defining Net-Lingo

Needless to say, online communication has been one of the most popular activities of the
Internet era. For instance, the survey by the MIC and NIDA (2007), as of December 2006,
indicated that Koreans’ Internet usage rate for the purpose of communication is 83.8%. Since
language use, to a large extent, is determined by the context where it takes place (Gao, 2004), the
Internet has served as an apt realm for the development of a new type of language. Some call this
(tele)communication language (Kwon, 2000; J.-G. Lee, 2003), computer communication
language (J.-B. Lee, 2000b), Netspeak (Crystal, 2001), Net-Lingo (D.-G. Park, 2002) or Internet
Language (Gao, 2004). In this study, I will use the term, Net-Lingo simply because this term,
which originated from a popular reference website called Net-Lingo.com, has a greater visibility
than other terms.

Netlingo.com began in 1994 as a Web site which serves as a digital reference guide to
help millions of people around the world learn about the most frequently used online expressions
including smileys. Erin Jansen, co-creator of Net-Lingo.com, states that experts agree Net-Lingo
is "the hip, handy insider's guide for Web users, educators, and industry professionals" (Reed,
2007, ¶ 14). In fact, netlingo.com has received much attention from publications, TV stations,
radio stations, and webcasts. According to Elemental Communications (2006, ¶ 1), it was ranked #676 in Google's Top 1000 Web Sites and was voted two years in a row by *PC Magazine* as a "Top 100 Web Site." Net-Lingo has also been reviewed in *The New York Times*, *Fortune magazine*, *Reader's Digest*, *USA Today*, *People magazine*, and many others.

Different scholars provide different definitions of Net-Lingo. Both J.-B. Lee (2000b) and Kwon (2000) defined Net-Lingo in a broad sense. J.-B. Lee (2000b) defined Net-Lingo as a type of language used for written online communication, which is realized through computer mediated communications and cellular phones. Kwon (2000) more broadly denoted Net-Lingo as a type of language used for both written and spoken online communication such as chat rooms, online games, bulletin boards, text messages, and emoticons. However, the definitions just mentioned are not clear. It appears that J.-B. Lee (2000b) and Kwon (2000), in their definitions, consider any language variety communicated online as Net-Lingo. Although they are actually discussing Net-Lingo, their definitions remain unclear. While J.-B. Lee (2000b) and Kwon’s (2000) definitions heavily relied on the technological environments in which Net-Lingo emerged, Crystal (2001) went one step further in defining Net-Lingo, as a new form of communication. He defines Net-Lingo as “a type of language displaying features that are unique to the Internet and encountered in [situations such as e-mails, chat groups, virtual worlds and the Web], arising out of its character as a medium which is electronic, global and interactive” (2001, p. 18). More precisely, he divides those unique features into several kinds including orthographic features, grammatical features, lexical features and discourse features. This will be elaborated in section 2.2.1.

In terms of displaying unique features on the Internet, Gao (2004), in his study of Chinese Net-Lingo, aligned with Crystal’s definition. He stated that CIL “must possess certain unique
linguistic features that help to differentiate CIL from other varieties of the Chinese language”
(2004, p. 12) in order to stand as a new type of language. He also mentioned that before his
research, CIL was not commonly found in formal situations. However, based on my data, I argue
that both KNL and ENL are breaking through the online boundaries and are used in various
offline domains. It has been cross-linguistically reported that online expressions are making their
ways to offline domains (Crystal, 2001; Gao, 2004; Yang, 2007). In terms of KNL, my
argument is also supported by the report from the National Institute of the Korean Language. The
research results show that KNL is being used in offline domains beyond informal online
situations (as cited in Yoon, 2004). Offline usage of ENL is also reported in a number of articles.
For instance, a report on NPR (Ulaby, 2006) stated that expressions from Instant Messaging (IM)
“have done more than just added to constructions of the English language and the roughly
200,000 words in common use today” (¶ 5). Thus, the definition of Net-Lingo should be
expanded to include the influence that Net-Lingo has on offline situations. Grounded on
Crystal’s definition, I modify the definition of Net-Lingo as follows:

Net-Lingo, as a medium of electronically globalized interaction, is a type of language with
unique characteristics that are mainly found in written online situations, such as chat rooms,
bulletin boards, public websites, social networking sites, online games, blogs, and text messages,
but it is not confined to online situations. (This will be discussed further in section 4).

Crystal (2001), who investigated the nature of the affect that the Internet is having on
language, argued that the appearance of Net-Lingo should not be regarded as either a challenge
or even a threat to standard usage. Instead, it should be considered as a language variety. In a
given language, varieties of language are, in principle, systematic and predictable. They are
characterized by distinctive features such as graphic, orthographic, morphological, syntactic, lexical, discursive, phonetic and phonological features.

In the early stage, authors investigated distinctive linguistic characteristics of Net-Lingo mainly based on the data collected from chat rooms. Recently, besides chat rooms, other online contexts such as BBS (Bulletin Boards), text messages and social networking sites have also contributed to online communication; at the same time, they have played crucial roles in contributing to the emergence of Net-Lingo. Since online communication can occur in different situations, it is assumed that different situations condition different features. At the same time, “there seems to be a considerable mutual influence” (Crystal, 2001, p. 81) between situations in that “elements of one context are routinely incorporated within another” (Crystal, 2001, p. 81). He exemplifies that an English Chatgroup acronym *LOL* for “laughing out loud” is now widespread in the other online situations (such as the web, e-mail and virtual worlds). Crystal’s statement is also upheld by Inha University (1997), which claimed that not only do Netizens learn linguistic features in one situation, but they also apply those features to other online situations. Therefore, the investigation of linguistic characteristics online provides a window into this new language variety, that is, Net-Lingo. Besides the linguistic importance of Net-Lingo, I envision that the investigation of Net-Lingo will contribute to a number of different fields, which I will present in the next section.

### 1.6 Significance of Net-Lingo

First, Net-Lingo is a completely new language variety, which has been created through a new medium. Given that Net-Lingo is viewed as a language variety, “a systematic description of the features of Net-Lingo is a new goal of descriptive linguistic research” (Crystal, 2001, p. 81). Gao (2004) also supports the importance of documenting the linguistic features of Net-Lingo. In
his study of CIL, he provides a description of the linguistic features of CIL and proposes that by
documenting it, one can see how new words are created and new sentences are formed. Doing
so enriches our understanding of Chinese morphology and syntax. Other languages, including
Korean and English, are no exceptions to Gao’s proposal. I predict that a systematic
documentation of Net-Lingo will enhance the understanding of the changes and new forms in
English and Korean from the orthographic, morphological, syntactic, lexical and discursive
perspectives.

Since the Internet is a global phenomenon, the investigation into Net-Lingo can also provide
insights into a new type of language contact. “Such an investigation will complement studies on
language contact in its traditional sense” (Gao, 2004, p. 127). For instance, Gao (2004), in his
dissertation, explored the influence of the English language in CIL such as the use of English
letters or words on the lexical level and code-switching on both sentential and discursive levels.
In KNL, one can also witness cross-linguistic influences from English. Compared to
conventional Korean acronyms which are based on the initial syllables of words, recent Korean
acronyms online combine initial letters of every word just like English. For instance, according
to a survey from the Korean Agency for Digital Opportunity & Promotion (2007, ¶ 1) and the
Yeonhap News Agency (2007, ¶ 1), in online communication, netizens’ most beloved
expressions are consonant only expressions such as kh kh ‘onomatopoeic expression for laughter,’
k s ‘thanks’ and c s ‘sorry.’ With the ever increasing use of electronic communication, English
can be predicted to influence Korean and other languages in major ways.

The study of Net-Lingo also involves sociolinguistic issues such as socio-psychological
motivations. While Crystal (2001) attributed the emergence of Net-Lingo to external factors,
such as constraints of the Internet as a medium of communication, Gao (2004) emphasized
internal factors. For instance, Gao, who examined the construction of personal identities in the use of CIL by Chinese youth, argues that besides technological factors, the desire to build an attractive identity plays a crucial role in the way Chinese youth uses CIL.

Besides its sociolinguistic importance, another significance of investigating Net-Lingo lies in its influence on offline situations. My claim is also upheld by Crystal’s argument that the “salient features [of Net-Lingo]…have already begun to be used outside of the situation of computer-mediated communication, even though the medium has become available to most people only in the past decade or so” (2001, pp. 20-21).

Finally, Net-Lingo impacts pedagogy, at least in Korea. The influence of KNL has finally reached the school curriculum. Recently, the Korean government decided to open an elective high school course on KNL, starting in 2012. The course includes the discussion of various phenomena arising from KNL. With the introduction of courses such as this, future research may be necessary regarding the pedagogical issues of KNL for both native speakers and non-native speakers.

Despite the importance of documenting the distinctive features and subsequent implications mentioned above, few academic studies have been conducted on the investigation of Net-Lingo from different perspectives, especially from a linguistic perspective.

1.7 The Organization of the Study

This dissertation is organized as follows: Following the introduction in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 reviews previous studies, focusing on linguistic features of KNL and ENL respectively. Chapter 3 introduces the sources of the online data corpus. Since I also attempt to show the influence of Net-Lingo on offline domains, offline data are also examined, and these sources are described in Chapter 3 as well, followed by a discussion of the limitations of this study. Based on the results
from the corpus analysis in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 describes the linguistic characteristics of KNL and those of ENL respectively from the perspectives of orthography, morphology, lexis and discourse. Along with the descriptions, it also investigates specific mechanisms arising from those characteristics. In light of the findings in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 explains why the cross-linguistic investigation of linguistic features of Net-Lingo is important by showing the impact of contact. Net-Lingo has become so widespread that it is breaking through the online boundaries of electronic communication. To support my argument, I present the influence of Net-Lingo on various offline domains. Finally, I discuss the pedagogical implications of Net-Lingo. Chapter 6 first summarizes the important findings of this study, and then it argues that there is a need for a continuous exploration of Net-Lingo as it continues to affect both online and offline communication. Lastly, I discuss further research that is needed.
2 Review of Literature

In this section, I review literature on how KNL and ENL have been portrayed in various scholarly works as being shaped in casual online situations from orthographic, morphological, lexical, syntactic, and discursive viewpoints.

2.1 Korean Net-Lingo (KNL)

2.1.1 Inha University (1997); Kwon (2000); J.-G. Lee (2003)

The study of KNL is approximately a decade old. Among scholarly works on KNL at the early stage, Inha University (1997), Kwon (2000) and J.-G. Lee (2003) brought people’s attention to the significance of investigating KNL. Based on data collected from chat rooms by Inha University (1997) and extended to other online situations such as online games, bulletin boards, text messages, blogs, and e-mails by Kwon (2000) and J.-G. Lee (2003), they described various linguistic characteristics of KNL. In this section, my review focuses on linguistic characteristics from orthographic, morphological, lexical, and discursive viewpoints.

Orthographic features involve “the writing system of an individual language” (Crystal, 2001, p. 8). Joining the orthographic features delineated by the three studies mentioned above, features such as deletion, addition, and spellings of actual pronunciation were commonly discussed; in particular, vowel deletion was characterized as one of the most prominent features in KNL.

It can be largely divided into $i$ [i] vowel deletion, $u$ [ʊ] vowel deletion, and $wu$ [u] vowel deletion. The data in Table 5, Table 6 and Table 7 are taken from Inha University (1997).
J.-G. Lee (2003) associated this phenomenon with spoken language. He claimed that communication in everyday life is realized through sound and produced by articulators, whereas communication on the Internet is produced via keyboard. Even though one may type rapidly on a keyboard, keyboard communication is still slower than voice communication. Therefore, deletion, as a means of complementing a slower form of communication, reflects fast and casual speech in everyday life. Inha University (1997) also concurred with J.-G. Lee’s (2003) view. It stated that the phenomenon of deletion allows netizens to respond quickly in online conversation by reducing the number of keystrokes. While scholars have discussed the motivation behind the deletion phenomenon, none have examined the mechanisms that govern vowel deletion. A
careful review of these data, which will be discussed further in Chapter 4, leads me to believe that vowel deletion does not occur arbitrarily.

Besides the deletion phenomenon, all three studies observed the addition phenomenon, in which a consonant is added at the end of the word. Among the Korean consonants, \(-ng\) has been most frequently observed by Inha University (1997), Kwon (2000), and J.-G. Lee (2003), as described in Table 8.

**Table 8 Consonant Addition on the Last Syllable**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard Korean</th>
<th>Net-Lingo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oy.lob.ta</td>
<td>oy.lob.tang</td>
<td>To be lonely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.lyep.cyo</td>
<td>eo.lyep.cyong</td>
<td>To be difficult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iss.ci</td>
<td>iss.cing</td>
<td>To exist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ce.yo</td>
<td>ce.yong</td>
<td>It’s me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye.ppu.ta</td>
<td>ye.ppu.tang</td>
<td>To be pretty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ney</em></td>
<td>neyp</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Inha University (1997), this facet of Net-Lingo does not occur commonly, in that Net-Lingo’s *raison d’être* is to make communication brief and flowing. The addition phenomenon may not have been commonly observed at the early stage when slower dial-up access was dominant and netizens looked for ways to minimize keystrokes in order to save time over a slow connection. However, nowadays, with faster Internet access and more fluent typing skills, netizens not only are unconcerned with reducing the number of keystrokes (D.-G. Park, 2002), but also frequently utilize consonant addition. None of the authors who recently investigated KNL mention the scarcity of the addition phenomenon in online situations. Among frequently mentioned consonants, \(-ng\) and \(-p\ [p’]\) are by far the most discussed in works such as Inha University (1997), Kwon (2000), J.-G. Lee (2003), and D.-G. Park (2002). A commonly held interpretation is that \(-ng\) addition in cases such as *ye.ppu.tang* from *ye.ppu.ta* ‘to be pretty’
conveys quaintness and intimacy (Inha University, 1997; Kwon, 2000; J.-G. Lee, 2003), whereas
–p [p’] addition, as shown in neyp from ney ‘yes,’ conveys decisiveness, definite ending, or
strength (J.-G. Lee, 2003). While these scholars discuss the implied meanings of consonants,
they do not investigate how specific consonants are selected from Korean phonemes. Much study
has been done on Korean consonants in an onset position; however, consonants in a coda
position have received much less attention. Given that consonant addition is prevalent, my
attention centers on what motivates the phenomenon of consonant addition and how it is
employed in online situations. This will be discussed in section 4 with the examination of Korean
diminutive suffixes and Na’s (2003) study on Korean names.

Spellings of actual pronunciation are another orthographic feature of KNL, which all three
studies have pointed out. As illustrated in shi.pheo from shiph.eo ‘to want,’ shi.leo from shilh.eo
‘dislike,’ and ma.ni from mahn.i ‘many/much,’ Korean netizens tend to spell words as they are
actually pronounced (Kwon, 2000; J.-G. Lee, 2003). In terms of what counts as spellings of
actual pronunciation, Inha University (1997) and Kwon (2000) both agreed that this phenomenon
has resulted from typos and the inconvenience of typing on a keyboard, subsequently leading to
the violation of standard spellings. On the other hand, D.-G. Park (2002) claimed that the
standard writing that specifies every morpheme of the word cannot capture the realistic situation
in which people actually converse. Therefore, in his view, it is more appropriate to regard the
spelling of the actual pronunciation as “a reflection of realistic conversation” (2002, p. 9). In
discussing the spelling of the actual pronunciation, he also made a distinction between spellings
of standard pronunciation and spellings of colloquial pronunciation. (I will further discuss his
proposal in section 2.1.2). With regard to spellings of colloquial speech, his data are based on the
central region of South Korea. Based on my observation, replacing o [o] with wu [u] and yo [jo]
with ye [jə] at the end of the syllable are also frequently occurring in non-central regions. Therefore, my observation weakens his claim that this spelling practice reflects the colloquial speech of the central region. To support my claim, in section 4, I will present findings in which spellings of colloquial pronunciation based on the central region are widespread in a number of Cyworld clubs whose members are mainly from non-central regions.

Morphological processes are as widespread as orthographic features. It is important to provide clear definitions as guides for understanding various phenomena such as acronyms, blendings, and clippings. Nevertheless, few studies have attempted to identify those phenomena. Furthermore, different terms have been used to characterize the same phenomenon. In the beginning, I will provide a clear definition of each morphological process, and then I will provide examples from the three studies.

According to H. Sohn (2001), in Korean, as an agglutinative language, the smallest unit is a morpheme, and the binding of letters constitutes a morpheme-based (morphophonemic) syllable. For example, han.kwuk.in ‘Koreans’ consists of three morphemes (at the same time, three syllables): Han ‘Korea,’ kwuk ‘country,’ and in ‘person,’ with each morpheme consisting of one syllable. Thus, contrary to English acronyms, which are generally based on the initial letters of words, Korean acronyms are generated by taking the first syllables of nouns (J.-S. Lee, 2003) such as pen.mo ‘a sudden meeting’ from pen.kay ‘lightning’ + mo.im ‘meeting/gathering.’ Scholars, to a large extent, have noticed that acronyms are one of the most common features in online situations, as illustrated in Table 9 below by Inha University (1997) and Kwon (2000).
The first two examples, *yeng.khwi* ‘quiz on a movie’ and *um.khwi* ‘quiz on music,’ are characterized by the combination of the first syllables of a Korean word and an English loan word, respectively. The rest of the examples present acronyms based on the first syllables of three consecutive words. Besides these two morphemes, Kwon (1997) presented another morpheme, *mo,* which facilitates the mass coinage of KNL acronyms. Her examples include *pen.mo* ‘a sudden meeting,’ which originated from *pen.kay* ‘lightning’ + *mo.im* ‘meeting/gathering.’ On the other hand, based on my data, recently observed expressions such as *ks* from *kam.sa* ‘thanks,’ *ch kh* from *chwu.kha* ‘congratulations,’ and onomatopoetic expressions, especially laughter, such as *kh kh* and *h h* draw special attention in that they are created by taking the initial letters of syllables, just as in English. While one might argue that these samples violate the nature of the Korean language, I claim that these data represent a new way to create Korean acronyms online exclusively and furthermore reflect cross-linguistic influences from English. Contact effects should be explored. This issue will be discussed further in Chapter 4 with the examination of the corpus along with syntactic aspects of Korean acronyms.

Blending occurs when “part of one word is joined to part of another” (Crystal, 2001, p. 83). It is noticeable that a majority of KNL blendings is created by the combination of the first syllable
of a Korean word and the second syllable of an English word, as shown in Table 10 (J.-G. Lee, 2003).

Table 10 Blending

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard Korean</th>
<th>Net-Lingo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>mol.lay.ha.ta</strong> ‘to do something secretly’ + <strong>chay.thing</strong> ‘chatting’</td>
<td><strong>mol.thing</strong></td>
<td>secret chatting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nwun</strong> ‘eyes’ + <strong>chay.thing</strong> ‘chatting’</td>
<td><strong>nwun.thing</strong></td>
<td>someone is just watching somebody else’s chatting and not actively participating in the chat session with other people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>col.ta</strong> ‘to nod’ + <strong>chay.thing</strong> ‘chatting’</td>
<td><strong>col.thing</strong></td>
<td>a netizen is chatting while nodding off</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While J.-G. Lee’s study (2003) did not capitalize on the influence of English on KNL, one can perceive the impact of English by observing netizens’ use of the English word **chay.thing** ‘chatting’ in KNL. Cross-linguistic influences from English online are also observable in KNL clippings.

Clipping is another method of creating neologisms. Haspelmath (2002) defined a clipping as “a shortened word that does not differ semantically from the longer version” (2002, p. 267), as illustrated by **khem** [kɔm] from ‘computer,’ **ay.ni** [ɛ.ni] from ‘animation,’ **hom-p+i** from **hom.pey.ci** ‘homepage,’ and **su.pheyl** [sɬ-pel] from **su.peyl.ling** ‘spelling’ (Inha University, 1997). It is noteworthy that all KNL clipping data are rooted in English loan words. While scholars have focused on descriptions, my special interest centers on contact effects with English online, which have been well captured in Gao’s studies (2004, 2006) on Chinese language online. By showing the impact of English on Mandarin Chinese, Gao (2006) proposed a new type of language
contact, which he described as “one without immigration or emigration as a precondition, which distinguishes it from language contact in its traditional sense” (p. 307). Just as in Chinese language online, the impact of English on KNL is observable from the data mentioned in this section. Even so, none of the scholars offered any indication of a new type of language contact. In Chapter 4, based on my corpus, I will provide more evidence of the influence of English on KNL, and in the light of the findings, I will examine KNL from the perspective of language contact as well as provide an initial point from which to discuss the implications for changes in the Korean language in section 5.2 in Chapter 5.

Scholars have agreed that in the process of coining KNL expressions, certain morphemes play major roles in generating KNL. At the early stage of the emergence of Net-Lingo, Inha University (1997) introduced the frequently occurring morphemes pang ‘room’ and khwi, followed by another morpheme, mo (Kwon, 2000). Three years later, J.-G. Lee (2003) illustrated a new morpheme, thing, which has facilitated mass coinages in KNL.

Lexical features involve the vocabulary of a language. They are defined “in terms of the set of words and idioms given distinctive use within a variety” (Crystal, 2001, p. 8). Kwon (2000) displayed a number of expressions, which were created in online situations, and those expressions were divided into two types. In, expressions are based on existing lexemes in offline situations; however, in online situations, they are characterized by semantic shifts, leading to new meanings. For instance, a word such as sap.cil ‘shoveling’ was already used offline, but its online meaning is ‘the action of clipping (copying) someone’s message.’
Table 11 Examples of Words With Semantic Shifts Online

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Offline Meanings</th>
<th>Online meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sap.cil</td>
<td>Shoveling</td>
<td>The action of clipping (copying) someone’s message</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to.pay.ha.ta</td>
<td>To wallpaper</td>
<td>For one person to leave a number of comments or replies consecutively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pen.kay</td>
<td>Lightning</td>
<td>A sudden, unexpected meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phok.than</td>
<td>Bomb</td>
<td>A person without netiquette</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another type is newly coined online words, as illustrated in Table 12, such as cho.ting ‘an elementary school student.’ Inha University (1997) and Kwon (2000) both claimed that the words in were only used in online situations; I, however, have recently heard these words in oral speech. Since those articles were published in 1997 and 2000, these new words have already found their way into mainstream Korean culture.

Table 12 Examples of Words With Semantic Shifts Online

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Net-Lingo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al.pa</td>
<td>Part-time work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cho.ting</td>
<td>An elementary school student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cwung.ting</td>
<td>A middle school student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko.ting</td>
<td>A high school student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pen.kay.ting</td>
<td>A sudden meeting or gathering</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. The first two samples are from Kwon (2000); the rest are from Inha University (1997).

Sproull and Kiesler (1986) observed that “paralinguistic cues in face-to-face interaction, such as visual sound and body signals are missing in Internet communication” (as cited in Gao, 2001, pp. 66–67). In response to this shortcoming, netizens have gradually created a system of written symbols called emoticons to “replace physical gestures and facial expressions, to substitute for nonverbal cues, and to help [netizens] engaged in online dialogues convey action, emotion and emphasis” (Gamble & Gamble, 2002, p. 177). The use of emoticons is commonly found in Korean online discourse. In terms of the function of emoticons, Korean scholars have expressed
various opinions. Inha University (1997) pointed out that the weakest part of writing lies in the inability to convey suprasegmental features, such as intonation and tones. Hence, people use emoticons to fulfill the suprasegmental features. Kwon’s (2000) observation led her to believe that the function of emoticons transcends the simple description of emotions and feelings. According to her, netizens use emoticons not only to show their emotions but also to describe objects and certain situations. In addition, emoticons may be simply used for fun. Kwon’s examples include : ) smiley face, :D (big smiley face), ^.^ cute face , (-_-) Secretive smile, : ( sad face, :-( very angry face, 0_0 watching attentively?, :-) smile with teeth shown, ^_^ ; polite smile (expression given in an awkward situation, not happiness), K:-) (wearing a graduation hat), &::-) a face with curly hair, and so on.

In the beginning of this section, spellings of actual pronunciation were characterized as one of the salient orthographic features of KNL. Although the studies discussed in this section did mention this salient feature, D.-G. Park’s (2002) research paid particular attention to spellings of actual pronunciation. I will discuss his study further in the next section.


D.-G. Park (2002) proposed to divide the spellings of actual pronunciation into two subsets, as exemplified in Table 13: spellings of standard pronunciation and spellings of colloquial pronunciation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 13 Spelling of Standard Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Standard Korean</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manh.i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shilh.e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwuk.mwul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wun.yeng.ca</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 14 Spellings of Colloquial Pronunciation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard Korean</th>
<th>Net-Lingo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ceng.mal.lo</td>
<td>ceng.mal.lwu</td>
<td>Really</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caym.iss.e.yo</td>
<td>caym.iss.e.ye</td>
<td>(It is) interesting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kam.sa.ha.ko</td>
<td>kam.sa.ha.kwu</td>
<td>Thank you and . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swu.to.eps.si</td>
<td>swu.twu.eps.si</td>
<td>Countlessly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If a netizen spells words based on the standard pronunciation, which is regulated by the Korean government, those words are categorized as “spellings of standard pronunciation.”

According to D.-G. Park (2002), in modern colloquial speech, people tend to substitute the colloquial *wu* [u] for the standard *o* [o] and the colloquial *ye* [jə] for the standard *yo* [jo] at the end of a syllable, as in *ceng.mal.lwu* [lu] ‘really?’ from *ceng.mal.lo* [lo] and *caym.iss.e.ye* [jə] from *caym.iss.e.yo* [jo] ‘(It is) interesting.’ Whether or not netizens spell the actual pronunciation of standard colloquial speech, his examples lead me to believe that oral speech affects orthographic choices. His observation is also supported by H. Sohn’s (2001) claim that the central zone, including Seoul as its geographical center, features the standard speech of Korean as a subset, but in colloquial speech of this area, one of the salient characteristics is an *o* [o] to *wu* [u] replacement. Different views have developed about what counts as spellings of actual pronunciation. As mentioned in the previous section, Inha University (1997) and Kwon (2000) both characterized this phenomenon as the result of typos and the inconvenience of typing on a keyboard, which led to the violation of standard spellings. D.-G. Park’s (2002) explanation, however, seems to be more convincing. According to him, during the early stages of Internet communication, when modems were in common use and speed was slow, Netizens preferred deletion and contraction forms of Net-Lingo to minimize the number of keystrokes. Nowadays, ubiquitous high-speed LAN (Local Area Network) connections are available both at home and at
work. Furthermore, individuals are more accustomed to typing than they were in the past. Thus, he claimed that it is more appropriate to regard the spelling of actual pronunciation as a “reflection of realistic conversation” (2002, p. 9). Similarly, B.-Y. Jeon (2002) associated the o [o] to wu [u] substitution as a “reflection of spoken language” (p. 270).

While D.-G. Park’s (2002) study contributed to research into the spellings of actual pronunciation, J.-B. Lee (2000) was interested primarily in the use of the Korean honorific title (henceforth, HT) in online situations, compared to its use in offline situations.

### 2.1.3 J.-B. Lee (2000)

It is well known that Korean is a systematic honorific language, in that a speaker’s relationship to his addressee is reflected by markers such as honorific title (HT), honorific particle, honorific words, or honorific suffixes (H. Sohn, 2001). The use of these markers is highly dependent on factors such as age, social status, profession, kinship, group inclusiveness, and the speech act situation. In this section, I will focus on the use of the Korean honorific title *nim*.

With respect to the HT *nim*, sentence 2) by Sohn (2001) demonstrates how the HT is traditionally used in offline situations. In comparison with sentence (1), the use of the HT *nim* in (2) can be better understood.

(1) 동민아 너 어디 가니?

*Tongmina ne eti kani*

Tongmin-VOC you where go-Q?

‘Tongmin! Where are you going?’

---

VOC stands for **vocative particle**, and Q stands for **question marker**, i.e., interrogative sentence-type suffix.

HT stands for **honorific title**, SH for **subject honorific suffix**, and POL for **polite speech suffix**.

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---
Given that the HT *nim* is used to draw the attention of the addressee, in a sense, it functions just like a vocative particle. However, sentences (1) and (2) reflect a difference in terms of social status between the speaker and the addressee. In (1), the speaker and the addressee are most likely either in a child–child relationship or in an adult–child relationship, whereas in (2), the addressee is an adult and the speaker is either an adult of equal or younger age or a child, according to H. Sohn (2001).

The emphasis of this section will be on reviewing the online use of the HT *nim*, in comparison to its offline use. Among studies relating to the use of *nim* in online situations, J.-B. Lee’s (2000) study is commonly mentioned.

J.-B. Lee (2000) first presented the use of the HT *nim* in offline situations, summarizing the descriptions of three selected Korean major dictionaries, and consequently compared its offline use with its online use, based on his corpus of selected chat rooms and bulletin boards. According to the common descriptions of selected Korean dictionaries that J.-B. Lee provided, it is obvious that the HT *nim* occurs after a noun. In detail, the HT *nim* is largely associated with three different categories of nouns in offline situations: those indicating social status, kinship, and personal names.

First, it occurs after social titles, especially highly respected social titles. All three major dictionaries point out that the HT *nim* can be attached to social titles such as *sa.cang* ‘boss,’ *sen.sayng* ‘teacher,’ and *kyo.swu* ‘professor,’ yielding *sa.cang.nim* ‘esteemed head,’ *sen.sayng.nim* ‘esteemed teacher,’ and *kyo.swu.nim* ‘esteemed professor,’ respectively.
Another use of *nim* is with certain kinship terms, such as *pwu.mo.nim* ‘esteemed parents,’ *hal.a.pe.nim* ‘esteemed grandfather,’ *e.me.nim* ‘esteemed mother’ (but not with ‘mom/mommy’), and *a.pe.nim* ‘esteemed father’ (but not with ‘dad/daddy’). The use of the HT *nim* after a given name such as *hyang.swun.nim* ‘Ms./Mrs. Hyangsoon’ or after a full name such as *i.hyang.swun.nim* ‘Ms. Hyangsoon Yi’ is also observed but is less common compared to the previous uses just mentioned, as it is limited mainly to customer service situations, such as those occurring in hospitals, banks, and department stores (J.-B. Lee, 2000).

Compared to the offline use of the HT *nim*, J.-B. Lee (2000) observed that its online use not only displays a wider distribution but also features unique linguistic characteristics. Just as observed offline, J.-B. Lee (2000) noticed that the HT *nim*, in casual online situations, also appears after social titles. For instance, it occurs not only after conventional social titles such as *sen.sayng.nim* ‘esteemed teacher’ and *kyo.swu.nim* ‘esteemed professor,’ but also after newly established online social titles such as *hom.ci.ki.nim*, *pang.cang.nim*, and *wun.yeng.ca.nim*, all meaning ‘esteemed webmaster.’

Another use draws special attention because *nim* is no longer favored for certain kinship terms. Offline, *nim* appears after neither *en.ni* ‘esteemed elder sister’ nor *ma.nwu.la* or *ma.nwul* ‘esteemed wife.’ Online, however, *en.ni.nim* ‘esteemed elder sister’ and *ma.nwu.la.nim*/*ma.nwul.nim* ‘esteemed wife’ are frequently observed. Furthermore, a clearly emerging new category is the second-person pronoun, which is established online exclusively, as illustrated by J.-B. Lee in (3) and (4), where the HT *nim* is written in bold.

(3) 님이 비판하시는 자유만금이니….  
*nimi piphanhasinun caywumankhumina*  
HT-NOM criticize-SH freedom-as  
‘As much freedom as you criticize . . .’
J.-B. Lee’s (2000) study suggested that contrary to its uses in offline situations, such as being attached to certain social titles and kinship terms in limited ways, the HT nim shows a wider distribution in online situations and its semantic role is to show “respect for anyone.” His study revealed that the unconventional online use of nim is a clear sign of the emergence of KNL. Given that J.-B. Lee (2000) took the first step in investigating the use of nim in online situations, his study contributed a great deal to the scholarly research on KNL. Nevertheless, his study had limitations. First, his study heavily relied on the description of data and did not provide detailed discussion regarding the motivation behind the new behavior of nim in online situations. Second, he broadly assumed that nim is used as a means of showing respect to anyone regardless of social traits. At first glance, his assumption on the semantic role of nim appears plausible. But based on my data, I argue that his assumption is inadequate. To support my argument, I will show the paradoxical use in which the HT nim coincides with a semantically incompatible lexicon. This will be discussed in Chapter 4 in the examination of the corpus, along with the other distinctive uses of the HT nim.

KNL has been constantly explored and discussed from different perspectives. From a linguistic perspective, thanks to a lot of dedicated work on the description of its linguistic features, one can see how KNL is emerging as a new variety in both written and spoken Korean. Nevertheless, as expected from the review, the majority of works are limited to description. Few academic works have examined specific mechanisms that may account for the linguistic characteristics of KNL.
Given that the Internet is a phenomenon that is global in nature, I am certain that it is prompting linguistic changes not only for the Korean language, but also for other languages available online. Thus, in the following section, my attention turns to English in online situations, leading to English Net-Lingo (ENL). Just as shown for KNL, ENL features unique linguistic characteristics from various perspectives (Crystal, 2001; J.-S. Lee, 2003). Among studies regarding ENL, Crystal’s study is predominantly mentioned. Crystal (2001), in his book *Language and the Internet* (2001), focused on written ENL and provided a systematic description of how the English language is shaped in online situations. His study deserves special attention, as it is the only major work on written ENL exclusively.

### 2.2 English Net-Lingo (ENL)

#### 2.2.1 Crystal (2001)

Crystal (2001) attempted to present a linguistic description of how the Internet affects the use of the English language. To do so, he first described a variety of Internet situations such as e-mails, chatgroups, virtual worlds, and the Web. He further stated that these Internet situations are not completely mutually exclusive. His statement is upheld by examples such as websites containing discussion groups and e-mail links and e-mails containing Web attachments. Moreover, elements of one situation are regularly integrated into another. For example, he noted that the English chatgroup acronym *LOL* for “laughing out loud” is now prevalent in other online situations (such as e-mails, virtual worlds, and the Web). Thus, he proposed that “it is possible to begin making some observations about the kind of language which seems to be typical of the Internet domain as a whole” (p. 81).

---

*Crystal (2001) divided chatgroups into two types: synchronous, such as Internet Relay Chat (IRC), and asynchronous, such as bulletin boards (BBS).*
As mentioned in section 1.4, Crystal (2001) suggested that Net-Lingo is neither a challenge nor a threat to standard usages. Rather, he considered Net-Lingo as a new language variety that is “demonstrated by the way other varieties of language are being affected by it” (p. 18). Significantly, he mentioned that “salient features of Netspeak . . . have already begun to be used outside of the situation of computer-mediated communication, even though the medium has become available to most people only in the past decade or so” (p. 19). Prior to describing salient features of Net-Lingo, he compared the properties of writing and speech and then compared Net-Lingo with each (see section 1.3). In so doing, he concluded that Net-Lingo is “something genuinely different in kind” (p. 48), leading him to call Net-Lingo “a third medium” (p. 48).

Crystal listed distinctive linguistic characteristics of ENL from graphic, orthographic, morphological, syntactic, lexical, discourse, phonetic, and phonological perspectives. While he further examined the use of English in each online situation, my interest lies in not only how the English language is generally shaped online, but also how ENL may be affecting other language varieties.

Crystal’s description includes orthographic features in ENL such as capital letters, the replacement of plural –s by –z, and the use of nonstandard spellings. In the English language, capitalization is obligatory in particular environments such as the beginning of a sentence, personal pronouns, and proper nouns. Crystal, however, observed that capitals, in English online situations, are rarely used or not used at all. It is very common for netizens to type words with lowercase letters only, as he illustrated in “john are you going in to london next week.” Crystal asserted that typing capital letters is used as a means of “shouting,” as shown in the sentence “This is a VERY important point.” He considered the use of capitalization “a strongly marked form of communication” (p. 87). Letters are often replaced by other letters having similar sounds.
He illustrated the replacement of plural –s by –z to refer to pirated versions of software such as gamez, serialz and downloadz. Just as observed by D.-G. Park (2002) in his study of KNL, the use of nonstandard spellings is also commonly found in English online situations, especially chatgroups and virtual worlds (Crystal, 2001). For instance, according to Crystal, yup, yep, nope, and noooo for yes and no, in online situations, reflect colloquial pronunciation in an offline domain.

In discussions of morphological characteristics of ENL, of special interest are acronyms, which Crystal described as “one of [the] most remarked features” (p. 84). While English acronyms are conventionally formed by “combinations of initial letters of a word sequence that is pronounced as a word, not as a combination of letter” (Booji, 2007, p. 307), Crystal used the terms abbreviations and acronyms interchangeably and offered a number of acronym examples, including BBL (be back later), BBS (bulletin board systems), BRB (be right back), CU (see you), FAQ (frequently asked questions), IMO (in my opinion), LOL (laughing out loud), NP (no problem), and TTYL (talk to you later). He also introduced a site, www.netlingo.com, as a reference to check English online acronyms. To a great extent, he attributed the emergence of ENL acronyms to newer technologies such as WAP (Wireless Application Protocol) phones with their tiny screens, and he consequently associated a technological constraint with a syntactic constraint on ENL acronyms. According to him, ENL acronyms are “no longer restricted to words or short phrases, but . . . can be sentence-length” (p. 86), such as ASOS (‘Are you stupid or something?’), CID (‘Consider it done’), CIO (‘Check it out’), GTG (‘Got to go’), and WDYS (‘What did you say?’). Blendings have also been observed in online situations. What is salient in ENL blendings is the replacement of a word element by a similar-sounding item, as in recruiting
‘electronic recruiting’ and *etailing* ‘electronic retailing.’ Besides these, Crystal also introduced ENL blendings, which include examples such as *netizen, netiquette*, and *cybercide*.

As mentioned earlier in section 2.1.1, scholars have attributed a number of KNL expressions to certain morphemes, which, in turn, I believe have become affixes. The emergence of new affixes is cross-linguistic phenomenon. For instance, in English online situations, –*bot* (from robot) has a suffixal function, as in *annoybot, chatterbot, knowbot, and mailbot*. While the prefixal use of a morpheme in Korean online situations has not been discussed by scholars, Crystal’s observation in ENL demonstrated that certain English morphemes do play roles as prefixes. Examples include *e-,* as in *e-text, e-zine, e-cash, e-money, e-books, e-managers,* and *e-cards*.

While Crystal stated that grammatical variation is not generally common in language change, he observed that verb reduplication happens in certain situations, such as some chat groups. Verb reduplication is an expression in which a verb is repeated twice in immediate succession to express a range of functions such as expressing pleasure or pain, a sarcastic or exasperated reaction, or simply a turn-taking marker, showing that an utterance has ended, as illustrated in (5) by Crystal (p. 91) below:

(5) How about that! Win, win. [‘the program has [performed successfully’]
   I deleted your message. Lose, lose! [‘I am stupid’]
   What you do that for? Barf, barf. [‘I’m disgusted’]

Crystal claimed that the lexicon is one of the levels of language where distinctive features of Net-Lingo are mainly found. A great number of words and expressions have emerged on the Internet, and they are divided into three subsets, according to Crystal. Many of them are associated with the software that makes it possible for netizens to use the Internet, such as *file,*
edit, view, insert, paste, toolbars, and so on. Several of them are related to hardware, such as freeze, down, lock, and crash. There are also terms coined for people on the Internet themselves including netizens, netters, surfers, cybersurfers, and wizards.

Distinctive features on a discursive level were also recognized by Crystal. In the early stage of Net-Lingo, limitations were described as the lack of physical gestures and facial expressions, which Crystal considered crucial “in expressing personal opinions and attitudes and in moderating social relationships” (p. 36). Consequently, the demand to compensate for this shortage resulted in new inventions including smileys or emoticons, which Crystal defined as “combinations of keyboard characters designed to show an emotional facial expression” (p. 36). According to Crystal, what is unique about emoticons in ENL is that they tend to be placed right after the final punctuation of a sentence, as in ‘that’s a pain: )))’ and ‘I hate you :-P (someone is sticking out the tongue).’ He also discussed the roles of emoticons. First, he stated that emoticons or smileys capture some of the basic features of facial expressions in a potentially helpful but extremely crude way. Second, smileys seem to function as a “pragmatic force—acting as a warning to the recipient(s) that the sender is worried about the effect a sentence might have” (p. 38). To support his proposal, he quoted Sanderson’s (1993) point that “a smiley, as a reminder of the ongoing context of the conversation, can point out to the other participants of the conversation that they need to understand you and your personality in order to understand what you’ve said” (p. 38). In the middle of discussing the roles of emoticons, he also noted the semantic limitations of emoticons. For instance, smileys can only be disambiguated by referring to the verbal context. To make matters worse, smileys can also result in their own misunderstanding. For example, unmarked utterances, to which netizens have routinely added smileys, can lead to misunderstanding if there are no smileys attached to those sentences.
Following the discussion of the roles and limitations of emoticons, Crystal questioned why no one had ever introduced smileys to writing to make up for facial expressions and prosodic features even though written language has always been ambiguous. He found the answer in Net-Lingo’s closeness to speech. Compared to traditional writing, Crystal believed that Net-Lingo, which is rapidly constructed, can appear rude, and a smiley can help diffuse the situation. No matter what their function and notwithstanding their limitations, Crystal argued that smileys are one of the most distinctive features of e-mail and chatgroup language.

Compared to the body of works for KNL, unfortunately, Crystal’s *Language and the Internet* (2001) is one of the few academic works on written ENL exclusively from a linguistic perspective in the United States. Six years later, deeper research and an updated description are necessary. For instance, Crystal’s argument that unique syntactic characteristics are much less frequent than other linguistic characteristics is no longer supported by the fact that English subject ellipsis commonly occurs in online situations. This will be discussed further in Chapter 4. My claim is also upheld by Nariyama (2004). The following section will review Nariyama’s (2004) study on English subject ellipsis with a focus on the perspectives of syntax and semantics.

### 2.2.2 Nariyama (2004)

English is not known for subject ellipsis; however, the criticism leveled against this simple belief arises from Nariyama (2004), who initiated the analysis of English subject ellipsis from the perspectives of syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. Based on a small corpus (three Australian TV dramas, three conversations of Australian families, and three casual e-mails), Nariyama (2004) claimed that English subject ellipsis is a constrained phenomenon, and it is triggered by restricted linguistic environments, operating on a single principle—the identity of the subject ellipsis must be retrievable by the addressee. That is, recoverability is the essential condition for
subject ellipsis to occur. Given the necessity of recoverability, context is considered significant regarding subject ellipsis (Nariyama, 2004). Nariyama introduced two types of context, which Evans (1993) conceptualized: situational context and linguistic context.

**Situational context** provides knowledge and understanding drawn from the environments shared between the speaker and the addressee. Deixis is a good example, in that the default interpretation of subject ellipsis is set out as first person in declaratives and second person in interrogatives, with the reference able to change depending on who is speaking. Situational context also includes mutual/background knowledge, social setting, register, relationship between speech participants, and so forth. **Linguistic context**, on the other hand, provides knowledge and understanding generated by the rules of grammar. With respect to English syntax, it is believed that subject ellipsis is only acceptable in coordinate structures and nonfinite clauses, such as adverbial clauses, gerundive clauses, and prepositional phrases. Nariyama (2004), however, argued that subject ellipsis, in conversation, occurs beyond these rules.

In her corpus analysis, the subject is ellipted only in restricted linguistic environments where one of the four triggers is germane. The four triggers are anaphoric deletion, dummy subject, deixis, and conventional expressions, as illustrated in (6) by Nariyama’s samples below:
(6)

a. Anaphoric deletion
Speaker 1: Where’s dad?
Speaker 2: (He’s) birthday shopping, I bet.

b. Dummy subject
Speaker 1: I saw Rachel yesterday, I brought her flowers and we had a chat.
Speaker 2: (It) clearly did her a lot of good.

c. Deixis
Speaker 1: (I’m) stating the obvious.

d. Conventional expressions
Speaker 1: Don’t worry about it.
Speaker 2: Thanks. Gotta go.

According to Nariyama (2004), the first two triggers require linguistic context. Anaphoric deletion, which Nariyama (2004) defined as subject ellipsis with the referent showing in the preceding sentence, is often observed in parallel coordinate structures where the subject of the first clause is overt but the subject of the second clause is null. In terms of the dummy subject *it*, Nariyama (2004) characterized the referential retrieval as more complex than that of personal pronouns. For instance, the referent of *it* can be the entire previous sentence or the topic of the conversation. Aside from anaphoric deletion and dummy subject, deixis and conventional expressions do not require linguistic context to identify the referent for subject ellipsis. Deixis heavily relies on a situational context. Conventional expressions, according to Nariyama (2004), are essentially set phrases whose meanings are self-contained in their own right, so that elements in the expressions cannot easily be substituted or added, if at all, without incurring a change in implicatures. For example, expressions such as *gotta go/dunno/could be/sorry/see you later/not a problem* are ubiquitous and are interpreted without reference to their linguistic context.
Nariyama (2004) pointed out that these four triggers especially true of deixis and conventional expressions often involve constraints, and these two triggers, which are highly associated with the first person.

Deixis seems to be constrained by informativeness, the semantic richness and privateness of the lexicon, and the predicate.

With respect to informativeness, the first person can supply multiple pieces of information, whereas with a second-person subject, sentences become less acceptable as the amount of questioned information increases, as exemplified in (7), (8), and (9) by Nariyama (p. 254) below:

(7) a. had a good time
   b. (Did you) have a good time?

(8) a. (I) had a good time in Sydney.
   ?b. (Did you) have a good time in Sydney?

(9) a. (I) had a good time in Sydney last week.
   *b. (Did you) have a good time in Sydney last week?

While informativeness is related to phrases, Nariyama (2004) stated that lexicon can provide insight for identifying the referent. Consider the following examples by Nariyama (p. 254) in (10) and (11).

(10) a. (I’d) love coffee.
    *b. (Would you) love a coffee?

(11) a. (I’m) feeling fantastic.
    (I) wouldn’t mind a coffee.
    b. (Are you) feeling fantastic?
    (You) wouldn’t mind a coffee?

Again, first person, as a special status, is observed in her examples above. Love conveys the request as well as degree of preference that is privy to the speaker. Thus, the speaker can make a
request and express emotion, but cannot do so for others. In her corpus, privy verbs such as hate, thought, and hope were also found with first-person subject ellipsis, whereas no examples were found with second-person subject ellipsis.

Besides the lexicon, Nariyama (2004) characterized the predicate as a signal of the correct referent. The set of her examples (p. 255) in (12) and (13) shows a near-complementary distribution between love for first person and like for second person in interrogatives, and therefore provides a clue for tracking the correct referent even without resorting to intonation.

(12) a. (I’d) love a coffee.
   b. *(Would you) love a coffee?

(13) a. ? (I’d ) like a coffee
   b. (Would you) like a coffee?

She proposed that in conventional expressions with subject ellipsis, the person of the subject, the declarative/interrogative distinction, verbal semantics, and polarity are often preset, and these constraints make it possible to identify the correct referent. For example, “won’t be a minute” is in complementary distribution with “going to be long?” in that the former is strongly linked to the first person in declaratives, while the latter is associated with the second person in interrogatives. Subjectless conventional expressions tend to be associated with selected verbs such as look, sound, feel, got (but not get), and like. They often occur with first-person subject ellipsis. Where the subject is it, such as “(It) feels good,” the agent (psychological subject) is still first person, leading to the special status of the first person. Polarity is often fixed for a particular expression such as “(I) wouldn’t mind a coffee,” which is set for the first person and negative. Hence, any variation to this sentence gives rise to an unacceptable sentence such as “*(I) mind a coffee./*(You) wouldn’t mind a coffee?/*(Would you) mind a coffee?”
Tense and aspect signified by auxiliaries can also impose constraints on subject ellipsis (Nariyama, 2004). For example, future tense and present + imperfect aspect must be retained when the subject is ellipted, as in “(I’m) going to the football game this weekend,” “(It is/ You are) looking good,” and “(It) looks good.” The only unique feature in terms of tense lies in the fact that the past auxiliary can be ellipted, as illustrated in “(Did you) have a good time?” and “(Have you) had a good time?” In a case in which tense and aspect are the same as those in the immediately preceding sentence—such as “Where’ve you been?”—they are hence anaphoric, and they can be ellipted, as shown in the example “(I’ve been) hanging out and about.”

This paper suggests that despite the rarity of subject–verb morphological agreement in English, the recoverability requirement is met by the fact that subject ellipsis occurs under one of the four triggers with constraints. It is with these triggers and constraints that the addressee can correctly track the intended referent of subject ellipsis, and hence communication is enabled.

While Nariyama’s study provides an initial point to capture the mechanisms of subject ellipsis in informal English, the aim of my study centers on the analysis of subject ellipsis in casual online situations where speech sounds are null. While her study did approach the online situation, it was limited to three casual e-mails. As her data were limited to only one online domain, my data will come from other Internet domains to help develop a better understanding of the mechanisms of English subject ellipsis online. In Chapter 4, in conjunction with Nariyama’s study, I will demonstrate that triggers and constraints governing English subject ellipsis in offline situations are also applicable in online situations, although there are discrepancies between different varieties of English. These discrepancies are illustrated by Nariyama in the use of “(You) like coffee?” and “(Are you) going to be long?” Additionally,
based on my data, I will propose another mechanism called “asterisk bracketing” that governs English subject ellipsis online exclusively. This will be elaborated in section 4.3.1.1.

So far, I have reviewed previous studies of KNL and ENL. Despite the significance of examining the mechanisms underlying the salient linguistic characteristics of Net-Lingo and their subsequent implications, few academic works have investigated both Net-Lingoes, especially ENL, beyond simple descriptions from a linguistic perspective. As one of the objectives of this study, in Chapter 4, I will discuss mechanisms underlying a cluster of distinctive characteristics from various linguistic perspectives. To do so, I collected samples for data analysis from multilayered casual online situations and other Net-Lingo-related sources, which I will introduce in Chapter 3.
3 Methodology

3.1 Data

Crystal (2001) claimed that as of the beginning of 2001, Internet domains could broadly be classified into five domains in relation to the distinctive language that they contained (see Table 3 and Table 4): e-mail, chat groups (divided into chat rooms and bulletin boards), virtual worlds, and the World Wide Web. Nevertheless, he argued that these five domains were not entirely mutually exclusive (p. 14).

It is possible to find sites in which all elements are combined, or where one situation is used within another. For example, many Web sites contain discussion groups and e-mail links; e-mails often contain Web attachments; and some MUDs include asynchronous chat groups and permit participants to contact each other via e-mail.

Surely, the realm of the Internet is “an extremely fluid one, with users exploring its possibilities of expression, introducing fresh combinations of elements, and reacting to technological developments” (p. 14). Since Crystal’s classification of Internet domains was made in 2001, new situational variables have emerged, which validate his own prediction of the obsolescence of his classification; therefore, in this study, classification of the Internet domains was updated.
First, I included social networking sites, which have emerged as a new type of Internet situation since 2002, such as Facebook and Cyworld. While Crystal did not observe them in 2001, social networking sites connect people and help users keep up with friends; post comments; upload their own photos; and share photos, videos, and other links. According to Alexa, as of August 2007, Google, Yahoo, Facebook, YouTube, and MySpace were ranked as the top five most popular websites in the United States. Among these five sites, it is noteworthy that Facebook and MySpace are both listed as the most visited social networking sites. It is evident that as of 2008, social networking sites had been established as one of the most popular online communication forms. The popularity of social networking sites is also observable in the Korean situation. According to Alexa, as of August 2007, Cyworld, a Korean social networking site, was the sixth most visited website in South Korea, following Naver, Yahoo, Daum, YouTube, and Google, which, except YouTube, are all search engines.

In addition to social networking sites, I collected data from blogs. A blog, which comes from the words “web log,” is usually maintained and customized by an individual. Most typical blogs offer writings on a particular topic, and visitors leave comments and discussion threads; others function as personal online journals. While blogs may have not been popular in 2001, since 2002, blogs “have gained increasing notice and coverage for their role in breaking, shaping, and spinning news stories” (Blog). Their recent growing popularity is also captured in the fact that popular search engines such as Google, Yahoo, and MSN have hosted blogs for their registered users. According to one survey (Serna, 2007), in August 2007 comScore, Inc. rated Yahoo and Google number 1 and 2 among the top 10 most popular websites in the United States, and their

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10 comScore, Inc. provides Internet audience measurement services that report details of online media usage, user demographics, and online purchasing for home, work, and university audiences across local U.S. markets and across the globe.
self-contained blogs, MyBlogLog for Yahoo and Blogger for Google, were included as the most popular sites within Yahoo and Google. Some observations about the emergence of blogs as a popular new Internet platform can be made regarding the Korean situation. For instance, since 2003, the most popular Korean search engines such as Naver, Yahoo, Daum, and Google have provided self-contained blog sites, and according to the MIC and NIDA (2007, p. 19), as of the second half of 2006, 39.6% of Korean netizens were bloggers. Given the increasing popularity of social networking sites and blogs in both Korea and the United States, it is worth collecting data from these domains in order to describe and analyze the most recent examples of Net-Lingo.

As I used data accessible to the public, I did not include e-mail to meet the needs of this study. At the early stage, the majority of studies were focused on the investigation of chat rooms. Thus, scholars assumed that the unique characteristics of Net-Lingo were those of chat rooms. In this study, my intention is to show that the unique characteristics of Net-Lingo are not just those of chat rooms, but are also commonly observable in other online domains. Thus, I also excluded the linguistic investigation of chat rooms. Because my data were primarily collected from websites, my observations did not include online gaming situations, which Crystal termed “virtual worlds.”

In order to consider all of the aforementioned factors, in this study, my data mainly come from the following online situations: social networking sites, blogs, bulletin boards (BBS), public posts and comments on public websites, and Internet literature (for KNL). Data were separately collected for KNL and ENL.

For KNL, Cyworld was the main resource for data collection. Cyworld is the most popular social networking site in South Korea (Shonfeld, 2006, p. 85). It is so popular that a new word, *ssa.i.cwung.tok*, meaning “Cyholic,” was coined. According to Shonfeld (2006), more than one-
third of the country’s entire population are members of Cyworld, and 90% of all Koreans in their 20s have signed up as members. Although it started as a social networking site, Cyworld now also displays other Internet platforms such as bulletin boards, blogs, social clubs, music- and video-sharing sites, Web documents, and links to other public websites. All these Internet platforms are not completely mutually exclusive, which corroborates Crystal’s (2001) statement mentioned earlier. For instance, a member’s blog may contain a video-sharing site. It is also linked to his or her minihompy, a mini-homepage that opens in a separate browser window, and vice versa. In each situation, members can leave comments and posts in an embedded bulletin board, and in most cases, they can set their contents as either public or personal. Please note that all the samples illustrated in this study are based on public data. Cyworld is a valuable resource because not only does it have 18 million members (J. Daniel, 2008), but its search engine is also extremely useful for linguistic inquiry and broadly sampling KNL in order to capture unique linguistic features online. It allows anyone to search specific inquiries from all public Internet situations either within Cyworld or in situations to which Cyworld links, and it also allows focused searching within specific Internet situations (e.g., searching for a specific word in minihompies only). Furthermore, it has a feature that randomly selects a personal mini-homepage, blog, or club homepage. Random samples make the research as objective as possible. As Naver is the most popular search engine in South Korea, I selected its own blog site, Naver Blog, to collect data. The BBS from which the data were mainly collected include those of Cyworld and Naver. Aside from Cyworld and Naver, other popular search engines such as http://www.yahoo.co.kr, http://www.daum.net, and http://kr.msn.com were used as means of searching for linguistic aspects of KNL. Some Korean Internet literature is characterized by KNL, and such literature also deserves consideration in this study. Sources of Internet literature include
popular novels that were initially published online, such as *ku nom.un mes.iss.ess.ta* (‘The Guy Was Cool’) by GwiYeni.

To supplement my KNL data corpus, some of the Net-Lingo terms examined in this study come from other references. In fact, a number of Net-Lingo terms were taken from the Net-Lingo glossary (The National Institute of the Korean Language [NIKL], 2001); two KNL dictionaries—*Khemphyute thongsin ene sacen* (‘Net-Lingo Dictionary’; Cho, Kim, & Park, 2002) and *Saceney Epnun Mal Sincoe* (‘New Words Not in the Dictionary’; The National Institute of the Korean Language [NIKL], 2007); and selected scholarly works including Inha University (1997), Kwon (2000), J.-B. Lee (2000), J.-G. Lee (2003), and D.-G. Park. In particular, KNL terms that have already been listed in KNL dictionaries and the glossary (NIKL, 2001) were helpful in data analysis in that they have already been firmly established as KNL terms and expressions.

For ENL, there is a social networking site that is comparable to Korean Cyworld called U.S. Cyworld, which is a U.S. version of Cyworld. Although some data were collected from this site, I made sure to take samples that came from members whose first language is English, not Korean, on U.S. Cyworld, given that Cyworld originated in Korea. In addition, Facebook, ranked not only as one of the top five most popular websites, but also as the most popular social networking site in the United States, was included as a representative source of ENL. YouTube was also a primary source for ENL data collection. YouTube.com, as a free video-sharing site, heavily depends on video clips provided by users. During the summer of 2006, YouTube was one of the fastest-growing websites on the World Wide Web and was ranked as the fifth most popular website on Alexa, far outpacing even the growth of MySpace. In 2006, YouTube was named *TIME Magazine*’s “Invention of the Year.” According to *TIME*, “YouTube created a new
way for millions of people to entertain, educate, shock, rock and grok one another on a scale we've never seen before” (Slocombe, 2006, ¶ 3). For data collection in blogs, the major blog was MyBlogLog from Yahoo, which was ranked as one of the most popular sites on Yahoo, according to comScore, Inc., as of August 2007. The BBS for data collection include the UGASports message board.

Aside from those Internet domains mentioned, the most popular search engines, such as www.google.com, http://www.yahoo.com, and http://www.msn.com, were used in querying the Internet for linguistic aspects of Net-Lingo.

To complement my own data collection, some of the Net-Lingo terms observed in this study were collected from other references, including studies from Crystal (2001), J.-S. Lee (2003), and Nariyama (2004). Popular Internet reference sites, such as www.netlingo.com and www.urbandictionary.com, were also used not only to complement my own data, but also to verify that terms and expressions listed on those sites have already established themselves as representative of ENL. These sites contain constantly updated online dictionaries, providing a number of Net-Lingo terms and expressions, including emoticons.

After gathering data from online situations for both KNL and ENL, respectively, I also collected offline data from newspapers, magazines, movies, TV drama scripts, and song lyrics to investigate the influence of Net-Lingo on other language varieties such as writing and oral speech in offline situations.

3.2 Procedure

For online data, I used the search engine embedded in each domain to query for Net-Lingo terms that I had collected and observed over the past 3 years from August 2006 to June 2009. The purpose of the research is to examine the distinctive linguistic aspects of Net-Lingo based on
my own data and supplementary sources. As for the descriptions, any grammatical mistakes and
typos in the original texts are left unchanged as much as possible. Nevertheless, to save space
and to focus on a specific issue, deleting and modifying texts (spaces and fonts) will be
necessary, but these modifications will not influence the discussion.

The globalization of the Internet and media is prompting different languages to come into
contact in online situations, especially with English as “the dominant cross-cultural language”
(Hansson & Bunt-Kokhuis, 2004, p. 1). In discussing KNL, I will, in my analysis, also capitalize
on how KNL adopts English online from a linguistic perspective and how the impact of English
on KNL influences the Korean language in different layers of offline situations.

Note that the purpose of this study is not to simply describe a list of samples of KNL and
ENL, but to enrich a qualitative understanding of Net-Lingo from a linguistic viewpoint.
Nevertheless, using the Advanced Search feature of the Yahoo search engine, I, to a certain
extent, also provide the quantitative frequency of both KNL and ENL online data unless they are
listed in either a Net-Lingo dictionary or online reference sites for both ENL and KNL or a
glossary provided by NIKL for KNL. For offline data, my intention is to provide indications of
the influence of Net-Lingo on offline domains. Thus, frequencies are not provided.

3.3 Limitations

The first limitation of this study is associated with my decision to focus on a qualitative,
rather than quantitative, analysis. While analysis of both the qualitative and the quantitative data
provides insightful results regarding the emergence of Net-Lingo, because my focus was on a
qualitative analysis, I did not provide a comprehensive or a statistical analysis. If I provided
frequency data, they were limited to the counts obtained from the Advanced Search feature in
Yahoo. A quantitative analysis needs to be done for future research.
Linguistic research has a short history of examining Net-Lingo. In the KNL situation, research on KNL is only a decade old. Although discussions about KNL have steadily emerged thanks to scholars’ early awareness of a new language variety, the majority of works have focused on providing simple descriptions. Compared to KNL, the nature and development of ENL is only beginning to be understood by linguistic scholars. Studies from Crystal (2001) in the United States and J.-S. Lee (2003) in South Korea were two major resources treating ENL solely from a linguistic perspective. Despite the significance of examining the mechanisms underlying distinctive linguistic characteristics of Net-Lingo and subsequent implications, few academic works have examined Net-Lingo beyond simple descriptions from a linguistic perspective. It may be that mere descriptions are to be expected at this early stage of Net-Lingo history. The contribution of this research is that it provides indications of mechanisms underlying a cluster of linguistic properties, due to the brief history of Net-Lingo as a new language variety and the scarcity of academic resources that investigate it beyond mere descriptions.

Language is constantly changing. In discussing motivations for language change online, scholars have expressed different views. For instance, Crystal (2001) attributed language change online primarily to technological constraints. On the other hand, Gao (2004), in his study of Chinese teenagers’ identity construction in the Chinese Internet language, argued that Net-Lingo, as a distinctive language variety, is attributable not only to technological factors coming from computers as a medium of communication, but also to sociolinguistic factors such as the desire to build an attractive identity. He further argued that Net-Lingo “marks the type of youth identity that goes beyond ethnic, regional and national boundaries. It is the type of identity that reflects and also builds the youth culture across the globe” (2004, p. 126). Besides Gao (2004), scholars of various languages have mentioned that teenagers play an important role in language change.
and language creation (Baron, 2000; Gao, 2004; Randall, 2002; Wardhaugh, 1998). Throughout this study, in accounting for motivations for linguistic changes online, to some extent, I mentioned that teenagers, characterized as “the keyboard generation” (Randall, 2002, as cited in Axtman, 2002, ¶ 2), are at the forefront of online communication, and their socio-psychological motivations contribute to the creation of Net-Lingo, which is a product of online communication. Although I capitalized on teenagers’ crucial role regarding the emergence of Net-Lingo based on my online data and related references, the limitation of this study lies in the absence of original fieldwork such as interviews with teenagers and questionnaire surveys, which could reinforce my claim of teenagers’ contribution to language change and creation in online communication. Empirical results from fieldwork could offer a better understanding of how teenagers’ socio-psychological motivations and language are intertwined in online communication. As a follow-up research project, fieldwork must be conducted in the foreseeable future, and more explorations need to be done.

The following chapter presents descriptions of distinctive linguistic characteristics of KNL and ENL, respectively, from various perspectives, as well as a discussion of the findings from the data analysis.
4 Data analysis

This chapter describes the distinctive linguistic characteristics of KNL and ENL, respectively. A primary goal of this chapter is to provide initial points from which one can understand the mechanisms that may govern those characteristics. This section consists of five subsections which contain descriptions of linguistic characteristics from orthographic, morphological, syntactic, lexical and discursive viewpoints that are comparable cross-linguistically. Each section also discusses language specific features where necessary.

Section 4.1 investigates distinctive orthographic characteristics of KNL and ENL including the phenomenon of deletion (vowel deletion for KNL and both vowel and consonant deletions for ENL), spellings of actual pronunciation, and the use of English letters and numbers. Consonant addition is discussed for KNL and de-capitalization, lack of apostrophe, all-capitalization for ENL as language specific features. Section 4.2 discusses cross-linguistically common morphological processes such as acronyms, blendings and clippings. It also investigates the emergence of new morphemes regarding KNL. From a syntactic viewpoint, section 4.3 examines subject ellipsis for ENL and the use of a Korean Honorific Title (HT) and a nominalization process for KNL. Section 4.4 discusses common lexical characteristics of KNL and ENL which are represented by words with semantic shift online and new lexis. From a discursive perspective, section 4.5 looks into the use of emotions that are employed in both KNL and ENL. Let us now turn to frequently encountered orthographic characteristics of KNL and ENL.
4.1 Orthography

Both KNL and ENL are characterized by orthographic features such as deletion (vowel deletion for KNL and both vowel and consonant deletion for ENL), spellings of actual pronunciation and the use of letters, numbers or other symbols.

4.1.1 Deletion

4.1.1.1 Vowel Deletion in KNL

As commonly observed by scholars in section 2.1.1, vowel deletion is one of the most prominent orthographic features in KNL. For instance, in online communication, the second vowel [i] of a Korean word nay.il [nɛ.i.l] ‘tomorrow’ is frequently deleted. Based on the data provided by NIKL(2001), the phenomenon of vowel deletion is mainly characterized by i [i] vowel deletion, u [ɨ] vowel deletion and wu [u] vowel deletion as illustrated in Table 15, Table 16, and Table 17 below:

Table 15 i [i] Vowel Deletion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard Korean</th>
<th>Net-Lingo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nay.il</td>
<td>nayl</td>
<td>Tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kay.in</td>
<td>kain</td>
<td>Individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.i.theym</td>
<td>a.theym</td>
<td>Item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wu.li</td>
<td>wul</td>
<td>We</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cey.il</td>
<td>ceyl</td>
<td>The best</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cey.mi</td>
<td>ceym</td>
<td>Fun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il.yo.il</td>
<td>il.yol</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As is noted in section 2.1.1, vowel deletion in KNL reflects the spoken language of Korean. In discussing the deletion phenomenon, J.-G. Lee (2003) argued that KNL is closer to spoken language than to written language in that the deletion is an outcome of fast and casual speech in everyday life. Similar to J.-G. Lee’s (2003) view, Inha University (1997) argued that the phenomenon of deletion makes it possible for netizens to respond quickly in online communication by reducing the number of keystrokes.

While scholars focused on the motivation for the deletion phenomenon, none of them examined the mechanisms that may govern vowel deletion. A careful review of my data leads me to believe that vowel deletion does not occur arbitrarily. According to K.-O. Kim, it is triggered by “the relation between vowel height features” (1977, p. 72). He initially captured the mechanism of vowel deletion, based on his offline data. By illustrating his examples such as

- **mam** from **ma.um** ‘mind’,
- **kal** from **ka.ul** ‘autumn’,
- **heim** from **hey.em[he-ơm]** ‘swimming’ and

---

**Table 16 u [i] Vowel Deletion**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard Korean</th>
<th>Net-Lingo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ta.um</strong></td>
<td>Tam</td>
<td>Next</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>che.um</strong></td>
<td>chem</td>
<td>First/beginning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ma.um</strong></td>
<td>Mam</td>
<td>Heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ci.kum</strong></td>
<td>Cim</td>
<td>Now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>co.kum</strong></td>
<td>Com</td>
<td>A little/A few</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 17 wu [u] Vowel Deletion**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard Korean</th>
<th>Net-Lingo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>to.wum</strong></td>
<td>tom</td>
<td>Help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sa.mwu.sil</strong></td>
<td>sam.sil</td>
<td>Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>se.wul</strong></td>
<td>sel</td>
<td>Seoul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>a.mwu.(thun)</strong></td>
<td>am-(thun)</td>
<td>Anyway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ne.mwu</strong></td>
<td>nem</td>
<td>Too much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>wu.wul</strong></td>
<td>Wul</td>
<td>Depression</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pay.ta from pay-wu-ta [be-u-da] ‘to learn,’ K-O. Kim (1977) generalized that “within a morpheme containing a two-vowel sequence, the second vowel is deleted [only if it is as high as the first vowel or higher than the first]” (p. 72).

Given his data and generalization, one can predict that vowel height features are constrained by particular sequences (C)V-V(C) within a morpheme, but not by other sequences. First, vowel deletion does not occur in the (C)VC-VC sequence which includes a final consonant in the first syllable as illustrated in Table 18.

Table 18 Vowel Deletion Not Found in the (C)VC-VC Sequence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard Korean</th>
<th>Net-Lingo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ap.il</td>
<td>*apl</td>
<td>Upcoming affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can.in</td>
<td>*cann</td>
<td>Cruelty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chim.ip</td>
<td>*chimp</td>
<td>Invasion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chim.wul</td>
<td>*chiml</td>
<td>Depression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cong.il</td>
<td>*congl</td>
<td>All day long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thong.il</td>
<td>*thongl</td>
<td>Unification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kayk.in</td>
<td>*kaykn</td>
<td>Guest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwuk.ik</td>
<td>?kwukk</td>
<td>National advantage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In each example in Table 18, the second vowel is higher than the first vowel. Nevertheless, the vowel deletion process leads to ungrammaticality. The Korean language limitedly allows two consecutive final consonants only in the following combinations: lm, lp, nc, kk, and ss. Therefore, other combinations of two final consonants are not acceptable. In the last example, kwukk ‘national advantage,’ a two final consonant sequence kk, is allowed in the Korean language. Nonetheless, I have not observed a single example such as kwukk in online communication. All these examples support Kim’s generalization. It is plausible to assume that the vowel deletion process is not applicable when the final consonant is present in the first syllable.
This assumption is also upheld by the following examples, where there is no consonant in the second syllable.

*Table 19 Vowel Deletion Not Found in the (C)VC-V Sequence*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard Korean</th>
<th>Net-Lingo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phok.wu</td>
<td>?phok</td>
<td>Pouring rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phwum.wi</td>
<td>?phwum</td>
<td>Etiquette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kil.i</td>
<td>?kil</td>
<td>Length</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nam.a</td>
<td>?nam</td>
<td>A boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man.wu.cel</td>
<td>?man.cel</td>
<td>April Fool’s Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pel.i</td>
<td>?pel</td>
<td>Making money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pem.e</td>
<td>?pem</td>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en.e</td>
<td>?en</td>
<td>Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wen.e</td>
<td>?wen</td>
<td>The original language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yak.e</td>
<td>?yak</td>
<td>Acronym</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since there is no single consonant in the second syllable, one can assume that there would not be two consecutive final consonants after the vowel deletion process. Nevertheless, the assumption is not validated by the examples in Table 19. Although the second vowel is higher than or as high as the first in each example, possible Net-Lingo terms, which are derived from the vowel deletion process, seem to be unacceptable. No examples were found, such as ?phok / phwum / kil / nam / man.cel / pel / pem /en. Given all the data in Table 18 and Table 19, it is clear that that the vowel deletion process does not occur when the preceding syllable has a final consonant.

Although my view aligns with K-O. Kim’s (1997) generalization that vowel deletion is based on the vowel height, the data in Table 15, Table 16, and Table 17 demonstrate that the vowel deletion process can also occur in other sequences in online situations. What is common about these sequences is that they have one intervocalic consonant. For instance, data, such as *cim* from *ci.kum* ‘now,’ *com* from *co.kum* ‘little/a few,’ *am.thun* from *a.mwu(.thun)* ‘anyway’ and *nem*...
from *ne.mwu* ‘too much’ are initially based on the (C)V-CVC sequence. It is also noticeable that the vowel deletion occurs only if *k*[g] is intervocalic with respect to the (C)V-CVC sequence. This view is supported by the following examples.

Table 20 Vowel Deletion Not Found in the (C)V-CVC Sequence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard Korean</th>
<th>Net-Lingo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o.nul</td>
<td>*onl</td>
<td>Today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma.chim</td>
<td>*machm</td>
<td>Right time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko.lip</td>
<td>?kolp</td>
<td>Isolation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po.lum</td>
<td>?polm</td>
<td>15th day of the month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ci.lum.(sin)</td>
<td>?cilm</td>
<td>The imaginary ghost that makes one spend money impulsively</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in Table 20, which consist of (C)V-CVC, show that the second vowel is higher than or as high as the first. Nevertheless, in these examples, vowel deletion does not occur. Although two consecutive final consonants, such as *lp* and *lm*, are phonemically allowed in the Korean language, no single example such as *?kolp*, *?polm* or *?cilm.(sin)* were found in online communication. This phenomenon leads me to believe that the vowel deletion may be influenced by the spoken language of Korean. Even though two final consonants in particular sequences are allowed in the phonemic representation, only one consonant is allowed in the phonetic representation. As a result, it is plausible to hypothesize that the vowel deletion process is not applied where two consonants are present in the second syllable, unless the initial consonant is *k* [g], which is upheld by examples such as *cim* ‘now’ and *com* ‘little/ a few’ in Table 16. In these two examples, the intervocalic consonant *k* [g] and the vowel are deleted. It has been cross-linguistically observed that intervocalic consonants can be completely deleted. (e.g., Dutton & Tryon, 1994, p. 7; Goldsmith, 1996, p. 279; Harvey, 2002, p. 33; McMohan,
Cross-linguistic observations corroborate the two KNL examples just mentioned.

With regards to the deletion of a velar consonant \( k \), one may question which process should come first, vowel deletion or velar consonant deletion? Given that in the Korean sound system there is no consonant sequence such as \( km, kn \) and \( kl \) within a syllable, I argue that the intervocalic consonant \( k \) has to be deleted prior to vowel deletion. This may represent the cross-linguistically common process of deletion of intervocalic consonants, followed by contraction.

While K-O. Kim (1977) did not discuss final consonants in the second syllable, based on the data in Table 15, Table 16 and Table 17, I propose that the sequences tend to undergo vowel deletion if they include final consonants \( m, n \) or \( l \). Otherwise, vowel deletion does not seem to occur even though the initial consonant of the second syllable is \( k \) [g] in the second syllable, as illustrated in Table 21.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard Korean</th>
<th>Net-Lingo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( ci.kup )</td>
<td>?cip</td>
<td>Paying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ci.kus )</td>
<td>?cis</td>
<td>Tediumness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( co.kup )</td>
<td>?cop</td>
<td>Impatience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ci.kuk )</td>
<td>?cik</td>
<td>Devotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ce.kes )</td>
<td>?ces</td>
<td>That thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ha.kup )</td>
<td>?hap</td>
<td>Lower level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ta.kup.(ha.ta) )</td>
<td>?tap</td>
<td>To be in hurry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( po.kup )</td>
<td>?pop</td>
<td>Distribution</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in Table 21 demonstrate that Net-Lingo terms after vowel deletion, while possible, are not grammatically unacceptable; furthermore, vowel deletion does not occur if \( m, n \) or \( l \) is absent in the final consonant position of the second syllable.
With respect to the (C)V-CV sequence, it is interesting that all of the data that feature this sequence have the initial consonant \( m \) in the second syllable, and after the vowel deletion process, the consonant functions as a final consonant of the first syllable instead of being deleted, as illustrated in \( wul \) from \( wu.li \) ‘we,’ \( ceym \) from \( cey.mi \) ‘fun,’ \( am.thun \) from \( a.mwu.thun \) ‘anyway,’ \( nem \) from \( ne.mwu \) ‘too much’ and \( sam.sil \) from \( sa.mwu.sil \) ‘office.’

Since Kim’s generalization is based on the offline data collected, I propose two important points which are applicable to online data: First, within sequences such as (C) V-VC and (C) V-CV in which \( m, n \) or \( l \) is a consonant of the second syllable, the second vowel tends to be deleted if it is higher than or as high as the first vowel. Second, within a (C)V-CVC sequence, in which \( m, n \) or \( l \) is a final consonant of the second syllable, an intervocalic velar consonant is deleted first if it is present in the sequence, and then the second vowel is deleted if it is higher than or as high as the first vowel.

Given this proposal, KNL data illustrated in Table 15, Table 16 and Table 17 can be better understood. Now we turn to deletion phenomenon in ENL.

### 4.1.1.2 Vowel Deletion and Consonant Deletion in ENL

Just as in KNL, the vowel deletion phenomenon is also prevalent in ENL. In fact, in addition to vowel deletion, consonant deletion also characterizes ENL. J.-S. Lee (2003), in his study comparing KNL with ENL, also illustrated the deletion phenomenon by presenting examples of vowel deletion such as \( ev(e)ry, lik(e), mor(e), someon(e), (a)bout, hav(e)nt, beli(e)ve \) and \( fr(o)m \) and examples of consonant deletion such as \( thinkin(g) \) and \( borin(g) \). Besides those examples displayed by J.-S. Lee (2003), my data also include examples such as \( kno(w), goin(g), fallin(g), nd (and), hav(e), thou(gh), tomorro(w), mayb(e), stayin(g) \) and \( doin(g) \). In passages (14), (15), and (16) collected from one of the blogs.
(http://us.cyworld.com/onigrl25) in the US, the deletion phenomenon is well observed, and it is
given in bold. To save space and focus on this issue, some of the original texts have been
ellipted.

(14) today..i dont **kno**...i woke up about an hour ago ; P i slept in. first time in a LONG
time ^,^ well today im **goin** to my aunt **nd** uncle's house... im excited cuz my aunt is
an AWESOME cook. her cooking is the best!!! ^,^ i should **hav** more pictures up
later on this week. but next week is thanksgiving break!! yay!! lol im excited for
that....i wonder if ppl actually read these journal entries...i dont **kno**...but i just like
writing in it anyways ; P even **tho** im typing. but hey, close enough ^,^ (accessed on November 12, 2006)

(15) well this weekend i basically did nothing..went to japanese school in the morning
which wuz pretty **borin**. but then my family **nd** i went to this hawaiian festival **nd** i
got this cute necklace ; p … then we watched the hula competition which was
HECKA cool except for the dancing ones. the chanting performances were WAY
better. i wuz **fallin** asleep on the song ones. … (accessed on November 5, 2006)

(16) just came back from reno,nevada today!!! so basically it wuz a lot of funn. but
wut stinks is that i **hav** to go to skool **tomorro**...😊 so not kool. but i should be **doin**
my hw rite now..but yea 😛 i'm here instead!! ^,^ but anyways..my team played 2
games on saturday **nd** lost both..T_T then we went go-cart racing **nd** it wuz hecka
funn!! i'm so ready to drive now..well mayb not. i had problems **stayin** in a lane **nd**
yea..but lots of funn!! ; P (accessed on October 01, 2006)

The passages listed in (14), (15) and (16) display journal excerpts written by the blog owner.
In discussing deletion phenomenon in ENL, J.-S. Lee (2003) characterized the deletion
phenomenon as the reflection of fast speech in everyday language. Considering his data source,
part of which was based on chat rooms, where users tend to type fast for spontaneous responses,
it seems to claim that the deletion phenomenon reflects fast speech in order to respond quickly.
Nonetheless, I question his claim. The phenomenon of deletion has initially emerged from chat
rooms which are mainly characterized by spontaneous responses. The deletion phenomenon,
however, is frequently observed in other casual online situations, even in situations where a spontaneous response is not always necessary, as shown in those examples (14), (15) and (16) above. As another example, the name of one social club in us.cyworld.com, features the e deletion in “LUV” from “WE LUV Hip Hop.” Thus, it is not convincing to characterize the deletion phenomenon as a chat room feature only. Rather, I suggest that the deletion phenomenon in ENL reflects actual speech in that deleted vowels and consonants are not phonetically realized in the spoken language of English. The affect of spoken language on Net-Lingo is also manifested when netizens spell words as actually pronounced in online communication. This issue will be further elaborated in the following section.

4.1.2 Spellings of Actual Pronunciation

4.1.2.1 Spellings of Actual Pronunciation in KNL

In addition to the vowel deletion phenomenon, another distinctive characteristic is spellings of actual pronunciation. It is commonly observed that words are spelled as actually pronounced (Kwon, 2000; J.-G. Lee, 2003; D.-G. Park, 2002). D.-G. Park (2002) divided spelling practice into two subsets: spellings of standard pronunciation and spelling of colloquial pronunciation. For example, if netizens spell words based on the standard pronunciation, which is regulated by the Korean government, those words are categorized as “spellings of standard pronunciation.” His examples include man.i for manh.i ‘many/much’ and shi.le for shilh.e ‘dislike.’ In fact, these examples are so commonly observed that they are already listed in the Net-Lingo glossary by NIKL(2001). Random samples, selected from the Net-Lingo glossary are listed in Table 22 and Table 23. Along with them, my data containing those spelling practices, collected from random Naver blogs, are also provided. To save space, some of the original texts have been deleted.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Examples (searched word bolded)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 마니 ma.ni ‘many/much’ | • 이렇게 마니 주는 횟집이 넘 좋아요.  
  *ilehkey ma.ni cwuni nem cohayo*  
  ‘I like this kind of Sushi restaurant which gives lots of Japanese side dishes’  
| 시러 si.le ‘dislike’ | • 평소 마니 좋아하는 한예슬~  
  *phyengso ma.ni cohahanun hanyesul~*  
  ‘Han Yesul who I usually like a lot’  
  ([http://blog.naver.com/aldo0210/150044026054 accessed on December 12, 2008](http://blog.naver.com/aldo0210/150044026054)) |

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Examples (searched word bolded)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| • 시험 시러  
  *simhem sile*  
  ‘I dislike tests.’  
  ([http://blog.naver.com/syuria14/20058224560 accessed on December 12, 2008](http://blog.naver.com/syuria14/20058224560)) |
| • 혼자있기 시러요~!!  
  *honcaisski sileyo~!!*  
  ‘I dislike being alone.’  
  ([http://blog.naver.com/saysay535/90035688222 accessed on December 12, 2008](http://blog.naver.com/saysay535/90035688222)) |
| • 야근 시러.  
  *yakun sile.*  
  ‘I dislike working overnight.’  
  ([http://blog.naver.com/damsluv/140057571828 accessed on December 12, 2008](http://blog.naver.com/damsluv/140057571828)) |
Spellings of colloquial pronunciation, however, are based on colloquial speech. D.-G. Park (2002) remarked that in modern colloquial speech, people tend to substitute \textit{wu} [u] for \textit{o[o]} and
ye [ə] for yo[jo] with at the end of the syllable, as in *ceng.mal.liwu*[lu] ‘really?’ from *ceng.mal.lo*[lo] and *caym.iss.e.ye*[jo] from *caym.iss.e.yo*[jo] ‘(It is)interesting.’

As already mentioned in section 2.1.1, scholars have expressed different views in discussing the change of spellings in online situations. Inha University (1997) and Kwon (2000) attributed the change of spelling practice to technological constraints such as the inconvenience of typing on a keyboard. On the other hand, in D.-G. Park’s (2002) discussion, a socio-linguistic factor played a crucial role in the way people spell words in online situations. According to him, the standard writing that specifies every morpheme of the word cannot capture the realistic situation in which people actually converse. Therefore, the spellings of actual pronunciation are “a reflection of realistic conversation” (p. 9). This is a plausible explanation. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that the spellings of colloquial pronunciation which D.-G. Park described are based on the colloquial speech of the central region; I contended that colloquial speech in other regions is not characterized by the change of endings such as -wu for -o and –ye for –yo at the end of the syllable. My argument is also upheld by H. Sohn’s (2001) observation that the central zone, including Seoul as its geographical center, features the standard speech of Korean as a subset, but in the colloquial speech of this area, one of the salient phonological characteristics is an -o to -wu replacement. He further describes that “the vowel o is frequently raised to wu in final syllables of certain native morphemes, especially when it occurs as part of a suffix, as in *kuli-ko/kuil-kwu* ‘and,’ *mek-e.to/mek-e.twu* ‘eat but,’ *na- to/na-twu* ‘I also’ and *si.kol/si.kwul* ‘countryside’ (2001, p. 70). Hence, unless any evidence of the same type of spelling practice is observed in non-central regions, D.-G. Park’s view of “a reflection of realistic conversation” (p. 9) only applies to netizens’ spelling practice from the central region of South Korea.
My observations, which extend from D.-G. Park’s study, are based on a number of Cyworld clubs whose members are mainly from non-central regions of South Korea, which H. Sohn (2002) divided into four dialectal zones: Chwungcheng Zone (south central), Kyengsang zone (Southeast), Cenla zone (Southwest) and Ceycwu zone (the Island). Since the northern parts of Chwungcheng dialect have many sentence enders in common with the Central dialect (H. Sohn, 2002), my research focuses on spelling practice from the rest three non-central regions (Kyengsang zone, Cenla zone and Ceycwu zone). My data, accessed between October and December 2008, suggest that the practice of replacing o[o] with wu [u] and yo[jo] with ye [jɑ] at the end of the syllable are also frequently observable in non-central regions.

The first piece of evidence for this comes from the bulletin boards of two Cyworld clubs whose members are from one of the non-central regions, Kyengsang zone. One is called Pwu Sol In (Pwusan Solo Inyen Mantulki) ‘meeting singles in Pusan’ (http://club.cyworld.com/club/main/club_main.asp?club_id=51515130) whose members are mainly from a city called Pusan located in Kyengsang zone (Southeast), and the other is called Taykwu Kyengpwuk cohun inyen ‘a good meeting in Daegu and Kyungbook’ (http://club.cyworld.com/club/main/club_main.asp?club_id=52021191) whose members are currently residing in Kyengsang zone (Southeast). The change of–yo to –ye, which is written in bold, can be frequently observed in non-central regions, as illustrated in (17) to (22). In order to help the reader better understand the issue that I am currently discussing, spacing has been modified from the original texts, and emoticons and other symbols were removed in the English translations.
From -ᄋ- yo to -읕- ye

(17) ㅋㅋㅋ낼봐여여 여여 니들하.ㅋㅋㅋ
k k k naylpwaye nimtulha. kkk
‘(Snicker) I will see you tomorrow, guys. (snicker)’

(18) 안녕하세요 가입하고 인사해요
anmyenghaseye kaiphako insahayyo
‘Hello, I registered (for this site) and I am saying hello.’

(19) 예상보다 분위기 조약여여 여여
yeysangpota pwunwiki coasseye ^^
‘It was a better atmosphere than expected.’

(20) 잘 쉬었나여여 여여
calshwiessnaye~~
‘Did you rest well?’

(21) 일요일 잘 보내셨쎄여여 여여
iyoil cal ponaysysesseye? h k
‘(snicker) Did you have a good Sunday? (snicker)’

(22) 여행을 가구싶네여여 여여
(ye)hayngul kakwushiphneyye etillonka~~
‘I would like to go traveling somewhere where ~~.’

The change of endings from -ọ to -wu is also observable at the end of the syllable in (23) to (25).

From -ᄋ- o to -ㅜ- wu

(23) 나두 헴틱沙特당~
natwu haphik sasstang~
‘I also bought a haptic.’

(24) 나두 정모 참여하구 싫은뎅
natwu cengmo chamyehakwu shipunteyng
‘I’d like to participate in the regular meeting, but…’

(25) (여)행을 가구 싫네여 어디론가~
(ye)hayngul kakwushiphneyye etillonka~~
‘I want to travel somewhere.’
In (23) and (24), -o[o] is substituted with *wu* [u] as in *na. to/na.twu* ‘I also’ and in (25) *ka ko* is replaced by *ka.kwu* ‘(want) to go.’ Another piece of evidence for the prevalence of such practices in non-central regions comes from a bulletin board of a Cyworld club whose members reside in *Cenla* Zone (the southwestern region of South Korea). The club is named *Kwangcwu ilchon mantulki* ‘making close friends in Gwangjoo’ (http://club.cyworld.com/club/main/club_main.asp?club_id=50653259), and its members are mainly from a city called *Kwangcwu* located in *Cenla* zone (southwestern South Korea).

### From -요 -yo- to -역 -ye

(26) [중]요한 일이 생겼어역
   
   *cwung*yohan ili sayngkyesseye
   ‘Something important came out.’

(27) 일촌 구해역 ~!!
   ilchon kwyhay~!!
   ‘I am looking for a close friend.’

(28) 안녕하세요역 ^^
   anneynghaseyye^^
   ‘Hello.’

(29) 출첵역 훌 짭
   chwulcheykiye h h
   ‘I was here.’

(30) 봉링 동호회원 모집합니다~~조혼 취미하나 만드세요역~
   polling tonghohoywen mociphanpmita~~ chhun chwimi hana manduseyye~
   ‘Bowling club members wanted ~~ Why don’t you start a good hobby?~~ Strongly recommended.’

(31) 광주 북구 살아역
   *kwangcwu pwukkwu salaye*
   ‘I live in the northern part of Gwangjoo.’
The examples sampled from a non-central region also contain the colloquial speech of South Korea. Lastly, evidence for the penetration of such practices in non-central regions can be also obtained from a Cyworld club called C’est la vie (http://club.cyworld.com/club/main/club_main.asp?club_id=50880784) whose members are people in the Ceycwu zone (the Island) as shown in (32) to (39):

**From -요 -yo to -여 -ye**

(32) 가입인사 지금이어야 하내여 sess

\[\text{kaipinsa cikumieya hanayye c s} \]

‘Finally I am making my initial greeting, sorry.’

(33) 우언이 좋네여여 여여

\[\text{u keykeykey} \]

‘(snicker) Running into you (online) was good.’

(34) 드뎌...가입했어요여여 여여

\[\text{tu} \]

‘I finally registered.’

(35) 안녕하세요여여 여여

\[\text{annyenghaseyye kkk} \]

‘Hello.’

(36) 추석 마지막휴일 15일 술 한잔 할까여여

\[\text{chwusek macimakhwuil 15il swul hancan halkkaye??} \]

‘Shall we drink on the 15, the last day of Chuseok break?’

**From -오 -o to -우 -wu**

(37) 나두 동업 해 주나??

\[\text{natwu tungephay cwuna??} \]

‘Are you also going to upgrade my status?’

(38) 12월 7일 나두 병개쳐야지!!!

\[\text{12wel 7il natwu pengkaychyeyaci!!!} \]

‘I will also have a sudden meeting on the 7 of Dec.’
All of the evidence just presented enables me to provide a new justification: In the beginning, endings such as –ye from –yo and –wu from –o may have resulted from the influence of colloquial speech based on the central region, but their widespread use by netizens from non-central regions leads us to believe that these endings have been well situated as typical endings in online communication. While previous studies have agreed on the prevalence of these endings, no attention has been paid to discussing how they have spread with the aid of online communication. I propose that two plausible factors are associated with the pervasiveness of these endings online: a demographic factor and sociolinguistic factor.

Since one fifth of the South Korean population lives in Seoul, it is reasonable to assume that spoken colloquial endings of the standard language variety are more ubiquitous than corresponding endings of non-standard language varieties. As a result, this ubiquity may have an effect on the colloquial endings’ spread to online communication. Another motivation may lie in a sociolinguistic factor: netizens from non-central regions probably make a conscious choice to reflect the standard language variety\(^{11}\) in their linguistic practice. This view is upheld by Gao’s quote on Le Page and Tabouret-Keller’s (1985) hypothesis that “the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behavior so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified or so as to be unlike those from he wishes to be distinguished” (p. 181). Whether unintentional or intentional, these spelling practices, –ye from –yo and –wu from –o, have virtually become standard because they are so widely used in

\(^{11}\) In January, 1988, the Ministry of Education and Human Resources announced the modern language variety used by well educated people in Seoul, as the standard Korean language (http://www.korean.go.kr/08_new/index.jsp).
online situations regardless of regions. Similarly to spelling practices in KNL, ENL also features new spelling practices online, which will be presented in the following section.

### 4.1.2.2 Spellings of Actual Pronunciation in ENL

Spellings of actual pronunciation are also frequently observable in English online situations. My observations are supported by Crystal’s (2001) claim regarding the emergence of new spelling conventions: that letters are often replaced by other letters with a similar sound. He illustrates the replacement of plural –s by –z to refer to pirated versions of software such as gamez, serialz and downloadz. Replacing plural –s with –z is also found in my data. For instance, us.cyworld.com lists featured clubs on a weekly basis. On the 4th week of November 2006, us.cyworld.com introduced three featured clubs. The official name of one of the clubs is characterized by spellings of actual pronunciation as in “Friendz maker” instead of “Friends maker.” The Yahoo search engine also displayed 3,570,000 instances of friendz within a year of May 10, 2009, and random samples are given below.

(40) This is my Article on how to make friendz!

(41) hi mah name iz lisa/liz i am 15/f/ny i need friendz hea sooo mdk

(42) hi friendz.. am coolcomps. Its a good forum I have seen.
(http://www.bleepingcomputer.com/forums/topic92461.html)

Besides this, newly widespread examples include kinda, realli and funni. Their penetration can be captured by their high frequency. For instance, based on the results from the Yahoo search engine, kinda, realli and funni displayed 128,000, 314,000 and 368,000 instances.
respectively, within a year of May 10, 2009. Some of the random examples from the results of the Yahoo search engine, accessed in March 2009 follow; new spelling conventions are written in bold.

(43) I wrote this song, and it was supposed to be my second single released, however it never was finished nor finalized due my manager's swindler partner! UGH! It got some club play around the NYC Underground scene, which was kinda neat. ([http://www.icompositions.com/music/song.php?sid=93726#545700](http://www.icompositions.com/music/song.php?sid=93726#545700))

(44) DRIVER Kinda LOL ([http://sketchup.google.com/3dwarehouse/details?mid=3df6f48d6814b34d9d3e0a8e3ab62386&action=sr](http://sketchup.google.com/3dwarehouse/details?mid=3df6f48d6814b34d9d3e0a8e3ab62386&action=sr))

(45) A song i have been working on for the past month. The dynamics on this song is kinda bad, and the vocals are a bit muddy, but i thought eh.. i will upload it anyway. I hope you guys enjoy. ([http://www.icompositions.com/music/song.php?sid=102332#517447](http://www.icompositions.com/music/song.php?sid=102332#517447))

(46) this bus is sooo cool!!it has 6 different things in one. the standout item for me is the jacuzzi its realli good!! also the lights in the bus realli work and light up it does require 5aa batteries tho. i realli enjoyed playing with this item beause its such a change and its so good to have a proper place for my bratz. there are mannny accesories included. ([www.amazon.com/review/R3R3UQ9FJEFPZN9](http://www.amazon.com/review/R3R3UQ9FJEFPZN9))

(47) i had the Crab Baked Rice..which was realli good! the cheese and rice was cooked to perfection..and it was realli tasty too! yummy! ([www.flickr.com/photos/12814266@N00/167204437](http://www.flickr.com/photos/12814266@N00/167204437))

(48) ohhh realli they took it out. thats so uncool u should sue the school lmao ... ohhh realli im sry about that : ( thats good that u got into something u wanted ... ([www.teenspot.com/profiles/xxcourtneyy](http://www.teenspot.com/profiles/xxcourtneyy))

(49) i realli need u lol-x x-my day today-x mi day was actually funni i went to the cinema wiv mi friend danni we watched step up 2 it was ace we had a giggle, we laugh about everything its realli gud ([http://my-diary.org/read/?read=319471](http://my-diary.org/read/?read=319471))

(50) i need some really funni jokes plz!! ([http://answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20080904053449AAH98](http://answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20080904053449AAH98))
(51) It's very funny to see the bunch of weirdos that think they look like Sean. (http://www.seankingston.com/node/1952)

All the examples (40) from (51), in bold, present consistent pattern such as $s \rightarrow z$, $of \rightarrow a$ and $y \rightarrow i$, and these patterns provide ENL with features of a spoken language, that is, spellings of actual pronunciation. For instance, in actual speech, $–s$ of friends is pronounced as $–z$, and in online situations, it is spelled as a voiced sound, $–z$. In a phrase kind of, of is often pronounced as $a$. I believe that these practices are strongly influenced by the way people actually pronounce those words. Given that the patterns mentioned above can be categorized as spellings of actual pronunciation, the following examples from (52) to (58) in bold, randomly collected from various online domains accessed between December 2007 and May 2008, are characterized by spellings of colloquial pronunciation such as yup and dunno. To save space and focus on this issue, some of the original texts have been deleted.

(52) Yup.. c'est moi L'etudiant de GWU(http://us.cyworld.com/Justin)

(53) Yup, that's right. Even though the dollar is going down the drain it seems Sony hasn’t raised the price of the system (http://www.mybloglog.com/buzz/community/adventgaming/)

(54) Do It Your Self Musician. (Yup... you can make money at this) (http://www.mybloglog.com/buzz/community/diymusician/)

(55) I dunno i’m kinda bored like alot. (http://www.datehookup.com/Blog-15010.htm)

(56) I dunno. I got bored at the gym too and quit there, instead I go running. (http://caloriecount.about.com/bored-ft8789)

(57) I dunno, but i’m real glad it working and I can’t wait to quit from my current state of affairs!So here’s to the future!! Let’s live it like we... (http://www.mybloglog.com/buzz/community/watchingmars/)
An Internet search shows that these words are prevalent in online communication. For instance, the Yahoo search engine returned 47,100,000 instances of *yup* and 8,930,000 instances of *dunno* within a year of May 10, 2009 in the United States. As already mentioned in section 1.3, scholars have generally characterized Net-Lingo as a way to “write the way people talk” (Hale & Scanlon 1999, as cited in Crystal (2001, p. 25)) and as a “written spoken style” (Gao, 2004, p. 61). All the examples illustrated in this section substantiate these remarks in that they more closely resemble spoken than written language. Netizens spell words as if they were talking in offline communication, whether the words are standard or colloquial, in order to create a lively and casual environment online.

In this section, I presented spellings of actual pronunciation of KNL and ENL as one of the orthographic characteristics of online communication. It is noteworthy that two groups of netizens from different languages utilize the same type of spelling practice, that is, they spell words as actually pronounced whether standard or colloquial. For KNL, I demonstrated that the change of an –o to –wu and – yo to –ye at the end of syllable corroborated an earlier observation by D.-G. Park (2002). I, however, pointed out that his (2002) characterization of those endings as “a reflection of realistic conversation” (p. 9) is limited to the colloquial speech of the central region including Seoul. Based on my data collected from bulletin boards of Cyworld clubs whose members are from non-central regions, I proposed that such spelling practices have been so pervasive in online communication that they have practically become standard in online communication regardless of the netizen’s geographic region. It is certain that such spelling
practices are contributing to the emergence of Net-Lingo, along with other orthographic features which I will present in the following section.

4.1.3 The Use of English Letters and Numbers

4.1.3.1 KNL

It has been reported that one of the prominent features in online communication is the prevalence of English letters, numbers and other symbols (J.-S. Lee, 2003; D.-G. Park, 2002). D.-G. Park (2002) illustrated samples such as 10002 ‘a lot’ and G[ci].lal.ha.meyn D[di].cin.ta ‘You better listen, or I will straighten you out.’ The first example 10002 may originate through a couple of processes such as mahn.i[mani] ‘a lot’ → [man (10000)+i (2)] → 10002 [man.i]. The second word is an example of Korean profanity, which includes English letters whose pronunciation has a similar pronunciation of corresponding Korean words. When netizens read the expression G[ci].lal ha.meyn D[di].cin.ta ‘You better listen, or I will straighten you out,’ Ci[ci] and ti [di] in Korean are similar to G[dʒi] and the same as D[di] in English respectively.

D.-G. Park (2002) remarks that netizens often utilize English letters and numbers to swear. In my data, the use of English letters and numbers is no longer confined to swear words, as exemplified in the following examples from (59) to (63):

<1004  [ʧən-sa]>

(59) 1004 님들로 부터 ~

1004 nimtullo pwute~

’From the angels’

(blog.naver.com/like0916 accessed on October 10, 2008)
부동산도우미 1004님 감사합니다.

pwutongsantowumi 1004nim kamsahapnita.
‘Thank you, angel12 helper for the real estate.’
(http://k.daum.net/qna/view.html?category_id=QDA&qid=3ddQf&q=%BA%CE% B5%BF%BB%EA%B5%B5%BF%EC%B9%CC1004%B4%D4%20%B0%A8%B B%E7%C7%D5%B4%CF%B4%D9 accessed on September 25, 2008).

<BoA>

일본어세상을 히메짱과 함께 BOA 요.

ilponeseysangul himeyccangkwa hamkkey BOAy0.
‘Let’s watch ‘the Japanese World ‘show with Hime.’
(blog.paran.com/himezzang accessed on April 20, 2005)

웃어 BOA 요

wuse BOAy0
‘Let’s smile.’
(blog.empas.com/anet01/list.html?c=256305 accessed on October 9, 2008)

블로깅해 BOA 요

pullokinghay BOAy0
Let’s blog.’
(blog.joins.com/media/index.asp?uid=smklee&folder=20 accessed on April 18, 2004)

In Korean, “angel” is pronounced as [tʃən.sa], which is homonymous with the number 1004 [tʃənsa]. Po.a.yo [bo.a.yo] ‘let’s see’ is often substituted with the letters BOA yo, which has a similar pronunciation to the name of a well known Korean pop star whose name is “BOA.”

The examples (59) to (63) are so widespread that the Yahoo search demonstrated 218,000 instances for 1004 nim and 580,000 instances for BOA yo ‘let’s see’ within a year of May 10, 2009. These examples also uphold a prior observation by J.-S. Lee (2003) that the use of alphabets and numbers and other symbols can be found in examples such as kam4 [kam.sa] ‘thanks,’ 10002 mahn.i [ma.ni] ‘a lot of,’ RG? [al.ci]? ‘You know that, right?’ and ba.2 [ba.i]

12 Someone who is nice or kind
‘bye.’ One striking piece of evidence for the use of English letters in KNL comes from the initials of the current Korean president’s name as illustrated below. To save space, some of the original texts have been modified and ellipted.

(64) MB 이야기

MB iyaki
‘MB story’
(http://blog.daum.net/mbiyagi accessed on December 2, 2008)

(65) 한국의 이명박 대통령은 ‘2MB’라는 이니셜 겸 별명으로 곤욕을 치르고 있다. 2MB란 컴퓨터 용어로 메모리, 즉 기억장치 용량이 2메가바이트(megabyte=100만 바이트)란 뜻이다.

hankwukuy imyengpak taythonglyengun ‘2MB’lanun ilisyl kyem pyelmyengulo
‘President Lee Myung-bak is having a hard time because his initials have become the nickname 2MB, which also refers to 2 million bytes of storage capacity on a computer’.

(66) 현 MB 정권에 대한 긍정적인 견해를 듣고 싶습니다.

hyen MBcengweney dayhan kungcengcekin kyenhaylul tutko siphsupnita
‘I’d like to listen to some positive opinions about the current MB administration.’
(http://k.daum.net/qna/view.html?category_id=QFK&qid=3m24K&q=%C0%CC%B8%ED%B9%DA%202MB accessed on March 7, 2009)

In examples (64) to (66), this KNL term, (2)MB, consists of the initials for the current South Korean president’s name, (Yi or Lee) Myung Park. Given the fact that Lee and Yi are interchangeable in the Romanization of the Korean last name into English, both Lee and Yi have the same pronunciation with the number 2 [ji] in Korean. According to JoongAng Daily (H. Cho, 2008, ¶ 7), on June 25, 2008, the initials 2MB (for his full name) or MB (for his first name only) originated from one of the online video clips made by the Grand National Party to promote its “2MB Promises to the People” during the presidential campaign.
While scholars focused on providing descriptions of the use of English letters, it should be emphasized that netizens’ utilization of English letters and Arabic numbers provides insights into unconventional contacts between languages. The influence of English online has been recognized from all corners of the globe – in Spanish by Stavans (2003), in Chinese by Gao (2004), in French by Johnson (2004), and in Swedish by Hansson and Bunt-Kokhuis (2004). English, as a global language, continues to grow in non-English languages, and in this study, it is worthwhile to more deeply investigate how English influences both KNL and the evolution of the Korean language. This will be discussed further in section 5.2. While English continues to impact other languages through online contact, English itself is also changing online, and how it is doing so will be discussed in the following section.

4.1.3.2 ENL

The use of English letters and numbers seems to be cross-linguistic in casual online situations. Just as in KNL, non-standard use of English letters and numbers can be easily found in ENL, as illustrated in J.-S. Lee (2003):

(67) OS/2(Obsolete soon too); tx2u(thanks to you); in2(into)
Ka3rina(Katharina)
be4(before); 4ever(forever); 4 U (for you)
ddc8d(dedicated); f9(fine); cr10(certain); k10(kitten)
B4N(Bye for now)

More examples of non-standard use of English letters and numbers are also found in my data as illustrated below:
In (68), English letters substitute words and phrases such as *u* for *you*, *c* for *see*, *r* for *are* and *ur* for *your*. The substitution of English letters is shown to be prevalent. For instance, according to the Yahoo search, within a year of May 10, 2009, *how r u?* was substituted for *how are you?* 6,380,000 times, and *c ya* for *see you* 607,000 times.

J.-S. Lee (2003) asserted that languages borrow numbers, letters and other symbols for the purpose of sound representation, thus effectively reducing a considerable number of syllables. His explanation, however, is not accurate. For instance, in samples such as *be4* for “before” and *4ever* for “forever,” the number 4 consists of one syllable. There is no difference between *be4* and *before* with respect to the number of syllables. The difference lies in typing the number of keystrokes. The former requires three keystrokes *b-e-4*, whereas the latter requires six keystrokes, *b-e-f-o-r-e*.

Although I agree with his economic argument, it is more accurate to say that such practices help minimize the number of keystrokes rather than syllables. As opposed to previous sections, the following section introduces language specific features –the phenomenon of consonant addition for KNL and de-capitalization, lack of apostrophe and all-caps for ENL.
4.1.4 Language Specific Features

4.1.4.1 Addition in KNL

In discussing the orthographic characteristics of Net-Lingo, one of the commonly held assumptions is that netizens utilize the phenomenon of vowel deletion to reduce the number of keystrokes for faster online communication. In contrast to this assumption, it is remarkable that Korean netizens also utilize the phenomenon of addition, in which a consonant is added to the end of the word. As already noted in section 2.1.1, the phenomenon of addition is as widespread as deletion in Korean online situations. The addition of -ng or -p[ʼ] is not only frequently discussed by scholars (Inha University, 1997; Kwon, 1997; J.-G. Lee, 2003; D.-G. Park, 2002), but it is also already listed in the Net-Lingo dictionary (Cho et al., 2002). The following examples (69) to (75) were collected from the Naver search engine (http://www.naver.com) and the Cyworld search engine (www.cyworld.co.kr). In order to save space, some of the original texts have been deleted.

<- ㅇ .RELATED>  

(69) 학교가용용 용용
    hakkyokayong (tears)
    ‘I am going to school.’
    (http://blog.naver.com/junjinlove45 accessed on March 20, 2007)

(70) 서울에공부하러가용가용가용가용
    sewuley kongpwuhalekayong(tears)
    ‘I am going to Seoul to study.’
    (http://blog.naver.com/taemin_rn accessed on December 26, 2008)
As already mentioned in the literature review (section 2.1.1), scholars have generally voiced that -ng addition, such as ye.ppu.tang from ye.ppu.ta ‘to be pretty,’ conveys quaintness and intimacy (Inha University, 1997; Kwon, 1997; J.-G. Lee, 2003; D.-G. Park, 2002), whereas -p[p’] addition, as in neyp from ney ‘yes,’ conveys decisiveness, definite ending or strength (J.-G. Lee, 2003; D.-G. Park, 2002). Although all the studies reviewed above have discussed the implied
meanings of an added consonant, no effort has been devoted to investigating how specific consonants are selected from the Korean phonemic inventory.

Given that \(-ng\) is commonly used to express quaintness and intimacy and \(-p\) \([p']\) is used to express decisiveness, exploring the mechanisms underlying the relationship between those two consonants and their interpretations, which are generally agreed by scholars, remains to be done. Much study has focused on consonants in an onset position, especially in relation to sound symbolism. However, attempts have not been made to examine consonants in a coda position. I provide initial points on the examination of the underlying mechanisms which may motivate these specific consonants to emerge in a coda position.

Given that quaintness or intimacy is commonly accepted as an implied meaning of \(-ng\) in a coda position, I claim that the emergence of \(-ng\) in a coda position is rooted in Korean diminutive suffixes. My claim is supported by Rhee Seong-Ha’s (2001) study on Korean diminutives and Jurafsky’s (1996) framework on the meanings of diminutives.

Rhee (2001), who examines Korean diminutive suffixes, reports that most studies on Korean diminutives commonly include twenty Korean diminutive suffixes: \("-a.ci, -a.li, -a.\,ki, -ang\,i, -sayng\,i, -a.mi, -a.\,kwi, -wung\,i, -o.\,li, -wu.\,li, -tayng\,i, -sa.\,kwi, -e.\,ci, -ek.\,ci, -eng, -eng\,i, -mayng\,i, -ang\,i, -kay.\,pi and -cca.\,ki \) (p. 134), all meaning ‘smallness.’ Among them, eight suffixes, written in bold, include a final consonant in one of the syllables. It is noteworthy that all eight diminutive suffixes contain the same consonant \(-ng\) in a coda position. It is plausible that netizens employed a common phoneme, \(-ng\) of the diminutive suffixes in the formation of Korean Net-Lingo.

With regard to the meanings of Korean diminutives, Rhee (2001) claimed that the essential meaning of diminutives lies in “smallness” (p. 134). Evidence for his claim can be easily
obtained. For instance, a Korean diminutive suffix such as -ang.i and -ng.a.ci is attached to a noun in order to imply “smallness”, as illustrated in kko.li ‘tail’ > kko.lang.i ‘small tail’ and kay ‘dog’ > kang.a.ci ‘puppy.’ While Rhee’s study only discussed semantic senses of Korean diminutives, Jurafsky (1996) considered pragmatic connotations of diminutives. Based on cross-linguistic study, Jurafsky developed a framework of diminutives in which the central meaning “small” or “child” extends to other semantic senses (imitation, related- to, small type –of, member, exactness, partitive and approximation); at the same time, the central meaning motivates other pragmatic connotations such as affection, sympathy, intimacy or contempt. His argument partially confirms my proposal that the addition of –ng, which connotes quaintness and intimacy, is rooted in Korean diminutives. In light of Rhee’s (2001) study on Korean diminutives, and Jurafsky’s framework on diminutives cross-linguistically, I argue that the –ng addition, which underlies the diminutive suffixes, conveys netizens’ intimacy and friendliness toward each other in online situations. In so doing, netizens can establish informal and casual online communication environments.

Moving from connotations of quaintness and intimacy to those of strength, previous studies have similarly agreed that the -p[p’] addition connotes decisiveness, definite ending or strength (Inha University, 1997; Kwon, 1997; J.-G. Lee, 2003; D.-G. Park, 2002). My careful review suggests two possible underlying mechanisms which motivate the –p [p’] addition to appear in a coda position. First, different languages frequently come into contact in online communication. It has been reported that English is the cross-culturally dominant language online and is affecting other languages to a great extent (Gao, 2004; Hansson & Bunt-Kokjuis, 2004). The influence of English is not unusual when it comes to Korean language. One can frequently observe the impact of English in Korean online situations. English, as the global language, has been favored by
Korean netizens online. Given that KNL is most likely emerging from casual online situations, it is not surprising that Korean netizens may have been influenced by a non-standard spelling of the English word “yep” because it not only reflects colloquial pronunciation but also sounds stronger than the standard word “yes.” It is likely that netizens applied the phoneme –p [p’] to the corresponding Korean word ney ‘yes,’ and then the use of this new morpheme extended to other words. Another plausible factor is associated with Na’s (2003) study on Korean names. Na’s (2003) research provides an opening for me to compare her corpus data with the – p [p’] addition in KNL.

Na conducted research on cross-generational and gender variations found in Korean personal names and values reflected in the variation and change. Her study shows that in both Korean women’s and men’s first names, commonly occurring consonants in a coda position are -k, -n -l, -ng. However, -p[p’] as a coda was only found in men’s first names such as cong-hye, swu.hey, man.se, chang.se, min.se, cay.se, hyo.se, sang.yep, sang.se, swu.yep, etc. This result leads me to believe that the occurrence of –p [p’] as a coda in men’s first names only possibly conveys masculinity and strength in the Korean sound system. I believe that her corpus analysis corroborates my claim that different consonants in a coda position have different pragmatic connotations in online situations just as they do in Korean first names.

The following section will present what is unique in ENL in terms of orthographic features.

4.1.4.2 De-capitalization, Lack of Apostrophe and All-Capitalization

Compared to KNL, three orthographic characteristics are exclusively found in ENL: de-capitalization, lack of apostrophe and all-capitalization. In fact, English and Korean Net-Lingoes are not comparable in that capitalization and apostrophes do not exist in the Korean language.
As mentioned in section 2.2.1, in English, capitalization is standard in specific linguistic environments. It has been observed that capitalization is scarcely implemented in English online situations (Crystal, 2001; J.-S. Lee, 2003; Merchant, 2001), as exemplified by J.-S. Lee (2003) in “thats right bad boy; i said so; speak in English” and by Crystal (2001) in “john are you going in to london next week.” In these examples, lower case is all used for the beginning of the sentences, the pronoun I and the proper nouns. Evidence for de-capitalization is so prevalent that it is frequently observed in my data.

Another orthographic characteristic is associated with omitting apostrophes. It is conventional to use an apostrophe for contraction, but the apostrophe is often omitted as illustrated in “thats right” by J.-S. Lee (2003). The following samples, collected from members’ open comments in my guestbook of us.cyworld.com/jiyoungdaniel in (77) to (81) and from the results of the Yahoo search engine in (82) and (85), are common examples of unique orthographic features specifically for English.

(77) i LOVE playin basketball. its basically my whole life rite now. but its my last year playin so im a bit sad. but its going to be funn cuz we're supposed to be goin to hawaii in june. so im excited ^.^
(accessed on October 10, 2006)

(78) so how r u??
of course 'll be ur friend!! ^.^
but wuts 'il-chon'? yea..just wonderin..i dont kno korean..well mayb a few words..but thats about it. i want to learn tho!! ;
(accessed on October 1, 2006)

(79) Hello, yeah i really dont look half korean. :( haha, thats so cool that you teach korean. i can speak a little korean. i can speak only a little bit korean, but when i was in korea my cousin bought me that learn to speak korean book so.. im kinda learning. :) hehe
(accessed on September 3, 2006)
(80) yup i was an english teacher.
but please dont be prejudiced against me, (hehehe)
I actually worked so hard for little pay and little sleep T T
I also had a very good time...when i wasnt working...and plan to go back as a student..as soon as i finish my mba.
thank you so much for the offer to answer my questions.
(accessed on Septmeber 7, 2006)

(81) i could probably learn somethin from you... haha
(accessed on October 7, 2006)

(82) i woke up thinking bout you...as long as im with you...our love**through the window, and then it ends with tell me this wont fall apart...this is the video its from...answers are REALLI appreciated...thank u sooo much!!
(http://answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20070311165859AAsvDWH
accessed on December 14, 2008)

(83) Is it realli a good idea?(boy truobles)? ok, wel i realli like this guy but i never talked 2 him before....yea i kno people would probably say o wow how can u like a person u never talked 2....well i do. and tomorrow i told my friend 2 tell him that i like him. is that realli a good idea? or realli bad?? please help!
(http://answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20090125174017AAvfcHx accessed on March 10, 2009)

(84) Omg i am realli stuck i need some help? omg there this guy i liked well now i know that he likes me as he asked me out but i said i will tell him on monday if i would or not but at the moment i dont know here is a little bit abot him and me

(85) Can u explain me what adaptive radiation mean? i dont realli get the context of their definition?
(http://answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20070802192947AAUkcVI accessed on December 20, 2007)

In examples (77) and (85), capitalization is completely ignored at the beginning of the sentences, as well as in the pronoun I and in proper nouns such as English, Korea(n), Hawaii and June. The apostrophe is omitted as shown in its, im, dont’, wont and thats. While I could not capture the frequency of all these words due to the limitations of the search engine, based on the results from the Yahoo search engine, dont and thats returned 266,000,000 and 199,000,000
instances, respectively, within a year of May 19, 2009. All of these kinds of spelling practices just mentioned are possibly motivated by a desire to save typing time and to create a casual environment. Without capitalization and apostrophes, online conversation can be still successful. They probably “suggest an informality that approximates to speech” (Merchant, 2001, p. 301).

On the other hand, all-capitalization has also been detectable in online communication. In response to this, reference sites such as netlingo.com recommend not using all capital letters throughout typing because this practice annoys other netizens. Crystal (2001) characterizes all-capitalization of the word as a means of “shouting.” My data in (86) to (89), collected from netizens’ comments on an announcement from MyYahooBlog (http://myyblog.com/blog/2008/10/06/get-purple-with-my-yahoo/), shows that the netizen is shouting when the entire sentence is capitalized.

(86) With all the mind-mood altering colors, “PURPLE ROCKS!!!” Remember the, Purple People Eaters, Oh Yea!!!!!!! Peed Elprup (Deep Purple, Backwards)

(87) Hey this is soo awesome your right Emily!!!! go PURPLE EVERYONE!!!!!!!

(88) Purple is one of the BEST colors eva!!! I do have to say tho, green is beter… but, if u put them together, BAM!!! CABLUIME!!! WHAM!!! PAZZA!!! WOW!!!
    Plus, i love,love,LOVE Yahoo!

(89) I LOVE PURPLE!!!!!!

On the other hand, when only one word is capitalized in a sentence, it is most likely that that the netizen is not shouting; rather he or she is emphasizing that word. This is illustrated in (90) to (93), collected from visitors’ open comments in my guestbook on us.cyworld.com/jiyoungdaniel, and in (94) to (97) from the Yahoo search engine, where capitalized elements are written in bold. To save space, some of the original texts have been
modified and ellipted.

(90) today we played the early game nd **WON** by 1 point!!!! woot woot!!! LoL!! but dont hold it against me...hehehe
(us.cyworld.com/ijiyoungdaniel accessed on October 10, 2006)

(91) anyway I **LOVED** pusan (As maybe you can tell by my photos)…
(us.cyworld.com/ijiyoungdaniel accessed on September 12, 2006)

(92) please tell me how to have a good break...its seems I always end up working or
going to school. the last **REAL** break I actually can remember was in middle school.
(us.cyworld.com/ijiyoungdaniel accessed on May 11, 2007)

(93) hey stranger! long time eh? i know, i disappeared from cyworld when i started
working like **CRAZY**.
(us.cyworld.com/ijiyoungdaniel accessed on July 17, 2007)

(94) I have a boyfriend who i **LOVE**, but.....?i don't exactly **LIKE** this other guy but
he is like my best friend. he's a player and totally hot. he also has another girlfriend
who is one of my friends. he is such a flirt and flirts with everybody, he tried to hold
my hang for a sec during a scary movie but i let go. he was sad for a long time after
that. my boyfriend now **HATES** the other guy and he doesn't know that we are that
close. i dont like **LIKE** this guy i think he is realli hot and sort of flirt with him, i
am pretty sure he likes me too a little but i wil **NEVER** go out with him because he
is such a player and flits with everybody while he is going out with a girl. it's more
lust then love with him... but i just love flirting with him.... the worst thing i have
done is when he tried to hold my hand i let go and he was lying with his head on my
lap and he hugged me a couple times realli hard.... i think he likes me but....
i'm confused. help me. don't call me a ****.... that doesn't realli help with my
problem.
me and my boyfriend are good it's just some little problems... what should i do?
i try to stop the flirting, mostly when we r inpublic and stuffbut it's just kinda of
hard cuz he is hitting on me all the time and he'sso **HOT**.
i feel like the worst girlfriend inthe **WORLD**. what should ido?
i dont **LIKE** him but i just **LIKE** flirting with him...
no rude comments please....
(http://answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20090128004732AA65Sy9
accessed on Februray 23, 2009)

(95) **NOOOO**! bad move wait until you know him a little better then ask.
(http://answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20090125174017AAvfchX accessed
on March 20, 2009)
(96) Good job overall! **BUT**, there were features in the “old” My Yahoo that are not present in the new one that I am **REALLY** missing!
(http://myyblog.com/blog/2008/07/07/its-official-were-out-of-beta/ accessed on December 20, 2008)

(97) Its great but wat happened with the avatars? I loved the avatars. I made soo many cute ones. We **NEED** avatars!!!
(http://myyblog.com/blog/2008/07/07/its-official-were-out-of-beta/ accessed on December 20, 2008)

Moving from orthographic aspects to morphological ones, both KNL and ENL are highlighted by acronyms, blend(ing)s and clippings. These morphological processes will be discussed in the following sections.

4.2 **Morphological Processes**

The first three sections show that acronyms, blend(ing)s and clippings are cross-linguistic processes. The last section discusses the emergence of new morphemes, and it briefly discusses contact effects with foreign languages, which display untraditional and innovative characteristics. Scholars have consistently provided descriptions of morphological processes such as acronyms, blendings and clippings. Nevertheless, for KNL, few efforts have been devoted to clearly defining each process. As a result, the same phenomenon has been differently categorized by different scholars. It is crucial to identify each morphological process to capture how Net-Lingo is systematically being shaped by netizens. Thus, I provide a clear working definition as a guide to better understand each morphological process and to avoid confusion.
4.2.1 Acronyms

4.2.1.1 KNL Acronyms

Considering the different nature of the Korean and English languages, I propose that different definitions of acronyms should be given to KNL and ENL. Different sources have provided different definitions of the term.

Haspelmath (2002) defined an acronym as “an abbreviation consisting of initial letters that are read like an ordinary word, e.g. NATO [neɪˈtoʊ]” (p. 265). J.-S. Lee (2003), on the other hand, discusses the difference between acronym and abbreviation. For example, radar for “radio detection and ranging” is pronounced as a single word, but a word such as FBI is pronounced as three single letters. In the traditional sense, the former is known as an abbreviation and the latter as an acronym. However, the definition based on how a written representation is read becomes problematic when it comes to expressions such as WHO, which can be pronounced as either a single word or three single letters. Thus, the distinction between acronyms and abbreviations is blurred. As a result, some scholars, such as Crystal (2001) and J.-S. Lee (2003), did not distinguish between acronyms and abbreviations. J.-S. Lee (2003) adopted the term acronyms to encompass both abbreviations and acronyms in his study. According to Netlingo.com, the notion that an acronym must be pronounced as a single word violates the most popular acronym of all: TLA (three letter acronym), which is not pronounced as a word, but rather as T-L-A. Therefore, in this study, I do not distinguish between acronyms and abbreviations. Adopting the term “acronym,” I provide a definition of acronym regardless of how a written representation is read.

Korean acronyms are different from English acronyms in that they have been conventionally created from different linguistic segments (letters for English and syllables for Korean). As already mentioned in section 2.1.1, Korean letters are combined into blocks, and the binding of
letters constitutes a morpheme-based (morphophonemic) syllable. Thus, contrary to English acronyms, which are generally based on the initial letters of words such as FBI for “Federal Bureau of Investigation,” Korean acronyms are created by the initial syllables of words.

Acronyms are so beloved that they make a large portion of KNL. A few of the acronyms, which are listed in the Net-Lingo Dictionary (Cho et al., 2002), are briefly introduced in Table 24.

Table 24 Examples of Acronyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cel.chin</td>
<td>Close friend &lt;br&gt; : cel.chin.ha.ta ‘to be close’ + chin.kwu ‘friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nam.chin</td>
<td>Boyfriend &lt;br&gt; :nam.ca ‘man/boy’ + chin.kwu ‘friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ye.chin</td>
<td>Girlfriend &lt;br&gt; : ye.ca ‘woman/girl’ + chin.kwu ‘friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kang.chwu</td>
<td>Strongly recommended &lt;br&gt; :kang.lyek.hi ‘strongly’ + chwu.chen.ha.ta ‘recommend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kang.thoy</td>
<td>Banned &lt;br&gt; :kang.cey ‘forced’ + thoy.cang ‘being kicked out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myu.pi</td>
<td>Music video &lt;br&gt; :Myu.cik ‘music’ + pi.ti.o ‘video’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ya.tong</td>
<td>Porno video clip &lt;br&gt; :Ya.ha.ta ‘to be sexually explicit’ + tong.yeng.sang ‘video clip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceng.mo</td>
<td>Regular meeting &lt;br&gt; : ceng.ki ‘being regular’ + mo.im ‘meeting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pey.phu</td>
<td>Best friend &lt;br&gt; : pey.su.tu ‘best’ + phu.leyn.tu ‘friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cul.kam</td>
<td>Pleasant watching &lt;br&gt; : cul.kep.ta ‘to be pleasant’ + kam.sang.ha.ta ‘to watch’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand, expressions such as ch kh ‘congratulations’, k s ‘thanks’, c s ‘sorry’, h h and kh kh ‘onomatopoeic expressions for laughter’, which are listed in the Net-Lingo Dictionary (Cho et al., 2002), call for revisiting the conventional definition of Korean acronyms. To focus on the issue of acronyms and to save space, some of the original texts have been deleted and
modified.

< ㅊㅋ ㅊㅋ from chwu.kha>

(98) 홈페이지가 이쁘게 바꼈네요*^^* ㅊㅋ ㅋㅋ 감사해여!
hompeyicika ippuke pakkyessneyyong*^^* ch kh  kulkwu kamsahayye!
‘Your homepage changed nicely. Congratz and thank you.’

(99) 할머니 생신ㅊㅋㅊㅋㅊㅋㅊㅋㅊㅋ
halmeni sayngsin ch kh ch kh
‘Grandmother, happy birthday.’
(cheer119.egloos.com/5577801 accessed on October 6, 2008)

< ㄱㅅ ㄱㅅ from kam.sa >

(100) 중국말 한국어로 번역해주세요 ^^ ㄱㅅ
cwungkwukmal hankwukelo penyekhaycwuseyyo ^^ k s
‘Please translate Chinese into Korean. Thanks.’
(http://k.daum.net/qna/view.html?category_id=QNE008&qid=3NXdu&q=%C1%DF%B1%B9%B8%BB%20%C7%D1%B1%B9%BE%EE%B7%CE%20%B9%F8%BF%AA%C7%D8%C1%D6%BC%BC%BF%E4%20%5E%5E%20%A4%A1%A4%5F accessed on July 3, 2008)

(101) 영어로 적어주시면 ㄱㅅ
yengelo cekecwusimyen  k s
‘If you can write it in English, I will appreciate it.’

(102) 제 별명좀 지어주시면 ㄱㅅ ㄱㅅ ㄱㅅ
cey pyelmyeng com ciecwusimyen  k s k s
‘I will appreciate it if you can make a nickname for me.’
영어로 번역 좀 해주시여 ^^;; 그래주시면 괜찮아요.

yengelo penyek com hay cwuseyye ^^;; kulaycwusimyen k s..

‘Please translate it into English. If you can do that, I will appreciate it.’

(http://kr.doosungcom/horse/py ENG com hay cwusimyen accessed on July 5, 2006)

 منهم도 합니다.

Please translate it into English. If you can do that, I will appreciate it.’


 algum c s from coy.song

하지만 mp3 u3에 대해서

c s haciman mp3 u3 e tayhayse

‘Excuse me but… about the mp3 …’

(http://k.daum.net/qna/view.html?category_id=QBB002&qid=3cGZw&q=%A4%B8%A4%B5%20%C7%CF%C1%F6%B8%B8%20mp3%20u3%20BF%A1%B4%EB%C7%D8%BC%AD accessed on August 29, 2008)

I am sorry for the thief whose house was robbed, but…

http://k.daum.net/qna/view.html?category_id=QAA003&qid=3c3ZH&q=%C1%FD%C5%0D%B8%B0%20%B5%B5%B5%CF%B4%0D%A4%8%CF%20%B7%C7%CF%C1%F6%B8%B8%BF%E4 accessed on August 29, 2008)

I am sorry, but do me a favor.’

(k.daum.net/qna/view.html?category_id=QQM&qid=3f4Jv&q=환상의짝꿍 accessed on December 12, 2008)

I don’t know what you are talking about.’

(http://k.daum.net/qna/view.html?category_id=QI&qid=3bsIW&q=%A4%B8%A4%B5%20%C7%0D%1%B4%0D%B9%BA%BC%BD%0D%B8%AE%0D%C7%CF%BD%C3%0D%B4%1%0D%62%0D%20%B8%F0%0D%B8%A3%B0%0D%9%BE%EE%BF%E4 accessed August 21, 2008)

Yu Na Kim, you are lovely. (snicker)’

(http://www.cyworld.co.kr/figureyuna accessed on December 11, 2009)
(109) ㅎㅎㅎㅎ누나!!!!!!!!영원히 1등만하세요!!!!!!!ㅎㅎㅎㅎ화팅!

‘(snicker) Dear sis, I wish that you are always No. 1. (snicker) Fighting!’
(http://www.cyworld.co.kr/figureyuna accessed on December 11, 2009)

(110)역시 아름다우신..оСфф

‘You are surely pretty. (snicker)’
(http://www.cyworld.co.kr/figureyuna accessed on December 11, 2009)

(111)누나 진짜 너무이뻐요 ㅎㅎ

‘Dear did, you are very pretty. (snicker)’
(http://www.cyworld.co.kr/figureyuna accessed on December 11, 2009)

(112)연아누나 샌랑해욤 ㅋㅋ

‘Dear Yuna sister, love you. (snicker)’
(http://www.cyworld.co.kr/figureyuna accessed on December 11, 2009)

(113)연아야 행경이 예쁜얼굴가린다 ㅋㅋㅋ

‘Dear Yuna, your glasses are covering your eyes. (snicker)’
(http://www.cyworld.co.kr/figureyuna accessed on December 11, 2009)

(114)감사합니다땡큐!^^ ㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋ

‘Thank you. Thank you. (snicker)’
(http://www.cyworld.co.kr/figureyuna accessed on December 11, 2009)

The common attribute of the examples from (98) to (114) is that they are not created by the aforementioned rule of Korean acronyms. For instance, in the examples from (98) to (107) of the first three groups collected from the search engine, www. Yahoo.co.kr, the acronyms ch kh [ʧ k] is originated from chwu.kha ‘congratulations,’ k s [k s] from kam.sa ‘thanks,’ c s from coy.song ‘sorry.’ The examples from (108) to (114), collected from a famous Korean figure
skater, Yuna Kim’s homepage, http://www.cyworld.co.kr/figureyuna, consist of comments posted by her fans. All these comments include consonant only acronyms such as *kh kh* and *h h* as onomatopoetic expressions for laughter. In response to fans’ nice comments, the Korean figure skater, Yuna Kim, also leaves her appreciation comment by saying *kam.sa.hap.ni.ta ttayangkhyu! ^^ kh kh kh kh kh kh kh kh kh kh* ‘thank you, thank you. (laughter)’ as illustrated in (114), the last sentence from the last group. It is noteworthy that all these aforementioned new acronyms are created by taking the initial letters of syllables just as English acronyms do. While one may argue that these samples violate the nature of the Korean language, I claim that these data represent a new way to create Korean acronyms, exclusively online. My claim is also upheld by the research survey from Digital Opportunity & Promotion. According to the Yeonhap News Agency (2007), on the 6th of May 2007, the Korean Agency for Digital Opportunity & Promotion surveyed the use of Net-Lingo based on the data collected from 896 teenaged students. Their results show that the most frequently occurring expression is *kh kh*. Along with *kh kh*, examples such as *k s* ‘thanks,’ *c s* ‘sorry’ were also listed as expressions with high frequency. These examples appear to be the latest emerging trends in KNL, and they may signify that along with English letters, a means of English word formation is also being adopted by Korean netizens. This issue will be elaborated in section 5.1. Hence, Korean acronyms deserve a broader definition. In this study, KNL acronyms are defined as expressions that consist of either initial letters of syllables or initial syllables of words regardless of how a written representation is read.

acronyms, one can also witness the influence of English on Korean from a morphological perspective in this study. Contact effects with foreign languages will be further discussed in section 5.2.

It has been argued that KNL acronyms involve syntactic constraints, which Radford (1997) defined as a principle of Universal Grammar that prohibits certain types of operations from applying to certain types of structures (p. 500). While J.-S. Lee (2003) claims that Korean acronyms can apply only to noun phrases; this statement is not supported by recent data as illustrated in (115) to (118).

<지못미 ci.mos.mi >

(115) 지못미 남대문
   ci mos mi namdaymwun
   ‘I am sorry I could not protect The South Gate.’
   (blog.naver.com/ptj00/50029211721 accessed on March 18, 2008)

(116) 남대문 지못미 힏 힏
   namtaymwun ci mos mi (tears)
   ‘Dear South Gate, I am sorry I could not protect you.’
   (blog.naver.com/dhtjswo/60047642372 accessed on February 14, 2008)

(117) 지못미.. 승례문... 지키지못해 미안해 승례문........
   ci mos mi .. swunglyeymwun... cikhicimoshay mianhay swunglyeymwun........
   ‘Dear South Gate, I am sorry I could not protect you.’
   (kr.news.yahoo.com/service/news/shellview.htm?...&from=rank accessed on April 23, 2008)

(118) 불타는 남대문(▶ ▶ 승례문 지못미)
   pwultanun namtaymwun( swunglyeymwun ci mos mi)
   ‘Burning South Gate, I am sorry I could not protect you.’

ci.mos.mi [ci.mot.mi] is a KNL acronym which originates from the entire sentence
ci.key.cwu.ci. mos.hay.se mi.an.hay, meaning ‘(I’m) sorry not to take care of /protect you’. In
February of 2008 in South Korea, there was an incident where a fire burnt out a prominent Korean landmark, The South Gate, known as South Korea’s foremost national treasure.

Following the incident, a number of netizens expressed their grief by writing on their homepages, blogs, or comment areas of related online news articles. Their sympathetic comments included the acronym, ci.mos.mi [ci.mot.mi] ‘I am sorry that I could not protect you (the South gate)’ as shown in the examples from (115) to (118). As time goes by, however, this acronym has extended the meanings such as ‘(being) stressful/sympathetic/pitiful,’ as illustrated from (119) to (121), where the acronym is given in bold, and some of the original texts have been deleted to focus on the issue I am discussing at present.

(119) 아 미용실 잘못갔다가 졸딱 망했어요. 지못미 머리예요.

(115) a miyongsil calmoskasstaka ccolttak manghyaes (tears) ci mos mi meli yeyo.
‘Oh my gosh, I went the wrong hair salon and they ruined my hair.(tears) My hair is pitiful.’

(120) 운동 안하니까 일주일만에 도로 찌더군요.. 완전 지못미做了어요...

(116) wuntonganhanikka ilcwiulmaney tolo ccitekwunyo.. wancen ci mos mi yesseo...
‘Since I didn’t exercise, my weight came back in a week. I was really stressed’

(121) 어떤 할머니 한분이 독감주사를 많이 맞으면 좋은줄알고 두번 맞았어요., 그래서 독감에 걸려서 병원에 입원했다는 슬픈이야기가 헛-toggle 할머니 지못미 티티

(121) ettten halmeni hanpwuni tokkancwusalul manhi macumyen cohuncwulalko twupenmacasteyyo.. kulayse tokkamey kellyese wulpyengweney ipwenhaytanun sulphun iyakika kkk halmeni ci mos mi (tears) ‘(snicker) the hospital where I work offers flu shots. There is a story about a grandmother who got two flu shots because she thought getting two shots were better than one, but she still got a bad case of the flu, and now she is in the hospital. (snicker) Grandma, I’m sorry for you. (tears)’
(http://www.cksl.co.kr/476150 accessed on October 16, 2008)
According to one survey (DC Inside), this recent acronym *ci.mos.mi* has been so popular that it was listed as one of the top ten most popular Net-Lingo terms in 2007. In addition, the Yahoo search engine returned 6,190,000 instances of *ci mos mi* within a year of May 20, 2009.

Another piece of evidence comes from a new acronym, *yel.kong* [jel.gon], which was initially based on the entire sentence *yel.shim.hi kong.pwu.ha.sey.yo* ‘study hard.’ The Yahoo search engine also displayed 107,000,000 instances of *yel kong* within a year of May 10, 2009, and the following examples in (122) to (126) were randomly collected from the Naver search engine.

<열공 yel.kong >

(122) 열공을 해웃
ยอล콩울 하요
‘let’s study hard.’
(http://blog.naver.com/tjs2660 accessed on March 3, 2009)

(123) 열공모드로 돌아갈까용^-^
ยอล콩모들로 돌아갈까용?
‘Shall we go back to studying hard?’
(http://blog.empas.com/cpfl37 accessed on February 3 2009)

(124) 입으로 열공 하지 말고 몸뚱이로 열공해!
ิปุโล ยอลกองหัคิมาลโก มัมติวิงิโล ยอลกองฮาย!
‘Study hard, not with your mouth, but with your body!’
(http://blog.daum.net/diane1/6983405 accessed on November 9, 2008)

---

13 DC Inside, initially established as a community dedicated to digital cameras and photography, is a South Korean internet forum. This forum is much like other popular bulletin board system. In addition, it is known as a treasure trove for newly coined Net-Lingo terms.
In sentences, this acronym can also function as an adjectival phrase or nominal phrase. Given all the evidence provided, J.-S. Lee’s (2003) claim that Korean acronyms are restricted to noun phrases becomes less acceptable. Contrary to his claim, I argue that Korean acronyms can encompass more than noun phrases, extending to entire sentences.

Now, we turn to ENL acronyms.

4.2.1.2 ENL Acronyms

As already discussed in defining KNL acronyms, I provide a definition for ENL acronyms that applies regardless of how a written representation is read. For this study, typical English acronyms are defined as words that consist of initial letters of syllables or words such as BBS for “bulletin board system,” BRB for “be right back” and LOL for “laughing out loud.”

English acronyms are produced at such a fast pace that reference sites like netlingo.com must be updated constantly. According to the report by Hansson and Bunt-Kokhuis (2004), more than 344,000 acronyms were listed on the Internet site Acronym finder.

Crystal points out that acronyms have been motivated by newer technology such as WAP (Wireless Application Protocol)-phones with their tiny screens. While Crystal attributes the emergence of acronyms to technological factors, I believe that teenagers’ motivations also play a crucial role in the emergence of Net-Lingo including acronyms. In response to this, the linguistic
characteristics of ENL are also becoming those of younger generations. As a result, a linguistic
gap is arising between parents and their children. One example comes from an offline
communication problem between a mother and her child mentioned in an article from
USAWeekend. According to the article (Shin, 2004), the writer’s 19-year-old daughter is
constantly saying things like “BRB.” Her mom, however, does not understand what her
daughter meant. Finally, the daughter rolled her eyes and explained that she meant, “be right
back.” This example gives us insight into the value of investigating the impact of ENL
acronyms on offline situations. The use of acronyms is frequently observed in offline situations
(further explained in section 5.3).

Just like KNL acronyms, English acronyms are believed to involve syntactic constraints
(Crystal, 2001). However, online, as Crystal (2001) observed, an ENL acronym is “no longer
restricted to words or short phrases, but it can be sentence-length” (p. 86) such as AFCPS (any
fool can plainly see), TWIWI (that was interesting, wasn’t it?), WIBNI (would it be nice if…)
SSEWBA (someday soon everything will be acronyms). Considering the length of the sentence,
the last example exhibits the unlimited productivity of English acronyms in online contexts.
While Crystal did not discuss this further, in my corpus, examples such as CSL (can’t stop
laughing), DKDC (don’t know don’t care), BTDT (been there done that) and BTTHOOM (beats
the heck out of me) show that ENL acronyms can also be created based on subjectless sentences.
Contrary to the common belief that English does not feature subject ellipsis, ENL acronyms
prove that subject ellipsis does frequently occur in English, a claim as made by Nariyama (2004).
My observations of ENL acronyms based on subjectless sentences provide an opening to
research subject ellipsis in English online. This will be discussed in section 4.3.1.
Along with acronyms, blending is another morphological operation which allows us to compact language. This operation will be presented in the following section.

4.2.2 Blending

4.2.2.1 KNL Blending

Blend(ing) is defined as “the combination of the first part of a word with the second part of another word” (Booji, 2007, p. 309). Since the Internet is a global phenomenon, different languages frequently come into contact (Gao, 2007). The majority of examples are created by combining the first syllable of a Korean word and the second syllable of an English word as illustrated by J.-G. Lee (2003) and J.-S. Lee (1999) in mol.thing ‘secret chatting’ from mol.lay.ha.ta ‘to do something secretly’ + chay.thing ‘chatting’, col.thing ‘chatting while nodding off’ from col.ta ‘to nod’ + chay.thing ‘chatting’. Based on my observations, most Korean websites provide a comment space where netizens post their opinions or replies to published stories or articles. In replying to articles, it has become popular for netizens to leave both positive and negative comments. Consequently, new blendings made their ways to online situations such as mwu.phul [mu.pʰl] ‘no reply,’ ak.phul [ak. pʰl] ‘flame,’ pey.phul [be.pʰl] ‘the best praise’ and sen.phul [sən.pʰl] ‘praise.’ In each example from a series of replies, the last syllable phul [pʰl] is rooted in the second syllable -pl of repl- after the clipping process of English word “reply.” Furthermore, newer terms were also coined by adapting an English suffix –er to describe netizens who leave a series of replies, leading to mwu.phul.le ‘lurker,’ ak.phul.le ‘flamer,’ pey.phul.le ‘best praiser’ and sen.phul.le ‘praiser,’ where –le ‘person’ in Korean is same as –er in English. All these recent blending terms are gradually spreading out such that the
Yahoo search engine presented the following frequencies of each blending term in Table 25, within a year of May 20, 2009.

Table 25 Frequency of the -phul and -le Series Blendings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ak.phul</td>
<td>18,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘flame’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ak.phul.le</td>
<td>3,730,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘flamer’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwu.phul</td>
<td>2,870,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘no reply’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sen.phul</td>
<td>1,050,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘praise’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pey.phul</td>
<td>577,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘the best praise’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sen.phul.le</td>
<td>38,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘praiser’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwu.phul.le</td>
<td>917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘lurker’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pey.phul.le</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘best praiser’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The highest frequency of the blending term ak.phul ‘flame’ corroborates its listing in the recently published book Saceney Epsmun Mal Sincoe (‘New Words Not in the Dictionary’; The National Institute of the Korean Language, 2007). This book, published by one sector of the Korean government, serves as a reference book that includes a number of Net-Lingo terms that were created between 2002 and 2006. The –le ‘person’ series are the latest emerging blendings; thus they have not yet been introduced into the Korean government’s Net-Lingo reference.

Nevertheless, ak.phul.le ‘flamer’ has the second highest frequency in Table 25.

As noted in section 2.1.1, while J.-G. Lee’s study (2003) did not capitalize on the impact of English on KNL, cross-linguistic influences from English in online domains are also observable in KNL blendings. KNL blendings demonstrate “a new type of language contact, which is different from one with the physical proximity of speakers of contact languages” (Gao,
2004, p. 127). As mol.thing and col.thing describe different scenarios of chatting, a series of – phul portrays different scenarios of reply. Just as in KNL, compressing language is also manifested in ENL.

4.2.2.2 ENL Blending

While ENL blendings do not reflect contact with different languages, for now, new blending terms are emerging within English itself. From my observations online, recent blendings in ENL include “sexting” and “vlog,” as displayed in (127) to (136).

(127) Vt. may set aside harshest penalties for 'sexting'.

(128) Are lots of teens ‘sexting’? Experts doubt it
(http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2009/03/21/MN8A16HHFS.DTL&feed=rss.news accessed on April 2, 2009)

(129) Sexting Victim is also the Perpetrator
(http://www.childlaw.us/2009/03/sexting-victim-is-also-the-per.html accessed on April 3, 2009)

(130) How parents can monitor child's sexting

(131) Tech Talk: Sexting is a growing problem for teens, parents
(http://www.mddailyrecord.com/article.cfm?id=151705&type=Daily accessed on February 23, 2009)

(132) VLOG BLOG - Vlogging Video Blogging
(www.vlogblog.com accessed on February 20, 2009)

(133) Videoblogging (vlog) on Twitter
(twitter.com/vlog accessed on April 30, 2009)
(134) I also do a VLOG on YouTube so feel free to check that out at: www. ... -I really like to Vlog.
(http://www.okcupid.com/interests?i=vlog accessed on April 28, 2009)

(135) With my spare time I like to document my experiences through my poetry vlog.
(http://www.okcupid.com/interests?i=vlog accessed on April 28, 2009)

(136) That was enjoyable, it made me smile (not laugh) You should talk about your sense of style and stuff for the next vlog
(http://www.okcupid.com/interests?i=vlog accessed on April 28, 2009)

Sexting, a blending of sex and texting, is defined as the act of sending sexually explicit messages or photos electronically, mainly between cell phones and PDAs. By definition, one can predict that a recent technology such as cellular phones, especially those with built-in cameras, has motivated this blending term. Sexting also has controversial social consequences. According to an online poll, 20 percent of teens and about a third of young adults have sent their own naked or semi-nude photos or videos to a boyfriend or girlfriend, generally to be “fun or flirtatious” (Jayson, 2008, ¶ 2). As a result, it has recently been considered as “a nationwide problem in the U.S. which has confounded parents, school administrators and law enforcers” (NetLingo, 2009, ¶ 2). As a result, the Yahoo search engine displayed 8,530,000 instances of the word sexting within a year of May 20, 2009. Another blending term vlog(ging) for “video and blogging” has emerged as a video form of blogging. Its history goes back to Adam Kontras, known as the first Internet video blogger, who initiated posting videos along with his blog called “The Journey” on January 2, 2000 (Video blogging). This form of blogging has been so popular that it is frequently observed online. For instance, as of May 10, 2009, the Yahoo search engine showed a total of 34,670,000 instances of the words vlogging, vlogger and vlog. As predicted from their frequency, these blending terms were entered into www.urbandictionary.com, a web-based dictionary of contemporary slang terms documented by netizens. Besides acronyms and
blending, clipping also plays an important role in creating neologisms, which will be discussed in the following section.

4.2.3 Clipping

4.2.3.1 KNL Clipping

Clipping is another method to create neologisms. Haspelmath (2002) defines clipping as “a shortened word that does not differ semantically from the longer version” (2002, p. 267) such as fridge from “refrigerator” and phone from “telephone.” Khemphyute thongsin ene sacen (‘Net-Lingo Dictionary’; Cho et al., 2002) lists KNL clipping examples including khem [kʰəm] from computer, ay.ni [ɛ.ni] from animation, hom.ph+i [hom.pi] from homepage, ep [Əp] from upgrade and li.phul [li.pʰul] from reply. Like blendings, clippings in KNL also represent the influence of English on Korean in that almost all the clippings are created based on English words. Nevertheless, no scholars have captured contact effects with English online. Given the fact that KNL clippings originated from English loan words, I investigate how Korean Netizens shape English words into the Korean lexicon. To answer this question, I review Korean phonotactic constraints, and I then suggest a mechanism that possibly governs KNL clipping processes.

According to H. Sohn (2001), in Korean, there is a structural difference between syllables in the morphophonemic level and those in the phonetic level, in that the former allows two consonants in the syllable-final position, while the latter allows only one, as observed in [kap]
kaps ‘price.’ Hence, the phonemic syllable structure is of the form (C)(G)V(C)(C)\textsuperscript{14}, whereas the phonetic syllable structure is of the form (C)(G)V(\text{C}). That is, in Korean speech, the only obligatory element is a vowel in the nucleus position; it may be preceded by a consonant, a glide (or a semi vowel) or both, and it may be followed by a consonant. In applying Korean specific phonotactic constraints to English words, it is conceivable that there will be some changes.

While most clippings were created by taking one or two syllables from English words, samples such as hom.ph+i ‘one’s own website’ and li.phul [lip禾] ‘reply’ are unique. They took neither one nor two syllables to create a blending; instead, they consist of the first syllable followed by the initial consonant(s) of the second syllable such as -p of home[peI]ge and –pl of re[plal].

With respect to hom.phi [hom.pi], its unique formation may result from the existing lexicon hom [hom], meaning ‘the main page of a website.’ Thus, netizens may have to take the second syllable in order to avoid confusion with the pre-existing meaning of hom. Since [peI] of ‘homepage’ is spelled with two syllables phe.i [pe.i] in Korean, their last resource is to take only [p] followed by an obligatory vowel in a syllable, giving rise to hom.phi [hom.pi]. While the phonemic syllable structure allows two consonants in the coda position, the m –p sequence in the coda position does not exist in the Korean language. Neither does the p-l sequence in terms of ‘reply.’ Given the vowel is an obligatory element, netizens add [i] vowel between [p] and [l] as in [p禾]. Note that Korean [i] and [i] vowels are most commonly employed in the resyllabification of English words into the Korean language. Given the number of KNL clippings based on English terms, investigation of contact effects between languages deserve special attention. This issue will be more elaborated in section 5.1.

Clippings are also relevant when discussing ENL, which is the topic of the following section.

\textsuperscript{14} C stands for consonant, G for glide or semivowel and V for vowel
4.2.3.2 ENL Clipping

While Crystal did not introduce any clippings in ENL, evidence that netizens utilize clipping in online communication can be found. The following samples in (137), collected from visitors’ public comments on my pictures and their greetings in my guestbook of us.cyworld.com/jiyoungdaniel, posted between September, 12 2006 and May 2007 feature shortened language use.

(137) u can clip all of my pics~
    this pics are great. Very super modelesque
    Nice Family pic!
    exhausted? I think you look really beautiful in this pic.
    nice pic :)
    very nice pic

Comments on my pictures are recurrently characterized by the clipping term pic, which is a shortened version of the word “picture.” The prevalence of pic for a picture can also be easily obtained through the number one video sharing site, www.youtube.com, as illustrated in (138).

(138) YouTube - Ciara Pics (MIX).
    (www.youtube.com/watch?v=oYRdHY9ddd0 accessed on May 11, 2009)

YouTube - New Jonas Brothers Pics
    (www.youtube.com/watch?v=s1tyY1Y6vEw accessed on May 11, 2009)

YouTube - MCR Pics
    (www.youtube.com/watch?v=uYWkZT7lpDs accessed on May 11, 2009)

YouTube - My AWESOME Pic!
    (www.youtube.com/watch?v=uzh3or5FW-M accessed on May 11, 2009)

YouTube - My channel pic....
    (www.youtube.com/watch?v=opkqfzvaWKQ accessed on May 11, 2009)

YouTube - Catch a pic.
    (www.youtube.com/watch?v=9dyMGudpHG0 accessed on May 11, 2009)
As shown in (138), at YouTube, members frequently embed their pictures into a video clip and share them with other members, so it is common to observe the clipping term *pic* in their titles of video clips. The Yahoo search engine also displayed 262,000 and 311,000 instances of *pic* and *pics* respectively, within a year of May 11, 2009.

Another piece of evidence is also found at www.youtube.com, as exemplified in (139):

(139) The Game - My Life feat. Lil Wayne (Official Vid)
(http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=waXZyW47Ew0 accessed on December 12, 2008)

Spore Galactic Edition Vid
(http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9WIFaVcsnKs accessed on January 1, 2009)

My skate vid
(http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DAvGzCPa0TU accessed on July 10, 2008)

Halloween Vid - Parody Interview with Samara (from the ring)

Just like *pic(s)*, *vid* also commonly appears online, and the prevalence of *vid* can be captured by the result of the Yahoo search engine which returned 27,800,000 instances of *vid* within a year of May 10, 2009.

Now let us turn to language specific features.

### 4.2.4 Language Specific Features

#### 4.2.4.1 The Emergence of New Morphemes in KNL

This section centers on the emergence of morphemes as affixes. In the process of coining KNL terms, previous studies reviewed in section 2.1.1, have all claimed that certain morphemes, which are products of online communication, contribute to generating Net-Lingo terms and expressions. Frequently mentioned morphemes include *mo* (*mo-im* ‘meeting’) and *thing* (*chay-*)
ting ‘chatting’). Along with those morphemes just mentioned, based on my data, I also introduce newly emerging morphemes such as –nye ‘woman,’ –nam ‘man’ and –ccang ‘the best.’ Although nearly all the previously reviewed studies described commonly occurring morphemes, they did not capture the emergence of morphemes as suffixes. It should be emphasized that certain morphemes are so productive and widespread that they have virtually become suffixes in online situations. The media also recognized this phenomenon. Joins.com15 (B.-S. Im, 2006), on the 8th of May 2007, predicted that the trend of the nye series will continue into the immediate future. In fact, Yahoo Korea (Yeohap News Agency, 2006, ¶ 1) reported that toyn.cang.nye ‘the bean-paste girl’ was the most popularly searched word on the Internet from January through October of 2006. In addition, Hankook Ilbo, one of the major Korean newspapers, on the 15th of March 2007, the headline “Kwun.sam.nye arose, following kay.ttong.nye and toyn.cang.nye.” Examples of nye series are provided in Table 26, along with their meanings and origins.

15 Joins.com is a Korean Media Portal service.
Table 26 Examples of XXnye ‘XX woman’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Kay.ttong.nye** | A woman who did not clean her pet’s excrement in a subway  
|             | kay ‘dog’ + ttong ‘excrement’ + nye ‘woman’  
|             | :Originated from a video clip in which a woman who did not clean her  
|             | pet’s excrement in a subway in June, 2005. (JoongAng Ilbo, March 31,  
|             | 2007)                                                                      |
| **Toyn.cang.nye** | The “bean-paste girls,” a degrading term referring to vain young women  
|             | who wants to live like the characters in “Sex and the City,”(English  
|             | JoongAng Ilbo August 18, 2006)  
|             | : Originated from a blog ‘bean-paste girls’ day’ which an anonymous  
|             | netizen posted on a woman’s bulletin board. (JoongAng Ilbo, September  
|             | 4, 2006 )                                                                 |
| **Kwun.sam.nye** | A woman who believes that three-year-service to the army is  
|             | appropriate  
|             | :kwun.tay ‘army’ + sam.nyen ‘three years’ + nye.ca ‘woman’  
|             | : Originated from a woman’s interview video clip about the  
|             | government’s plan on reducing the period of Korean mans’ service to  
|             | the army. She said “three years seems to be good. (They) are going to  
|             | serve the army to guard the country. What are they going to learn in 18  
|             | months? (Hankook Ilbo, March 15, 2007)“|

It is expected that suffixes such as –nye, –nap and –ccang will continue to expand Net-Lingo expressions. While none of the previous studies made predictions on the emergence of prefixes in KNL, I propose that morphemes such as kup– ‘sudden’ and khay- ‘very/ really’ have increasingly prefixal functions and facilitate the mass coinage of Net-Lingo words. In fact, kup– ‘sudden’ functions as a prefix in offline situations, but it has been used in limited ways in particular contexts. According to an online dictionary from www.yahoo.co.kr, kup– as a prefix is strongly associated with words describing speed, degree of angle or disease when regarding a sudden change. For speed, the dictionary illustrates examples such as kup.sok.to ‘fast speed,’ kup.ha.kang ‘sudden plummet,’ kup.sang.sung ‘sudden rise’ and kup.ceng.ke ‘sudden stop (of vehicles).’ For degree of angle, kup– is often found in words such as kup.kank.to ‘steep angle,’ kup.kyeng.sa ‘steep slope,’ and kup.pyeng, meaning ‘a very dangerous illness.’ In online
communication, this morpheme is freely appearing. My data, randomly collected from
www.cyworld.co.kr, leads me to believe that these morphemes should be recognized as prefixes,
as illustrated in (140) to (149), where the prefixal use of morphemes is written in bold.

< 급 XX KupXX ‘sudden–’ >

(140) 급만남 하실 남자분만.. (kup.man.nam ‘sudden meeting’)
    kupmannam hasil namcapwunman..
    ‘A sudden meeting for men only’
    (http://web.humoruniv.korea.com/board/humor/read.html?number=1393202$table
    =free accessed Septmeber, 24, 2008)

(141) 급만남 청주 사는 사람들 (kup.man.nam ‘sudden meeting’)
    kupmannam chenwu sanun salamtul
    ‘A sudden meeting for people living in Chungjoo’
    (http://c.rd.empas.com/r.tsp/%B1%DE%B8%B8%B3%B2/10C:2:010100:2A39997:
    t/*http:/club.cyworld.com/common/club_hub.asp?boardtype=1&club_id=5282741
    6&board_no=52&item_seq=13045834 accessed on November 15, 2008)

(142) 급만남 모여라!! (kup.man.nam sudden meeting)
    kupmannam moyela!!
    ‘Come on, sudden meeting.’
    (http://c.rd.empas.com/r.tsp/%B1%DE%B8%B8%B3%B2/10C:4:010100:2A39997:
    t/*http://club.cyworld.com/common/club_hub.asp?boardtype=1&club_id=5255687
    1&board_no=9&item_seq=12947081 accessed on November 13, 2008)

(143) 요즘 급피곤하다 (kup.phi.kon ‘sudden fatigue’)
    yocum kupphikonhata
    ‘Nowadays, I am suddenly tired’
    (http://blog.naver.com/jy8036?Redirect=Log&logNo=40065244170 accessed on
    April 9, 2009)

(144) 급퇴근 하고싶네요 (kup.thay.kun ‘suddenly departing
    work’)
    kupthoykun hakosipneyyo (tears) nwunmwulna
    ‘I just want to leave work right now, I am in tears.’
    (http://web.humoruniv.korea.com/junior/junior.html accessed on July 30 2008)
In these examples, *kup–* appears with a number of words online. It is strongly associated with the meaning of ‘sudden’ such as *kup.man.nam* ‘sudden meeting’ as illustrated in (140), (141) and (142), *kup.phi.kon* ‘sudden fatigue’ in (143), *kup.thoy.kun* ‘suddenly departing work’ in (144) and (145), *kup.kwu.may* ‘sudden purchase’ in (146), *kup.chwung.tong* ‘(sudden) impulse’ in (147),(148) and (149). According to the results of the Yahoo search engine, within a year of
May 18, 2009, as illustrated in Table 27, among these the *kup-* series, *kup.man.nam* ‘sudden meeting’ shows the highest frequency.

*Table 27 Frequencies of the *kup-* Series*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kup.man.nam</em></td>
<td>724,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sudden meeting’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kup.kwu.may</em></td>
<td>11,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sudden purchase’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kup.thoy.kun</em></td>
<td>1,910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘suddenly departing work’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kup.chwung.tong</em></td>
<td>1,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘(sudden) impulse’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kup.phi.kon</em></td>
<td>1,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sudden fatigue’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since one of the most common activities on the Internet is online communication, it is not surprising that netizens often announce or suggest a sudden meeting offline. This may have led to *kup.man.nam* having the highest frequency of the *kup-* series. In addition, an earlier report by MIC and NIDA (2007, p. 11) states that following online communication, the next most popular activity is online shopping. This report supports a correlation with the terms *kup.man.nam* and *kup.kwu.may*, displaying the first and second highest frequency.

The following examples from (150) to (155), written in bold, whose prefix is *khay-* , are noteworthy in that the morpheme *khay-* is a new, purely online based prefix, meaning ‘very or really.’
<캐감동 khay.kam.tong ‘very moved or impressed’>

(150) 우왕~~캐감동>_<_

wuwang~~ khaykamtong>_<_

‘Wow~~ I am really moved.’

(150) 최고의 풍자만화!! 캐감동입니다...

choykouy phwungcamanhwa!! kayam tongipnita..

‘The best parody cartoon, you will be impressed’

(152) 여러분!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!! 캐감동 저 당첨됐어여

yelepwun!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!! khaykamtong ce tangchemtwaysseye
kimcengunuy chokhollis 14il nakhwa tangchem!!!!!!!!!!!!

‘Hey, people!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!! OMG! I was selected to attend a taping of the ‘Kim Jeong eun’s Chocolate Talk Show’ on the 14th.’

(122)
<캐안습 khay.an.sup ‘very pitiful, sad or disappointed’>

(153) 편의점에서 삼각김밥 하나사서 태웠는데 전자렌지에서
거내 보니깐 캐안습 (삼각김밥이 탔음)
phyenuycemeyse samakkkimpap hanasase teywessunyte cencaleynceyse
kenay ponikkhan khayansup (samakkkimpapi thassum)
‘I bought a triangular shaped sushi at a convenience store and heated it up, but when
I took it out of a microwave, it looked pitiful. (It was burnt).
(http://c.rd.empas.com/e.tsp/%C4%B3%BE%C8%BD%C0/FC:1:1000110::/*i=1 312613&sn=193278654&q2=%C4%B3%BE%C8%BD%C0&dv=b&w=2c5e666
768696a6b6c6d6e6f70717273&dw=e5&vl=R&vn=1::ms=%255B%25C4%25B3%25C8%25BD%25C0%255D%25BB%25EF%25B0%25A2%25B1%25E8%25B9%25E4&ck=10420001&rf=10420001&eq=193278654%3A2008101010:://boo
m.naver.com/BoardRead.nhn?categoryld=1&articleNum=20081010171252760
accessed on October 13, 2008)

(154) 타이밍 맞춰서 어제 우박을 동반한 폭우 등장. 급하게
스카치 테이프랑 쓰레기 봉투로 창문 막음. 캐안습 ㅠㅠ
thaiming mcchwese ecey wupakul tongpanhan phokwu tungcang. kuphakey
sukhachi theyipulang ssuleyki pongtwulo chanwummakum. khayansup (tears)
‘The emergence of storms accompanied by hail. I quickly protected my car by
covering the window with a trash bag. (My car looks) so pitiful. ‘
(www.cyworld.co.kr/329ofd accessed on April 12, 2009)

(155) 캐안습 공지사항
- 몽골 의료봉사가 취소 되었습니다..
khayansp kongcisahang
- Mongkol uylyopongsaka chwisotoyesssupnita..
‘Very sad announcement:’
‘Medical charity for Mongolia is cancelled’
(http://c.rd.nate.com/r.tsp/%C4%B3%BE%C8%BD%C0/10C:4:010100:338E8780:
&board_no=9&item_seq=24027557 accessed on April 13, 2009)

The emergence of khay- may originate from the existing offline prefix kay- ‘really.’ In
offline situations, this prefix kay- is often used to describe something wild, useless or
nonsensical, as shown in kay.kkoss ‘wild flower,’ kay.cwuk.um ‘(lit. useless death) death in vain’
and kay.kkum ‘nonsense dream’ (Hong & Lee, 2009). The semantic role as a negative sense is
also supported by the description in the Donga dictionary that the prefix kay- conveys negative
meanings such as ‘absurd,’ ‘nonsensical,’ ‘ridiculous’ or ‘unreal.’ Online, however, khay-is highlighted by change in both form and meaning. First, its spelling convention has changed from the plain stop consonant kay [g] to the aspirated stop consonant khay [k], which conveys a more emphatic connotation. It is also noticeable that its semantic role has also changed. Unlike the offline use where kay- has a negative connotation, in online communication, khay- can connote either negative or positive semantics depending on the meaning of the attached element such as kam.tong ‘being moved’ and an.sup ‘being pitiful, sad or disappointed (lit. developing tears),’ leading to khay.kam.tong ‘very moved’ in (150), (151) and (152) and khay.an.sup ‘very pitiful, sad or disappointed’ in (153), (154) and (155). While khay-, as a recent prefix, is yet to be listed in Net-Lingo dictionaries, its penetration online can be manifested by the results of the Yahoo search engine, which show 72,600 and 822,000 instances of khay.kam.tong ‘very moved or impressed’ and khay.an.sup ‘very pitiful/sad’ respectively, within a year of May 18, 2009.

From a syntactic point of view, the use of khay- is not confined to a noun phrase to which the offline prefix, kay- is limited. It can also be attached to a predicate such as ‘to be good’ and ‘to be bad,’ emphasizing one’s feeling, good or bad, as illustrated in (156) to (160) where khay + predicate is written in bold.

<캐좋다 khay.coh.ta ‘to be very good’>

(156) 아 기분 캐좋다캐좋다캐좋다캐좋다    ㅋㅋ 들뜸
 a kipwun khaycohta k k tulttum
 ‘ah I feel really good. So excited.’
(http://c.rd.empas.com/e.tsp/?%C4%B3%C1%C1%B4%D9/FC:1:010100:2A39997://*i=2129680&sn=187307541&q2=&dv=b&w=29b5b5363738393a3b3c3d3e3f4 0414243&dw=36&vl=A&vn=2::ms=%25BE%25C6&ck=10450009&rf=10450009 &eq=187307541%2C20080823:/*/web.humoruniv.korea.com/board/humor/read.ht ml?table=muzik&number=34141accessed on August 24, 2008)
(157) 날씨 캐좋다 캐좋다 캐좋다 캐좋다 ㅋ

nalssi khaycohta k
‘The weather is really good.’
(http://c.rd.empas.com/e.tsp/%C4%B3%C1%C1%B4%D9/FC:2:010100:2A39997:
:t*i=1619503&sn=162931483&q2=&dv=b&w=29b5b536373893a3b3c3d3e3f40
414243&dw=39&v1=A&vn=5::ms=%25B3%25AF%25BE%25BE&ck=10380621
&rf=10380621&eq=162931483%2C20080309::/*gall.dcinside.com/list.php?id=soji
sub&no=776491 accessed on March 10, 2008)

(158) 누나... 남다르게 연상이 캐좋다.

nwuna... nantaluke yangsangi khaycohta.
‘Hey, sister unlike others, I like a woman older than me.’
(http://c.rd.empas.com/r.tsp/%C4%B3%C1%C1%B4%D9/10B:3:010100:2A39997
::t/*http://minihp.cyworld.com/pims/main/pims_main.asp?tid=40110772&urlstr=v
isi&item_seq=21595889&board_no=5&urlstrsub=search&seq=5'accessed on
February 23, 2008)

<캐싫다 khay.sil.ta ‘to really hate’>

(159) 야근 캐싫다 캐싫다 캐싫다 캐싫다.. 쯔나 진짜

yakun khaysilhta.. ccenta cincca
‘I hate overnight work. I will really get exhausted.’
((http://c.rd.empas.com/r.tsp/%C4%B3%BD%C8%B4%D9/10B:2:010100:2A3999
7::t/*http://minihp.cyworld.com/pims/main/pims_main.asp?tid=22387418&urlstr=v
isi&item_seq=58658815&board_no=11&urlstrsub=search&seq=11'accessed on
March 25, 2008)

(160) 아놔 ㅠ... 등급제 캐싫다 ㅠ

anwa (tears)... tungkupcey khaysilhta (tears)
‘Shoot, I really hate the level grading system’
((http://c.rd.empas.com/e.tsp/%C4%B3%BD%BD%88%B4%D9/FC:1:010100:2A3999
7::t*i=3431132&sn=142034084&q2=&dv=b&w=2ac5c5464748494a4b4c4d4e4f5
0515253&dw=4a&v1=A&vn=6::ms=%25B0%25E6%25C8%25F1%25C7%25D1%25
C0%25CC%25BF%25E4%25A4%25D0...&ck=21050052&rf=21050052&eq=14
2034084%2C20071222::/*www.orbi7.com/bbs/zboard.php?id=pp_06_ori_portal&n
o=6095 accessed on December 24, 2008)

Unlike descriptions of KNL, the emergence of new affixes was well captured by Crystal
(2001). He argued that in English online situations, –bot (from robot) has a suffixal function, as
in annoybot, chatterbot, knowbot, mailbot. Along with this suffix, the e- “electronic” prefix has
already spawned hundreds of expressions such as *e-novel, e-ticket, e-commerce, e-zine, e-friend, e-books, e-diets, e-loan* and *eBay*. The Oxford dictionary of new words (1997) had already included words such *e-text, e-zine, e-cash* and *e-money*. In 1998, the American Dialect Society named *e-* as “Word of the Year” and “Most Useful and Most Likely to Succeed” (as cited in Crystal (2001, p. 83). Other prefixes include *cyber-* as in *cyberspace, cybersex, cyberspace* and *hyper-* as in *hyperlink, hypertext, hyperfiction* (Crystal, 2001, p. 83). In both KNL and ENL, the affixal use of morphemes in online situations is only one of the many instances indicating the emergence of Net-Lingo. In the following section, I will also present evidence of the emergence of Net-Lingo represented on the syntactic level.

4.3 Syntactic Properties

Section 4.3.1.1 focuses on subject ellipsis in ENL, and sections 4.3.1.2 and 4.3.1.2.5 presents two specific syntactic features in KNL.

4.3.1 Language Specific Features

4.3.1.1 Subject Ellipsis in ENL

Subject ellipsis is a common phenomenon in pro-drop languages in which subject pronouns can be omitted, and they can be classified into two types. In languages such as Romance languages, the referent of the subject ellipsis is identified by rich verbal inflection such as subject-verb agreements, as illustrated in the following Italian sentences (161) and (162) by Carnie (2002, p. 273).

(161) Parlo  
    speak. 1SG’  
    ‘I speak’
In both sentences (161) and (162), the subjects seem to be missing. But the ellipted subject can easily be retrieved because the verbal inflection indicates the identity of the subject. On the other hand, in languages such as Japanese and Korean, the subject is also commonly deleted; however, the referent of the subject ellipsis is pragmatically inferable. In fact, deletion is not confined to the subject. Let’s take a look at examples (163)\(^{16}\) and (164)\(^{17}\) given in both Korean and Japanese, where deleted subjects or topics (including deleted objects) are written in bold in the English translations.

\[\text{(163) 이 케익은 맛있어. 누가 구웠어?} \]
\[
i \text{khayikan} \quad \text{massisseyo} \quad \text{nwuka} \quad \text{kwuwesse}? \\
\text{This cake-TC} \quad \text{tasty-INT} \quad \text{who-NM} \quad \text{bake-PST-INT} \\
\text{‘This cake is tasty. Who baked it?’} \\
\text{몰라. 맛있어?} \\
\text{molla. massis?} \\
\text{Don’t know-INT tasty-INT} \\
\text{‘I don’t know. Is it tasty?’} \\
\]

\[\text{(164) このケーキはおいしい。誰が焼いたの？} \]
\[
kono ke kiwa \quad oisii \quad talayka \quad yaithano? \\
\text{This cake-TC tasty-INT who-NM bake-PST-Q} \\
\text{‘This cake is tasty. Who baked it?’} \\
\text{知らない。おいしい?} \\
\text{silanai oisii?} \\
\text{know-NEG tasty-INT} \\
\text{‘I don’t know. Is it tasty?’} \\
\]

\(^{16}\) TC stands for topic-contrast particle, INT for Intimate speech level or suffix, NM for nominative case particle and PST stands for past tense / perfect aspect suffix.

\(^{17}\) Q stands for question marker and NEG stands for negation.
In the above examples, *I* as a subject and *it* as a subject and an object, in bold in the English translations, are covert in both Korean and Japanese sentences. Nevertheless, the ellipted subjects and objects are understood from the context. English, on the other hand, is considered a non-pro-drop language in that it shows little verbal inflection, and it uses the dummy subject extensively to fill subject positions. Nevertheless, Stirling and Huddleston (2000) reported that subject ellipsis commonly occurs in both English conversation and informal written contexts, as opposed to formal written contexts on which grammatical descriptions are based (as cited in Nariyama (2004, p. 238)). It is commonly held that the first person pronoun is ellipted in declaratives and the second-person pronoun is ellipted in interrogatives (Nariyama, 2004). However, as was shown in Nariyama’s study (section 2.2.2), English subject ellipsis is more complex than previously assumed. While Nariyama’s study predominantly focuses on investigating the mechanisms of subject ellipsis in offline situations, my study entirely looks into the mechanisms underlying the subject ellipsis in online situations. To meet this need, my analysis will be based on the data collected from comments and responses made by users of YouTube, Facebook and US.Cyworld. Extended from Nariyama’s study in section 2.2.2, I will demonstrate that English subject ellipsis is also a common phenomenon in casual online situations. I will also propose another mechanism that governs subject ellipsis online exclusively.

As already introduced in section 2.2.2, Nariyama (2004) proposed four triggers that govern subject ellipsis: anaphoric deletion, dummy subject, deixis and conventional expressions, among which the last two triggers do not require linguistic context (see section 2.2.2) to recover the referent for the subject ellipsis.

Anaphoric deletion is identified as subject ellipsis with the referent located in the previous sentence, which Nariyama (2004) describes as the most convincing mechanism. My data,
however, reveal that anaphoric deletion, in online situations, is not as commonly as applied as other mechanisms in tracking the correct referent. In non-verbal communication, a majority of users favor simple and short sentences rather than coordinate structures. Given that anaphoric deletion is not always reliable for retrieving the ellipted subject, my attention turns to other mechanisms.

The dummy subject is another mechanism. It can refer to a specific referent, as the topic of conversation, in the previous sentence, as illustrated in (165) or the entire preceding sentence(s), as illustrated in (166), collected from visitors’ comments in MyBlogLog.
I ended up using greybox, (It works great but i wouldn't have been abl to find it if u didn't show me thickbox. Thanks
(http://www.mybloglog.com/buzz/topics/greybox/newwithtopic accessed on June 8, 2009)

used superglue instead of stiches for the first time last night – (It) works great!
http://www.mybloglog.com/buzz/topics/stiches accessed on June 10, 2009)

Scribd- Upload documents or pdfs and share them- (It) Works great - no ftp
(http://www.mybloglog.com/buzz/topics/uploaddocuments accessed on June 10, 2009)

am a voracious reader of posts, thanks to Google Reader. I can move quickly, and
mark quite a few with 's' and 'shift'-'. (It) Works great, as I can save for myself and
share with others (which get pushed to the side bar of my...

Get a Verizon wireless card. That's what I have. (It) Works great
(http://www.mybloglog.com/buzz/topics/wirelesscard accessed on March 3, 2009)

To guarantee that Apple will announce a new product, simply buy the old version a
few days before the keynote. (It) Works every time.
(http://www.mybloglog.com/buzz/topics/oldversion accessed on June 9, 2009)

Hi, So, Tom Cruise gets in shape by doing Pilates. (It) Works for me! All the best,
Carol National Ledger - Tom Cruise Gets Buff for Katie Holmes According to a
report from Star Magazine the megastar keeps his body in action-hero shape with a
grueling 90...
(http://www.mybloglog.com/buzz/community/freepilatesexercises accessed on
December 12, 2008)

I drive a hybrid and pride myself on getting amazing mileage (52MPG lifetime,
baby!). To accomplish this, I drive…well…slow. I go under the speed limit and stay
in the right lane. (It) Works for me…I’m a laid back guy who takes life...
(http://www.mybloglog.com/buzz/community/zazzletech/ accessed on November
13, 2008)

This site uses Google Friend Connect plugin for WordPress.However when viewed
using Chrome, footer bar may not appear properly, endlessly requesting to Google
servers. ((It) works well on Firefox, and perhaps IE)Here’s Google service not
properly...
If you only have a single word or a single line of text, there is a clever way to vertically center it in a block with CSS. You set the line-height of that text to be equal to the height of the box. (It) Works great, but is a major fail if that text needs to.

(conditionals like that get wonky, try \{if "{segment_2}" != "floorplans" \&\& "{segment_2}" != "somethingelse"\}, (It) works for me.

Hmmm Pork Rinds w/ a Ginger Ale in a Thunderbird? (It) Works for me

Noticeably, in a majority of my data, the ellipsis of the dummy subject \textit{it} is associated with a phrase “works great.” Phrases, such as “works fine,” “works good” and “works well,” rarely occur with subject ellipsis. While the ellipsis of the dummy subject \textit{i} significantly occurs with a selected verb \textit{works}, it is also noteworthy that the verb \textit{works} is constrained by the accompanying adjective or adverb.

Another trigger suggested by Nariyama is deixis, which can be identified in terms of constraints including the semantic richness and privacy of the lexicon and the predicate. My data collected from Youtube.com reveal that the certain verbs, especially privy verbs such as \textit{love}, enable us to identify the referent of subject ellipsis as the first person as illustrated in (167), which was collected from comments about an animation video clip posted on YouTube

(167) If you only have a single word or a single line of text, there is a clever way to vertically center it in a block with CSS. You set the line-height of that text to be equal to the height of the box. (It) Works great, but is a major fail if that text needs to.


(conditionals like that get wonky, try \{if "{segment_2}" != "floorplans" \&\& "{segment_2}" != "somethingelse"\}, (It) works for me.

(http://www.mybloglog.com/buzz/topics/floorplans accessed on May 25, 2009)

Hmmm Pork Rinds w/ a Ginger Ale in a Thunderbird? (It) Works for me

(http://www.mybloglog.com/buzz/topics/gingerale accessed on June 9, 2009)
The examples above corroborate an earlier observation by Nariyama that privy verbs occur with subject ellipsis as in “(I) love coffee,” and the identity of the ellipted subject is always first person. On the other hand, her observation that love takes the first person and like takes the second person is not reflected in my online data. In my data, unlike love, like rarely occurs with subject ellipsis. The only example I found is “(I) like it” in which the referent of subject ellipsis is the first person, but not the second person.

Nariyama (2004) also discusses subjectless conventional expressions which “are essentially set phrases whose meaning are self-contained in their own right, so that elements in the
expressions cannot be easily be substituted or added, if at all, without incurring a change in implications” (p. 255). Thus, “person, declarative/interrogative distinction, verbal semantics and polarity” (p. 255) are often predetermined, and subsequently these constraints provide insight for identifying the intended referent of subject ellipsis. Her generalization would be also applicable to set phrases such as can’t wait/can’t say/can’t believe/can’t stop + ing as illustrated in (168) to (183), collected from the Facebook.

(168) Can't wait to see you guys back in Newcastle again!  

(169) Can't wait to get this!!! You guys are the ultimate cure for soul sickness!!  

(170) dang, first time I watch the trailers, I almost pee in my pants from excitement. XD ANYWAYS, this is just mind-blowing. Can't wait for the movie. :D  

(171) Can't wait till I get my copy of remixes from CDJshop ! :-) Regards.  

(172) Enjoyed your show in SF last month. Amazing! Can't wait for the remixes  

(173) Can't say what case because it could jeopardize an already tenuous situation, but lemme just say this was a national story when it first broke, and could go national again  

(174) Shhhh. can't say yet  
(175) **can't say** as much for 5/7, though.

(176) **can't say** how many we are up to, but to mention a few names ...

(177) Still **can't believe** it's over! The last episode hit me soooo hard, can't believe it's done, and in that way. What do you think happened?

(178) Still **can't believe** Croatia is in final ahead of Ireland!

(179) **Can't believe** how many amazing celebs were in the show!!!...

(180) **Can't believe** yesterday received more than 500 visits! Keep commenting on the new photos

(181) Give it Away or **Can't Stop**...either or...pretty much any of their tunes get me moving

(182) Instead you can have the ninth tune: Ruffskunkjazzblunk 2: smell the groove. **Can't stop** once you've started

(183) **CAN'T STOP LOVING IT**
In the same way that a set phrase “won’t be a minute” by Nariyama is greatly related to the first person in declaratives, my data can’t believe/can’t say/can’t wait/can’t stop + ing in (168) to (183) are strongly associated with first person as a referent for subject ellipsis in declaratives. Nariyama also points out that subjectless sentences are also likely to appear with selected verbs. In my data, users’ comments are often expressed with particular verbs such as got/look/sounds, which Nariyama characterizes as first person indicators. This, however, is not always the case when it comes to casual online situations, as exemplified in(188) and (195):

(184) ooooh....**gotta** go look...thanks Rodney! **Gotta** go watch more now.  
(http://www.facebook.com/wall.php?id=40726896272&fb_noscript=1 accessed on May 1, 2009)

(185) Feel free to comment on any ideas you might have for future Achievements. **Gotta** go so I can collect the rest!  
(http://www.facebook.com(note.php?note_id=59563714412&ref=mf accessed on May 1, 2009)

(186) YES! i made u laugh!  
so my job here is done!  
GOOD NITE!  
**gotta** sleep!  
(http://www.facebook.com/topic.php?uid=2204285338&topic=12728&start=270&hash=547cbdcc46d3486cab3d145fb758cbc0 accessed on May 1, 2009)

(187) Hi Viktor, please read the last few postings 20th/21st Dec. Thanx! xxx...Rem, life on this planet is short, and eternity long, if we end up in an eternal conscious state. **Gotta** sleep now, but please do read the postings. Luv Jacqui :)  
(http://www.facebook.com/topic.php?uid=5584629838&topic=14635&start=300&hash=9010881a727d54bc2e492bc645b55d94)

(188) **Sounds** good!  
(http://www.facebook.com/notes.php?id=28373507972 accessed on May 1, 2009)

(189) **Sounds** awesome I'll be there. Ready in time for summer!  
(http://www.facebook.com/notes.php?id=28373507972 accessed on May 1, 2009)
(190) Just finished an attempt at the piano song for the EP. sounds good just need more practice! (http://www.facebook.com(note.php?note_id=80098793328&comments&ref=mf accessed on May 1, 2009)

(191) Alright man, your killin' me! I gotta hear the whole thing NOW!! Can't wait Ace, sounds great! (http://www.facebook.com/video/video.php?v=79204561912&comments&ref=mf)

(192) Looks good but we all know it's easier to do then it looks :) do it for fun but don't overuse it because it won't make you look good if it's all you can do. (http://www.facebook.com/topic.php?uid=2218622018&topic=4539 accessed on May 1, 2009)

(193) Looks okay now.........upset......... (http://www.facebook.com/topic.php?uid=2521910901&topic=7052&start=600&hash=981eee51c94ff46c78da07c898a79a51 accessed on May 1, 2009)

(194) the "see all X items" is not under the books displayed, but rather off to the right side (almost as if IE didn't register the line break). Looks fine in Firefox, though. (http://apps.facebook.com/topic.php?uid=2949245143&topic=2546 accessed on May 1, 2009)

(195) looks nice, do you have more of them? (http://www.facebook.com/video/video.php?v=32767158923&oid=33007860171 accessed on May 1, 2009)

While gotta is always associated with the first person subject ellipsis, verbs such as look and sound prefer the special status of third person by maintaining the third person singular –s. Nevertheless, Nariyama (2004) asserts that the psychological subject is still the first person. I, however, question her claim. While she counts the first person as a psychological subject derived from “epistemic knowledge” (p. 257) in her analysis, her claim is not supported by syntax. It is apparent that verbs carrying the third person singular –s unambiguously signal the referent of subject ellipsis—the third person.

Polarity is often preset for a particular expression as in “(I) wouldn’t mind coffee” displayed by Nariyama (2004). Thus, any deviation from this sentence brings about unacceptable sentences.
as already illustrated in section 2.2.2. Nariyama’s account of polarity can also be generalized to online situations. For instance, common online expressions such as “been there done that,” “laugh out loud” and “come right back” are frequently preset for the first person and the affirmative, so other variations are unacceptable as illustrated in (196) to (198):

<BTD}-been there done that>

(196) (I’ve) not been there (I’ve) done that.
   (You’ve) been there (You’ve) done that?
   (You’ve) not been there (You’ve) not done that?

<LOL –laughing out loud>

(197) (I’m) not laughing out loud
   (You’re) laughing out loud?
   (You’re) not laughing out loud?

<CRB–come right back>

(198) (I’ll) not come right back.
   (You’ll) come right back?
   (You’ll) not come right back?

So far, continuing the departure from Nariyama’s investigation on English subject ellipsis, I have demonstrated that English subject ellipsis online is also a common phenomenon which involves triggers and constraints imposed on offline subject ellipsis. Four factors—anaphoric deletion, dummy subject, deixis and conventional expressions—were shown to trigger subject ellipsis. While anaphoric deletion and dummy subject depend on linguistic context, deixis relies on situational context. Among these four triggers, deixis involves constraints such as person (either the first or the third), the semantic richness of the predicate, with which conventional expressions are also associated with constraints such as declarative/interrogative distinction,
verbal semantics and polarity. Along with these triggers and constraints, I also propose another mechanism, termed “asterisk bracketing” which is defined as an expression in which the predicate in the third person singular is bracketed by asterisks. By definition, it is expected that asterisk bracketing governs subject ellipsis. Votta (2007) investigated different functions of asterisk bracketing (which she calls “asterisk action”) based on a corpus collected from a Harry Potter online Fan community. Since her research was based on a narrowly focused online community, Votta believed that special group of people with the same interest employ asterisk bracketing as their own way of communication. My observations, however, suggest that the use of asterisk bracketing is no longer confined to a specific community. For instance, YouTube users are neither tightly tied to each other, nor are they confined to a specific interest such as Harry Potter. With 20 million visitors every month, YouTube is a valuable resource for investigating online linguistic phenomena. YouTube users leave comments to express their opinions on video clips. Nevertheless, within asterisk bracketing, the status of first person is taken away by the context, and it is frequently coded with the third person’s perspective by appending the third person singular –s, as illustrated in (199) randomly collected from comments posted on Youtube.com, accessed between April and May 2008.

(199) *explodes*
  *watches it again*
  all *pees*
  *applauds*
  *rolls eyes*
  *Shrugs.*
  *sends you big hugs*
  *standing ovation* O, do Macbeth next :D
  I love it! Good job, particularly in keeping the general sound like Hamlet!
As a result, the referent of subject ellipsis is viewed as third person, but not first person, that is, asterisk bracketing constrains the first person from emerging. In response to this, the first person’s actions and emotions are displayed by shifting oneself from first person to third person in form. Given that asterisk bracketing is prevalent in casual online situations, it is significant to emphasize two points: first, asterisk bracketing is a newly established mechanism, which uniquely governs English subject ellipsis in online communication. Second, from a syntactic perspective, asterisk bracketing gives rise to third person interpretation in subject ellipsis, which is in contrast to Nariyama’s claim that first person is strongly correlated with the referent of subject ellipsis.

In sum, all the data in this section show that Crystal’s (2001) characterization of the most unique characteristics still lying in the lexicon and graphology becomes less generalizable in terms of ENL subject ellipsis. His characterization is also refuted by the grammatical status of the Korean honorific title in KNL, which I will discuss in the following section.

4.3.1.2 The Use of a Korean Honorific Title in KNL

As already mentioned in 2.1.3, the Korean language is known as a systematic honorific language which utilizes markers such as honorific title (HT), honorific particle, honorific words and honorific suffixes, according to H. Sohn (2001). Among these markers, in online communication, as J.-B. Lee (2000) observes, the use of HTnim is noteworthy because not only does it involve less lexical and semantic constraints, but it also brings a change in grammatical status.

It has been reported that first names are used in limited ways as address terms in the Korean language, contrary to the most common use of first names in the English language (Brown and
Ford, 1964); instead, social titles and kinship terms play crucial roles as address or reference terms in Korean conversation. For instance, according to Saccone (1994, p. 47), Korean people, unlike Westerners, are not very personal about their names, and personal names are barely used in conversation. Instead, social titles are commonly used, and furthermore, family members are addressed or referred to by kinship terms, which reflect their relative positions such as oldest brother and younger sister. Individuals are most likely referred by kinship terms rather than their personal names. Even wives and husbands hardly call each other by their names. For instance, according to H-S. Kim (2004), the most commonly used reciprocal address terms between husband and wife are XX mom (XX refers to a child’s name), XX dad, ye.po ‘honey’ and caki(ya) ‘you’. She further observes that ye.po is more frequently used between a middle-aged or old couple than a young couple. Caki is a recent innovation, which H. Sohn (2001) describes as a second-person pronoun used to call one’s spouse, girlfriend, or boyfriend.

Saccone’s statement about Korean people’s infrequent use of personal names is also supported by J-S. Ok’s (2002) study on Korean address terms. He classifies Korean address terms into two types: social titles and kinship terms. He explains that if the speaker is lower than the addressee or the referent in social rank, the former adds the HT nim after the latter’s social title. The same principle applies to Korean kinship terms. If the speaker is lower in terms of ascending generation, s/he appends the HT nim to the kinship term to address or to refer to others who are of higher status. These phenomena are also manifested in online situations as shown in Lee’s (2000) study (section 2.1.3). However, my data, collected from Cyworld, display that the use of the HT nim is more complicated online than offline. The following section will discuss the use of the HT nim with respect to social titles.
4.3.1.2.1 Social Title + the HT \textit{nim}

Just as shown in J-B. Lee’s (2001) data in section 2.1.3, my data also reveal that the HT \textit{nim} occurs not only with conventional social titles such as “teacher” and “professor” but also with a newly established online social titles such as \textit{hom.ci.ki + nim}, \textit{wun.yeng.ca + nim} and \textit{pang.cang + nim}, all meaning ‘esteemed webmaster’. Examples of these titles are illustrated in (200) to (205), where the social title + the HT \textit{nim} is written in bold.

\textbf{< 홈페이지 \textit{hom.ci.ki +님 nim}>}

\begin{itemize}
\item (200) 여러분 새해 복 많이~~!! 저도 드디어 홈페이지님에게~~^^
\item yelepwun sayhay pok mani~~!! ceto tutye homcikinimeykey~~^^
\item ‘Happy New YEAR ~~!!, I finally said to the webmaster, as well.’
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item (201) 홈페이지, 정말 대단하십니다.....
\item homcikinim, cengmal taytanhasipnita.....
\item ‘Dear webmaster, you are amazing.’
\item (http://wizard2.sbs.co.kr/resource/template/contents/tpl_iframetype.jsp?vProgId=1000242&vVodId=V0000275344&vMenuId=1004050&no=139637 accessed on July 3, 2004)
\end{itemize}

\textbf{<운영자 \textit{wun.yeng.ca +님 nim}>}

\begin{itemize}
\item (202) 운영자님 꼭 봐주세요
\item wunyengcanim kkok pwacwuseyyo
\item ‘Dear webmaster, please read this.’
\item (http://asgard.nexon.com/community/free/read.asp?ArticleID=11513 accessed on March 1, 2009)
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item (203) 운영자님. 제발 이렇게 부탁드립니다.
\item wunyengcanim ceypal ilehkey pwutuktulipnita.
\item ‘Dear webmaster, please do me a favor.’
\item (http://www.kovo.co.kr/community/free/board_content.asp?num=21300 accessed on April 16, 2009)
\end{itemize}
<방장 pang.cang +님 nim>

(204) 방장님 인사드립니다^^
pangcangnim insatulipnita^^
‘Dear webmaster, I’d like to say hello to you.’

(205) 방장님 토요일 비오면 어떻게해요?
pangcangnim thoyoil piomyen ettehhayyo?
‘Dear webmaster, what are we going to do if it rains on Saturday?’
(http://www.pentaxclub.co.kr/bbs/zboard.php?id=Group_bbs_1&no=6607 accessed on April 29, 009)

In my corpus, “webmaster” also takes on another term, khul.lup.cang + nim, as in (206), (207) and (208). To save space, some of the original texts have been eliminated.

<클럽장님 khul.lup.cang +님 nim>

(206) 재미난 게임 올려주세요. 클럽장님.
cayminan keyim ollyecwuseyyo. khullepcangnim.
‘Dear webmaster, please upload some games.’

(207) 클럽장님께 진의드립니다.
khullepcangnimkkey kennyutulipnita.
‘Dear webmaster, I have something to recommend.’

(208) 클럽장님…. 배경음악 신청되나요.
khullepcangnim…. paykyengumak sinchentoynayo.
‘Dear webmaster, would you buy a music file for the site?’

Although all these terms, meaning a ‘webmaster’, are not conventional in offline situations, it is reasonable that these peculiar social titles arose from the nature of the Internet. Netizens are
likely to show respect to a person who regularly updates and takes good care of a club site, especially those oriented towards a special interest. Without doubt, these terms are well situated as respected social titles in online situations and are often followed by the HT nim. The following section will demonstrate that the use of HT nim, online, involves weaker lexical and semantic constraints with respect to kinship terms, compared to its offline use.

4.3.1.2.2 Kinship Term + the HT nim

One of the distinctive features of Korean address terms is the ability to utilize kinship terms to address or refer to an individual (Y. Kang, 2006, p. 52) even when the speaker is not biologically related to the referent. On the other hand, only particular kinship terms are privileged to appear with the HT nim.

For instance, conventionally, the kinship term “elder sister” does not co-occur with the HT nim. Nevertheless, this convention is not observed when it comes to casual online situations. My data show that nim is frequently appended to “elder sister” (from a younger sister’s perspective), as opposed to the absence of nim after those kinship terms offline. A new honorific form for “esteemed elder sister” is frequently found online. For instance, the Yahoo search engine displayed 892,000 instances of en.ni.nim, within a year of May 18, 2009, and random examples are illustrated in (209) to (212), where it is written in bold. To save space, some of the original texts have been modified or deleted.
While J.-B. Lee(2000) did observe *nim* appended to “elder sister,” his study does not offer detailed discussion. On this issue, my attention centers on what motivates the emergence of the HT *nim* after these two kinship terms. In the modern Korean lexicon, pairs such *hal.a.pe.nim* > *hal.a.pe.ci* ‘grandfather,’ *hal.me.nim* > *hal.me.ni* ‘grandmother,’ *a.pe.nim* > *a.pe.ci* ‘father,’ *e.me.nim* > *e.me.ni* ‘mother’ *hyengnim* > *hyeng* ‘elder brother (from a man’s perspective)’ *nwu.nim* > *nwu.na* ‘elder sister (from a man’s perspective),’ *o.la.pe.nim* > *o.ppa* ‘elder brother (from a woman’s perspective)’ already exist. In each pair, the former is an honorific form for the
latter by virtue of appending the HT *nim*, yet, it is odd that there is no existing honorific form for *en.ni* ‘elder sister (from a woman’s perspective)’ in offline situations. With respect to *en.ni.nim* ‘esteemed elder sister,’ I believe that this is a logically related phenomenon from the perspective of age. Since there is no competing term in offline situations, it might have been much easier for netizens to include “elder sister” into a special group of kinship terms which are privileged to take the HT *nim*. As exemplified from (213) to (216), where it is written bold, appending the HT *nim* to *ma.nwul* or *ma.nwul* ‘wife’ is more questionable.

< 마눌 or 마누라 *ma.nwul* or *ma.nwul* +님 *nim>*

(213) 마눌님에게 허락받고 혼들게 할부로 구매한 아이팟터치…
*manwu.nim* eykey *helak*patko *hitmul*key *halpwul*o *kwumayhan* aiphasthechi…
‘This is the iPod Touch that I bought after my wife said okay.
(http://cafe.dalong.net/board.cgi?action=view&gul=6405&id=cafe2008 accessed on April 25, 2008)

(214) 마눌님이 의박허락했습니다.
*nanwu.nimi* oypakhelakhaysssupnita.
‘My wife allowed me to stay overnight outside the home.’
(http://pann.nate.com/b1302939 accessed on April 3, 2008)

(215) 저의 마노라님을 멋진 배경으로 한장 찍었습니다…
*ceuy* *nanwu*animalm *messcin* paykyengulo hanccang ccikesssupnita….
‘I took a picture of my wife with a nice background behind her.’

(216) 마누라님 표정이 어둡죠
*nanwu* phyocengi etwupcyo
‘Don’t you think my wife looks unhappy?’
(http://blog.daum.net/eos_350d/9 accessed on April 10, 2008)

Not only is the HT *nim* unconventionally appended to the term “wife,” but the relationship between husband and wife is that of social equality, to which the HT *nim* does not imply. Since most of my data is related to speakers’ references to their spouse, the emphasis will be on the
discussion of reference terms to a husband and wife when talking to other people. One of the KBS educational programs called *pa.lun.mal ko.wun.mal* ‘standard words and good words’ recommends a husband to use reference terms such as *cip.sa.lam* ‘(lit. person at home) wife’ and *an.sa.lam* ‘(lit. person inside the house) wife,’ but not terms such as *wa.i.phu* (English word meaning ‘wife’) and *ma.nwu.la* ‘wife (in disrespect)’. This statement is also upheld by The National Institute of the Korean Language’s recommendation that terms such as *a.nay*, *cip.sa.lam*, *an.sa.lam* and *che* are appropriate when a husband refers to his wife when speaking to others, whereas the word *ma.nwu.la* is inappropriate because it connotes “disrespectfulness” toward his wife. Interestingly, not only is *nim* used in the online corpus of data meaning “wife,” but also *nim* is frequently observed after the term *ma.nwu.la*, which NIKL (as cited in J-H. Kim (2004, ¶ 5)) discourages using. While J.-B. Lee (2000b) also observed the term *ma.mwu.la.nim* ‘wife + nim,’ I more frequently observed, another term *ma.nwul.nim* (after a vowel deletion process) than *ma.mwu.la.nim*. The term *ma.nwu.la* may be considered unacceptable offline, but the data illustrated above are strong counterexamples to the Korean standard presented by the National Institute of the Korean Language. Both *ma.nwul.nim* and *ma.nwu.la.nim* are becoming more acceptable online, so much so that the Yahoo search engine showed a total of 1,728,000 instances within a year of May 18, 2009. Their frequent appearances with the HT *nim* prove that *ma.nwul* and *ma.nwu.la* are in the process of a semantic shift by virtue of the semantic role of “politeness,” which is contained in the HT *nim*. Both *ma.nwul.nim* and *ma.nwu.la.nim* ‘esteemed wife’, as a whole, seem to convey a husband’s politeness towards a wife rather than disrespect in its traditional sense.

Overall, two main characteristics are found to capture the implied meanings underlying the exceptional use of the HT mentioned in this section. First, the HT *nim* is not subject to strict
lexical constraints. It is no longer confined to certain kinship terms. Second, it involves a semantic constraint to a lesser extent, considering that *ma.nwul* and *ma.nwu.la* convey a husband’s disrespect towards his wife in their traditional sense. It is worth emphasizing that the unconventional use of the HT *nim* creates familiarity and informality, thus conveying the speaker’s friendliness and intimacy towards the addressee (and the referent) while still being courteous. I argue that new honorific words such as “esteemed elder sister” reflect the contribution of the HT *nim* in the emergence of KNL. They seem to be the latest up-and-coming trend in KNL. My claim that the HT *nim* does not always involve a semantic constraint in online situations is also supported by another piece of evidence, which I will provide in the following section.
4.3.1.2.3 Incompatible Lexeme + the HT nim

The HT nim’s appearance with an incompatible lexicon invalidates a common assumption that netizens utilize the HT nim to show ‘respect’. Let’s take a look at examples listed in (217) to (222).

<Incompatible lexeme + 님 nim>

(217) 야이- 바보님 들... (바보 pa.po ‘fool’+님 nim)
yai-paponimtul...
‘Hey, you excellent fools.’
(http://c.rd.empas.com/r.tsp/%B9%D9%BA%B8%B4%D4/10C:3:010100:1D3BF3
206::t*/http://club.cyworld.com/common/club_hub.asp?boardtype=1&club_id=5014
4533&board_no=39&item_seq=111074811 accessed on March 1, 2008)

(218) 바보님, 고마워요! (바보 pa.po ‘fool’+님 nim)
paponim, komaweyo!
(http://kr.search.yahoo.com/search/web?p=%EB%B0%94%EB%B3%B4%EB%8B
%98&subtype=WebDoc accessed on March 2, 2009)

(219) 쌈발님아 왜 지우셨어요? (쩌발 ssi.pal ‘f^&$ing’+님 nim)
ssipalnima way ciwusyesseyo?
‘You f^&$ing geniuses, why did you erase it?’
(http://c.rd.empas.com/e.tsp?/%BE%BE%B9%DF%B4%D4/FC:3:010100:1D3BF3
206:*t*i=4025648&sn=110258895&q2=%BE%BE%B9%DF%B4%D4&dv=a&w=
28a5a5262728292a2b2c2d2e2f30313233&dw=2a&vl=A&vn=6::ms=%25BE%25C
6%25B1%25EE&ck=27130007&rf=27130007&eq=110258895%2C20070702::*g
esomoon.gameshot.net/zboard/zboard.php?id=web_china&no=182644 accessed on
July 3, 2008)
All the examples from (217) to (222) written in bold above display the co-existence of two contradictory linguistic elements: the HT *nim* and an incongruous lexeme. Nevertheless, it is noticeable that this phenomenon is easily observable in online communication. For instance, the Yahoo search engine returned 235,000 instances of *pa.po* ‘fool’+ the HT *nim*, within a year of May 18, 2009. Even though honorification is morphologically marked by the HT *nim*, the semantic role of the HT *nim* is no longer retained by joining an incompatible, vulgar lexeme. This kind of linguistic strategy adopted by Korean netizens does not show respect to the addressee or the referent, in opposition to Lee’s (2000) broad assumption that the HT *nim* is used...
as a means of showing respect to anyone regardless of an addressee’s social traits. Noticeably, conjoined by a contradictory lexeme, the examples above give rise to negative connotations, different from those given by the examples from previous sections. The HT nim no longer plays its genuine, polite semantic role. Thus, I refute Lee’s broad assumption of utilizing nim as a way of showing respect regardless of social traits in terms of using nim for paradoxical effect. Besides lexically and semantically weaker constraints, it is astonishing that the HT nim accompanies a change in grammatical status. This issue will be discussed in the following section.

### 4.3.1.2.4 Nim as a Second Person Pronoun

It has been cross-linguistically observed that a number of words and affixes have originated from other words or larger constructions. This process is also observed in the Korean language. For instance, in Korean, many lexical items have originated from syntactic constructions, and minor categories such as adverbs, particles and affixes have developed from major categories such as nouns, verbs and adjectives (H. Sohn, 2001). For instance, according to H. Sohn, the conjunctive adverb kuliko ‘and’ developed from ku-li ha-ko ‘does so’ and kulena ‘but’ comes from ku-le-ha-na (that-way do/be-but) ‘does /is so but’ An inflectional suffix such as -ess/-ass has originated from the resultative existential construction –e/-a isi (INF exist) ‘be in the state of doing/being.’ The following examples from (223) to (227), however, illustrate that the grammaticalization process is no longer unidirectional when it comes to Korean casual online situations.
<님 Nim as second person pronoun>

(223) 님들 읽어보시고 댓글 좀...

nimtul ilkeposiko tayskul com...

‘Dear you, please read it and reply to it.’

(224) 저가 이례의 것도 못은 느낌 드립니다 왜죠 아세요?

nimtul ceyka ilaypoyto mescimmom ipnita wayncwulaseyyo?

‘Hey, you guys, unexpectedly, I am a cool guy. Do you know why?’

(225) 저를 싫으세요?

nimtul. ce silheuseyyo?

‘Hey you, do you dislike me?’

(226) 동의 글을 읽으면서....

nimuy kulul ilkumyense....

‘While I was reading your words...’

(227) 부탁 드립니다. ^^*

nimeykey pwuthak tulipnita.^^*

‘Would you do me a favor?’

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Cross-linguistically, there has not been a single example of the unique grammaticalization process where an affix becomes an independent word. By unique grammaticalization process, I mean, the HT nim, which is conventionally a suffix, can also function as a second-person pronoun in online situations. While J.-B. Lee(2000) provided an initial point that the HT nim appears as a second-person pronoun, he did not discuss the motivation behind the unprecedented grammaticalization process of the HT nim through a semantic shift. In fact, there are several second-person pronouns in the current Korean lexicon, and they reflect the relative social hierarchy between the speaker and the addressee. In terms of the second-person pronouns, H. Sohn (2001) classified them into five different speech styles: plain (ne), intimate (ca.ki), familiar (ca.ney), blunt (tang.sin, tayk) and deferential (e.lu.sin) from lowest to highest (H. Sohn, 2001), as illustrated in examples\(^{18}\) (228) to (232) where second-person pronouns are written in bold.

\[(228)\text{Hwun-a } ne \text{ eti } ka-ni?\]
\[\text{Hoon VOC you where go-Q}\]
\[\text{‘Hoon! Where are you going?’}\]

\[(229)\text{Caki -ya, eti ka?}\]
\[\text{you VOC where go}\]
\[\text{(Honey), where are you going?’}\]

\[(230)\text{Caney eti ka-na?}\]
\[\text{you where go-Q}\]
\[\text{‘Where are you going?’}\]

\[(231)\text{Tayk un eti ka-o?}\]
\[\text{you TC where go-BLN}\]
\[\text{‘Where are you going?’}\]

\(^{18}\) Abbreviations are adopted from H.Sohn (2001). VOC stands for vocative, Q for question marker, TC for topic-constrast particle, BLN for blunt speech suffix, SH for subject honorific suffix, AH for addressee honorific and IN for indicative mood suffix.
(232) *Elusin  eti  ka-si-p-ni-kka?*  
you where go-SH-AH-IN-Q  
‘(Sir) Where are you going?’

According to H. Sohn’s description, in (228) the plain level *ne* is generally used by the speaker to any child or between close adult friends whose friendship began in childhood. The intimate level *caki* in (229) is a recent innovation used to one’s spouse or girl- or boyfriend. In (230) the familiar level *caney* is used by a male adult to an adolescent. The blunt level *tangsini* or *tayk* in (231) is steadily disappearing due to its authoritative connotations. In modern Korean, the deferential second-person pronoun *elusin* in (232) is rarely used. It refers exclusively to a respected male of over sixty years of age. Moreover, despite the existence of multiple second-person pronouns, they are not used by younger speakers to address older persons and also they are rarely used with unfamiliar people regardless of age (J.-W. Park, 1997, p. 517).

Given that Korean is an honorific language and there is no suitable second-person pronoun that creates casualness and familiarity in online communication while conveying politeness regardless of age, it is plausible that netizens have been looking for a new agreeable address term to fill this need. In response to this, netizens may have generally accepted the HT *nim* as a new address in online communication.

It is also worth capitalizing on three important factors in assuming that *Nim* as a second person has developed from the current HT *nim*. First, both HT *nim* and *Nim* as a second-person pronoun are associated with address terms. Second, both of them are marked for politeness. Third, given that *nim* has two dictionary entries, one as a noun meaning “lover” and the other as the HT, it is more compelling that the latter may have a greater influence on the emergence of *Nim* as a second-person pronoun rather than the former.
A similar case can be cross-linguistically observed. For instance, Polish has several second-person pronouns. Among them, a group of second-person pronouns shares the same root *pan*-. It is noteworthy that the *pan*- series (such as *pan*, *pani* and *panna*) have evolved from Mr. /gentleman, Mrs./lady, or Miss, and they are all marked for politeness (Feldstein & Franks, 2002, p. 66). Upheld by cross-linguistic data, again, it is reasonable to assume that the second-person pronoun *Nim* has developed from the HT *nim* in online communication.

In fact, *Nim*, as a second-person pronoun, has a great advantage in online communication. General online communication typically requires Korean netizens to take into account factors such as social status, kinship, age and gender. In a situation which highlights unfamiliarity or anonymity, the choice of address terms becomes more difficult. *Nim*, as a new grammatical category, allows netizens to contract the variability of all those aforementioned factors. Whether the situation is anonymous or unfamiliar, it should be highlighted that the newly emerging second-person pronoun *nim*, to a large extent, contributes to successful online communication by creating familiarity and informality, while maintaining its genuine, polite semantic role.

Besides the online use of the HT *nim*, another unique syntactic aspect can be also captured in investigating a new nominalization process which I will discuss in the following section.

4.3.1.2.5 Nominalization in KNL

Korean, as an SOV language, is predicate-final. However, J.-B. Lee (2001) points out that the predicate-final ending is not as predominantly observed as it once was in casual online situations. Rather sentence endings increasingly feature nominalization by utilizing a nominalizer suffix – *(u)m*. Furthermore, he assumes that the nominalization process not only helps netizens type faster by reducing the number of syllables, but also avoids honorifics. I, however, demonstrate in this section that Lee’s generalization is inadequate with regard to a new nominalizer suffix –*seym*,
which I have observed in my online data. It is worth mentioning that -seym has derived from the combination of the subject honorific suffix and the polite sentence ender. Before going any further, I briefly describe the characteristics of the Korean language in terms of Korean honorifics, Korean sentence types and nominalization processes to help better understand how a new nominalizer suffix –seym emerged online.

Korean sentences are classified into four types: declarative, interrogative, propositional and imperative. These four sentence types are marked by various sentence enders, each of which consists of one of more inflectional suffixes; at the same time, these sentence enders reflect six different speech forms. The most popularly used form is the polite speech form, which ends with a-yo/e-yo. For example, to make a polite form out of the dictionary entry iss-ta ‘exist,’ one needs to take the stem iss (the part after dropping –ta) and then add the sentence ender either e-yo or a-yo depending on the vowel of the stem, in this case, e-yo, leading to iss-e-yo. This sentence ender contains three syllables, whereas the nominalization of iss-e-yo yields only two syllables iss-um ‘existence/having’ by replacing e-yo with a nominalizer –(u)m. Given that Korean is an honorific language, and that netizens communicate with people of different ages online, typing different sentence enders would be very inconvenient. Given this situation, J.-B. Lee (2002) generalizes that the nominalization of the predicate is an effective way not only to reduce the number of syllables but also to avoid the honorifics, leading to a neutral environment.

Based on my observations, the following examples (233) to (237) draw special attention in that all the nominals end with –seym but not by the conventional nominalizer-(u)m.
(233)님이사기도박조심하세요
nimtul sakitopak cosinhaseym
‘Dear you guys Please watch for beware of scams and gambling.’
(http://c.rd.empas.com/e.tsp?/%C7%CF%BC%C0/FC:A:1000110::/*i=966803&sn=196059776&q2=%C7%CF%BC%C0&dv=b&w=2bd55656558595a5b5c5d5e5f60616263&dw=d5&vl=R&vn=1:ms=%25B4%25D4%25B5%25E9&ck=10450076&rf=10450076&eq=196059776%3A20081114::/*web2.humoruniv.korea.com/board/mgr/read.html?code=w_love5&number=120800 accessed on November 15, 2008)

(234)타블로책주문하세요
thabullo chay cwumwunhaseym
‘Please order Tablo’s book.’
(http://c.rd.empas.com/e.tsp?/%C7%CF%BC%C0/FC:A:1000110::/*i=1171804&sn=193589822&q2=%C7%CF%BC%C0&dv=b&w=24656666668696a6b6c6d6e6f70717273&dw=d5&vl=R&vn=1:ms=%25C5%25B8%25BA%25ED%25B7%25CE&ck=10410001&rf=10410001&eq=193589822%3A20081106::/*tvzonebbs2.med ia.daum.net/griffin/do/enter_place/read?fbsId=A000001&articleId=1724347 accessed on November 8, 2008)

(235)동물원가세요
tongmwulwen kaseym k k k k k k
‘Let’s go to the zoo. (snicker)’
(http://c.rd.empas.com/e.tsp?/%B0%A1%BC%C0/FC:A:4:1000110::/*i=906270&sn=193963439&q2=%B0%A1%BC%C0&dv=b&w=28a5a526272892a2b2c2d2e2f30313233&dw=a5&vl=R&vn=1:ms=%25B5%25BF%25B9%25B0%25BF%25F8&ck=10450019&rf=10450019&eq=193963439%3A20081031::/*web2.humoruniv.korea.com/board/mgr/read.html?code=w_qust2&number=230417 accessed on December 31,2008)
Even Lee’s corpus includes this new nominalizer suffix –seym, as illustrated in his data, *cep.sok.ha.seym ‘please log in,’ yet he did not capture the emergence of a new nominalizer suffix. Nonetheless, this new nominalizer suffix has been so widespread that it is listed in the dictionary *Khemphyute thongsin ene sacen* (‘Net-Lingo Dictionary’; Cho et al., 2002).

In the process of nominalization, it is conventional to attach the nominalizer –(u)m to the stem of the predicate. For instance, the nominalization process of the dictionary entry, *cep.sok.ha.ta ‘to log in’* is represented in (238).
(238) 접속하
cep.sok.ha (stem, meaning ‘to log in’)

⇒접속하-ㅁ
cep.sok.ha-m
log in –NOM(nominalizer suffix)

⇒접속함
cep.sok.ham
‘logging in’

In case the subject should be honored, adding the subject honorific suffix (SH) –si- is necessary after the stem. To clarify, the nominalization process of the dictionary entry, cep.sok.ha.ta ‘to log in’ and the honorific suffix –si- is represented below:

(239) 접속하
cep.sok.ha (stem, meaning ‘to log in’)

⇒접속하-시
cep.sok.ha-si
log in-SH(Subject honorific suffix)

⇒접속하시-ㅁ
cep.sok.ha.si-m
log in-SH-NOM(nominalizer suffix)

⇒접속하시
cep.sok.ha.sim (surface representation)
‘logging in’

However, in (239) the surface representation cep.sok.ha.sim is not consistent with the example, cep.sok.ha.seym displayed by J.-B. Lee (2001). Although he overlooks the final morpheme –seym, the frequent observation of – seym in online situations lead me to believe that they that are virtually stabilized as a new nominalizer suffix online, and my interest lies in how – seym instead of – sim is generated.
Building on my examined data, I propose that a new nominalization process is derived from a polite honorific sentence ending. In the following example (240), the same dictionary entry cep.sok.ha.ta is used to show a new nominalization process distinguished from the previous example (239).

(240) 접속하다
cep-sok-ha (stem, meaning ‘to log in’)

⇒ 접속하-시
cep.sok.ha-si
log in –SH (subject honorific suffix)

⇒ 접속하시-어요
cep.sok.ha-si–e.yo
log in –SH -POL (polite sentence ender)

⇒ 접속하-세요
cep.sok.ha–sey.yo
log in - the combination of SH and part of POL

⇒ 접속하-세
cep.sok.ha–sey–yo
log in  deletion of –yo

⇒ 접속하세-ㅁ
cep.sok.ha–sey–m
log in-SH-part of POL-NOM

⇒ 접속하셈
cep.sok.ha.seym (surface representation)
‘logging in’

The difference between the conventional and the new nominalization processes lies in the fact that the latter goes through more steps: applying the polite sentence ender e.yo and then joining of SH si with e, which is part of the POL, followed by the deletion of yo before adding the nominalizer suffix –m. Please note that in the new nominalization process, following the
Korean phonotactic constraint, \( si[ɾi] \) and \( e[ə] \) are combined, yielding \( sey \ [ɛ] \). Finally the combination of \( sey \ [ɛ] \) and the conventional nominalizer suffix \( -m \) creates a new nominalizer suffix \( -seym \ [sɛm] \). Thus, it is plausible to assume that \( -seym \) as a new nominalizer suffix is marked for politeness in that it originated from the combination of SH (subject honorific suffix) and POL (polite ending suffix). In online communication, \( -seym \) has practically functioned as a new nominalizer suffix, which can simply be appended to the stem of the predicate. For instance, under a new nominalization process, predicates such as \( ha.ta \ ‘to do’ \) and \( ka.ta \ ‘to go’ \) would be simply nominalized as \( ha.seym \ ‘please go’ \) and \( ka.sem \ ‘please do (it),’ \) respectively, by adding \( -seym \) after the stem \( ha \) and \( ka \), respectively.

It is important to highlight two points: first, \( -seym \) is strongly associated with the nominalization of propositional and imperative sentences. Offline predicates of both propositive and imperative sentences cannot be nominalized, whereas in online situations, \( -seym \) is employed in nominalizing them. In this sense, \( -seym \) provides insight on the grammatical change from predicates to nominals. Second, as opposed to J-B. Lee’s (2001) generalization that netizens nominalize predicates to avoid honorifics and create a neutral environment, I argue that honorific connotation is still reflected in the nominalization in that \( -sey[sɛ]- (from seym) \) originated from the combination of subject honorific suffix \( si[ɾi] \) and part of the polite sentence ending suffix \( e[ə] \). The polite meaning is self-contained in its own right. In addition to being marked for politeness, from an economic standpoint, utilizing \( -seym \) makes it possible to reduce the number of key strokes in online communication.
Again, it is worth emphasizing that the online platform is just as much a source of grammatical change as it is of lexical innovation. Finding clear signs of Net-Lingo can be easily obtained in dealing with lexis, which is the topic of the next section.

4.4 Lexis

Lexical items are the vocabulary of a language. As already noted in 2.1.1, they are identified in relation to “the set of words and idioms given distinctive use within a variety” (Crystal, 2001, p. 8). Crystal (2001) claimed that one of the most general linguistic features is mainly found in the lexical domain where it is relatively easy to introduce innovation and deviation. Given that salient linguistic characteristics are, to a large extent, also represented at the orthographic, morphological and syntactic levels, his claim becomes less generalizable; at the same time, he did partly explain why a great number of new words and expressions have arisen out of the Internet. The following two subsections will show how netizens agreed to shape new KNL and ENL lexicons in online situations. In section 4.4.1, I introduce words which have already been used offline but feature semantic shifts online, leading to new meanings, and in section 4.4.2, I introduce words which are newly coined on the Internet.

4.4.1 Semantic Shift

4.4.1.1 Semantic Shift in KNL

KNL lexicons are largely divided into two categories: Words with semantic shifts and newly created words online.

Korean Netizens have noticed that original meanings of existing lexemes disappeared in online situations; instead, they have been taken over by new meanings. As noted in section 2.1, Kwon (2000) observed that existing offline words such as sap.cil ‘shoveling’ and to.pay.ha.ta ‘to
wallpaper’ have different online meanings: ‘the action of clipping (copying) someone’s message’ and ‘for one person to leave a number of comments or replies consecutively,’ respectively. In addition to these words, my data collected from Cyworld club bulletin boards feature semantic shifts of other existing offline words in online situations as in Table 28.

Table 28 Examples of Words with Semantic Shifts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Offline Meanings</th>
<th>Online Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cam.swu</td>
<td>Diving</td>
<td>A sudden disappearance online</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kko.li</td>
<td>Tail</td>
<td>A short reply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tal.ta</td>
<td>To hang</td>
<td>To leave (a comment or reply)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kkang.thong</td>
<td>An empty can</td>
<td>Subject only post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nal.li.ta</td>
<td>To fly</td>
<td>To send an e-mail or a text message</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ssip.ta</td>
<td>To chew</td>
<td>To ignore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakk.i.ta</td>
<td>To be caught (in case of fishing)</td>
<td>Hooked by a flamboyant headline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phwu.ta</td>
<td>To scoop</td>
<td>To clip someone’s materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phey.in</td>
<td>Outcast</td>
<td>The Web-familiar generation that communicates primarily in cyberspace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Em.chin.a</td>
<td>Mom’s friend’s son</td>
<td>Mr. Perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Em.chin.ttal</td>
<td>Mom’s friend’s daughter</td>
<td>Ms. Perfect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The meanings of those terms listed in Table 28 are frequently used with different meanings online. All of those terms, except for the last three, are already listed in the dictionary Khemphyute thongsin ene sacen (‘Net-Lingo Dictionary’; Cho, et al., 2002). The last three terms, as recent innovations, are also rapidly gaining popularity. The Yahoo search engine showed 14,200,000 instances of phey.in, 5,080,000 of em.chin.a and 3,110,000 of em.chin.ttal, within a year of May 21, 2009.

4.4.1.2 Semantic Shift in ENL

With regards to ENL, none of the previous studies mentioned existing offline lexemes with semantic shift online. My recent observations of The Rivals.com UGASports message board
reveal that some words are characterized by semantic shifts. For instance in (241) *German(s)* does not refer to ‘people of Germany.’ It means ‘an old idea or ‘old news or ‘old stuff.’ The term originates in a scene in the movie *Animal House*, where John Belushi’s character Bluto delivers an inspirational monologue to his depressed fraternity members. He asks “was it over when the Germans bombed Pearl Harbor?” Although the Germans did not bomb Pearl Harbor, HI, announcing that Pearl Harbor has been bombed is old news, and since it is assumed that UGASports message board members in general have seen *Animal House*, the term is easily understood. Random samples, collected from the UGASports message board (http://uga.rivals.com/forum.asp?sid=878&fid=859). To save space, some of the original texts have been modified and ellipted.

(241) This may be Germans, but Georgia beat Tennessee today. (accessed on October 18, 2008)  
Mitt Romney would be instilling a lot more confidence as Pres elect (link) Germans by now, but he wrote a very good editorial AGAINST the auto bailout Tuesday in the beloved NY Times in the link below.... (accessed on November 19, 2008)

Maybe Germans, but Nicki Meyer selects Georgia Tech (video link). You couldn't be more German if you were wearing tight leather pants (accessed on December 3, 2008)

BCS Buster Scenario??..(maybe german) (accessed on December 8, 2008)

Another example comes from one of the most beloved online terms, *google*, which originated from the trademark for a search engine, GOOGLE. Along with the trademark, the term *google* has been also used as a verb meaning ‘to search information on any kind of search engine’ as
illustrated in (242), collected from yahoo.com. To save space, some of the original texts have been modified and ellipted.

(242) A look at some surprising results returned when I **googled** myself
(http://crm2.typepad.com/brents_blog/2006/09/what_i_found_wh.html accessed on September 10, 2008)

Wine & Roses, Lodi, CA: Beautiful Hotel - I missed warm water. ... other local hotel was booked, and I **googled** hotels in the Lodi area and found Wine and Roses. ...
(http://www.tripadvisor.com/Hotel_Review-g32640-d113794-Reviews-or10-Wine_Roses-Lodi_California.html accessed on December 20, 2008)

I would have to address the subject of what it means to the Search Market when smart MBA students are saying things like “I much prefer to **Google** on Yahoo!”

I **Googled** him on Yahoo!
(http://feedblog.org/2006/10/28/i-googled-him-on-yahoo/ accessed on July 7, 2008)

My data corroborate an earlier observation by a member of a Google blog team, Krantz (2006), whose headline was “Do you Google?” as illustrated in the following examples including a passage from *The New York Times*:

Example: Jim sent a message introducing himself and asking, ‘Do you want to make a movie?’ Mr. Fry recalled in a telephone interview from his home in Buda, Tex. ‘So we Googled him, he passed the test, and T called him. That was in March 1996; we spent the summer coming up with the story, and we pitched it that fall.’ (the passage from a New York Times article in May, 2005)

Example: I googled him on the well-known website Google.com and he seems pretty interesting.
Our lawyers say: Well, we're happy at least that it's clear you mean searching on Google.com. As our friends at Merriam-Webster note, to "Google" means "to use the Google search engine to find information about (as a person) on the World Wide Web.
Example: I googled him on Yahoo and he seems pretty interesting. Our lawyers say: Bad. Very, very bad. You can only ‘Google’ on the Google search engine. If you absolutely must use one of our competitors, please feel free to ‘search’ on Yahoo or any other search engine.

According to Wikipedia.com, google was first recorded as a verb on July 8, 1998, by Larry Page, co-founder of the Google web search engine, who wrote on a mailing list: "Have fun and keep googling!" Google, as a verb, was named as “the most useful word of 2002” by the American Dialect Society (Google) and was officially added to both the Oxford English Dictionary and to the 11th edition of the Merriam-Webster Collegiate Dictionary in July, 2006.

Along with adopting existing lexemes, both Korean and English netizens, who are fluent in Net-Lingo, have also found another way to communicate online, which I will discuss in the following section.

4.4.2 New Lexis

Given Catelles’ (1997) point that the Internet is a communication medium with its own logic and its own language, it is natural that the Internet is a fertile ground for newly coined words, which have been cross-linguistically observed in both KNL and ENL.

4.4.2.1 New Lexis in KNL

Since Internet service began in South Korea in 1994, scholars (e.g., Inha University, 1997; Kwon, 2000, J.-G. Lee, 2003) have observed that creative netizens have started to invent their own Internet lexemes. As illustrated in section 2.1, both Inha University (1997) and Kwon (2000) have characterized words such as cho.ting ‘an elementary school student’, cwung.ting ‘a middle school student’ and ko.ting ‘a high school student’ as newly coined online and used exclusively online. My data, however, show that their observation is out-of-date (more on this in section 5.2).
My data, collected from websites and Cyworld, show that the Internet is accelerating the number of newly coined lexemes. One distinctive characteristic in the lexical level is the creation of onomatopoetic expressions, which are genuinely created online. Some of the examples, listed in the dictionary *Khemphyute thongsin ene sacen* (‘Net-Lingo Dictionary’; Cho, et al., 2002) are displayed in Table 29.

### Table 29 Examples of KNL Words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>he.kek</em> or <em>hel</em></td>
<td>The action of dropping jaws: used for a surprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kkwu.pek</em></td>
<td>The action of bowing: used when one enters or leaves the online situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>say.sya.syak</em></td>
<td>The sound of clothes lightly rubbing together caused by one’s sudden departure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hwi.li.lik</em></td>
<td>The whooshing sound of someone leaving quickly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sya.la.lak</em></td>
<td>The whooshing sound of someone leaving quickly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It is the same as <em>hwi.li.lik</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pweyk</em></td>
<td>The vocalized sound of a sigh of frustration or anger (e.g. huh of pfff)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to these samples in Table 29, the samples in Table 30 deserve special attention due to their high frequency; all were reported within a year of May 21, 2009.

### Table 30 Additional Examples of KNL Words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
<th>Frequencies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>el.ccang</em></td>
<td>The best face :<em>el.kwul</em> ‘face’ + <em>ccang</em> ‘best’</td>
<td>40,900,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mom.ccang</em></td>
<td>The best looking body <em>mom</em> ‘body’ + <em>ccang</em> ‘best’</td>
<td>22,900,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(s)sayng.el</em></td>
<td>A face without makeup <em>(s)sayng</em> ‘living’ + <em>el.kwul</em> ‘face’</td>
<td>15,640,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Examples</td>
<td>Meanings</td>
<td>Frequencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ci.lum.sin</em></td>
<td>The imaginary ghost that makes one spend money impulsively.</td>
<td>11,300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sya.pang.sya.pang</em></td>
<td>Twinkle. Twinkle : mainly used to describe a good looking person.</td>
<td>8,070,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wan.so.nam</em></td>
<td>The completely precious man : <em>Wan.cen</em> ‘completely’ + <em>so.cvung.han</em> ‘precious’ + <em>nam.ca</em> ‘man’</td>
<td>2,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>toyn.cang.nye</em></td>
<td>Young women who want to live like the characters in “Sex and the City, such as drinking a premium coffee and wearing brand named clothes.”</td>
<td>2,440,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mom.kkwang</em></td>
<td>The worst looking body <em>mom</em> ‘body’ + <em>kkwang</em> ‘with a bang’</td>
<td>556,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>el.kkwang</em></td>
<td>The worst face <em>el.kwul</em> ‘face’ + <em>kkwang</em> ‘with a bang’</td>
<td>310,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kan.ci.na.ta</em></td>
<td>To be stylish : <em>kan.ci</em> ‘feeling’ in Japanese + <em>na.ta</em> ‘to come about’</td>
<td>166,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is noticeable that the list of words illustrated in Table 30 is strongly associated with one’s appearance. New lexemes are “a mirror of society,” according to Yang (2007, ¶ 3). Given that teenagers, who Merchant (2001) characterized as “the innovators” (p. 305), are overwhelmingly influential to the emergence of Net-Lingo, in my opinion, one of their values, such as an attractive appearance in this stage of their lives, seems to be projected in all the examples above.

The decline of netiquette (e.g., Crystal, 2001; Hansson & Bunt-Kokhuis, 2004) has also been detected in the Korean online communication. One such term, *ak.phul.le* ‘netizens who leave flames’ has been coined in consequence. Some of the Korean netizens disregard netiquette especially in an anonymous environment; these flamers have been so aggressively powerful that they affect famous Korean celebrities’ lives, even driving some to suicide.

Now let us turn to ENL.
4.4.2.2 New Lexis in ENL

A large number of words and expressions have sprung up on the Internet, and they are mainly categorized as three subsets, according to Crystal (2001). The first category is related to software terms such as file, edit, view, insert, paste, toolbars, etc., which allow netizens to use the Internet. The second category is associated with hardware terms including freeze, down, lock and crash. Finally, the last category is connected with terms for people on the Internet themselves including netizens, netters, surfers, cybersurfers and wizards. All these aforementioned examples by Crystal have been well situated over time, and they seem to be indispensable to our lives. Besides these examples, recently coined terms are strongly associated with Internet addiction such as “google-stalking,” “ego-surfing” and “keyboard warriors.” “Google stalking” refers to “finding old friends and lovers” (Yang, 2007, ¶ 1) using the website www.google.com. The definition of “ego-surfing” is most accepted as “using a search engine to look for references to oneself on the internet” by users of urbandictionary.com. “Keyboard warriors” are generally identified as those who express “unnecessary rage in their written communications and are regarded as “losers by other virtual identities on the internet,” according to urbandictionary.com. The term “keyboard warriors” in ENL is cross-linguistically consistent with a newly coined KNL term ak.phul.le, meaning “flamer.”

Distinctive characteristics of Net-Lingo are also recognized on a discursive level, which I will present in the following section.

4.5 Discourse Features

This section looks into the use of paralinguistic cues. Both ENL and KNL are marked by discourse features such as emoticons.
4.5.1 Discourse Features in KNL

One of the most noticeable characteristics in online communication is to use paralinguistic cues such as emoticons in discourse. As noted earlier in section 2.1.1, emoticons were identified by Crystal (2001) as “combinations of keyboard characters designed to show an emotional facial expression” (p. 36). The use of emoticons in online communication has been cross-linguistically observed, and the motivation to use them has also been discussed. Scholars have generally attributed the emergence of emoticons to the constraints of online communication where speech is null. Gao (2004), in his study of CIL, pointed out that netizens commonly utilize emoticons to compensate for the discomfort of online communication where sounds, visual, and physical signs are absent. Similar to Gao’s explanation, Merchant (2001), in his observation of the use of Internet chat rooms by teenage girls, remarked that emoticons “seem to substitute for some of the paralinguistic features that one may expect in a similar face-to-face interaction” (p. 301).

Emoticons are so popular, especially among teenagers, that e-commerce sites (e.g. www.skysms.co.kr) selling emoticons are increasing in number. They often allow netizens to download free emoticons, and they also sell a variety of emoticons which are either made by those sites or by netizens themselves. They also have a paid service for netizens to send emoticons as gifts to their friends’ cellular phones.

It is also noteworthy that emoticons are so widespread that they are frequently employed in Internet literature. For instance, a popular teenage Korean Internet novelist, GwiYeni, uses emoticons extensively throughout her novels, and as a result, her novels are known as emoticon novels. The following passage from (247) to (252), which is from one of her famous novels ku nom.un mes.iss.ess.ta ‘The Guy Was Cool’ (http://blog.naver.com/ys_s?Redirect=Log&logNo=20062538677), accessed on March 12, 2009,
illustrates how the author visually communicates with online readers. Emoticons, are written in bold and described in the bracket “< >”.

(243) "왜그래 무슨 일 있어? ㅇㅅㅇㅇ "
   “Way kulay mwusunil isse? ㅇㅅㅇㅇ”
   “What is the matter?”
   < ㅇㅅㅇ ㅇ  indicates a curious face>

(244) "아, 아냐. 아무일도 없어 ^^;"
   “a, anya. amwuilto epse ^^;”
   “No, nothing.”
   < ^^;; indicates a smiley face>

(245) "아닌 것 같은데? 너 숨기고 있는 것 있구나? 뭐야? -_- "
   “anin kes kattuntey? ne swumkiko issnun kes isskwuna? mweya?-_- "
   “Are you serious? You are hiding something. What is it?”
   < -_-  indicates an angry face>

(246) "아니래두 -0-!"
   “anilaytwu -0-!”
   “I told you that it’s nothing.”
   < -0- indicates a yawning>

As shown in the above examples, the author does not rely on words alone to describe characters’ emotions, feelings and body gestures; instead, she utilizes emoticons whose visual effects allow readers to capture the author’s message quickly. Hansson and Bunt-Kokhuis (2004) also pointed out that in online communication, using images is one way to speed up communication. In terms of categorizing her Internet novel as a type of literature, there are critics who believe emoticon novels are not a type of literature in its traditional sense. Nevertheless, the use of emoticons in literature seems to be well accepted. Not only are new emoticon novels steadily coming out, but also they are landing offline as screenplays for movies targeted toward younger generations (this issue will be more elaborated in section 5.2). In fact, a
number of Internet novels have been made into movies (this will be more elaborated in section 5.2). It is worth recapitulating that the use of emoticons in online communication has noticeably increased, and its next stage of development may lead to a visual language as a new way of communicating online. In a sense, my view is consistent with the description of Hansson and Bunt-Kokhuis (2004) that “visual language is considered to be one of the hottest areas in the humanities” (p. 7). In one way, written language is moving back to its origins, since the earliest examples of writing were pictorial” (p. 7). Observations on emoticons in KNL can also be generalized to other languages, such as ENL, which will be investigated in the following section.

4.5.2 Discourse Features in ENL

Just like nearly all scholars mentioned in the previous section, netizens created paralinguistic cues to supplement the shortcomings of online communication as they were originally intended, given the history of emoticons. According to Inews24 (I-H. Kim, 2007), these revolutionary inventions were created by a professor, Scott Fahlman, who specifically suggested that they be used to express emotions on one of the bulletin boards at Carnegie Mellon University on 19 September 1982 at 11:44 P.M, as shown below (Emoticon).

19-Sep-82 11:44    Scott E Fahlman             :)  
From: Scott E Fahlman <Fahlman at Cmu-20c> 
I propose that the following character sequence for joke markers:

 :-) 

Read it sideways. Actually, it is probably more economical to mark things that are NOT jokes - given current trends. For this, use      :-(
It is striking that the first two emoticons :-) and :- ( had already celebrated their 25\textsuperscript{th} birthday in 2007. Nowadays, popular search engines such as MSN, Yahoo and Google offer freely downloadable emoticons. The number of emoticons is steadily escalating. Emoticons such as smileys can be simple, whereas others are more complicated and detailed to such a degree that informative reference sites are providing a list of emoticons and their meanings\textsuperscript{20}. Crystal (2001) observed that emoticons are placed in sequence on a single line and laid after the final pronunciation of a sentence, as in “hi :)” and “I hate you :-P (representing someone sticking out their tongue).” However, such an observation is no longer valid when it comes to the following examples (247), (248) and (249) collected from public websites relating to a celebrity, Britney Spears. Some of the original texts have been modified to save space, and, “X” is used to replace the personal name.

(247) X, The white stuff under her Eye is called Makeup. Most women wear it. Get it right lol. How stupid is it to come on a site where we all love Britney, and diss her. Go on a different site. HATER !! lmao <3 Britney :D

(248) I <3 Britney Spears.
(from http://www.mystrands.com/group/iheartspears accessed on March 5, 2009)

(249) I <3 Britney Jr. Jersey T-Shirt

One of the recent emoticons,”<3” represents a heart or love. In the examples above, this emoticon appears at the beginning of the sentence, as illustrated in “<3 Britney :D.” Sometimes it is also used to replace the verb \textit{love}, as in “I <3 Britney Spears” by appearing in the middle of the sentence. Another piece of evidence for wider distribution of emoticons, contrary to

Crystal’s observation, comes from members’ comments on a YouTube video clip, “Twouble with Twitters: SuperNews!”
(http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PN2HAroA12w&feature=related), accessed on May 21, 2009, as displayed in examples from (250) and (253). The meanings of emoticons are described in the bracket “< >”.

(250) LMAO i’m loving this....Twitter seems almost as bad myspace...lol i love the rational guy : ) cause he was so right 
( :) indicates a standard smile)

(251) I say go with it if its fun ^_^ and for celebrates its a safe way for them to manage their stalkers
(^_^ indicates a smile)

(252) exactly why you should join Moonia my new invention xD lmao siek
(xD indicates a big smile with closed eyes)

(253) lmao XD so true.
(XD indicates a big smile with closed eyes)

(254) XD I’m one of the lucky few who have not been brainfucked by this site you call Twitter. :I
(XD indicates a big smile with closed eyes)

(255) xD This is funny
(xD indicates a big smile with closed eyes)

(256) LOL the fail whale XD...the funny thing is twitter is only used by old people or people who have no lives...
xD Om, what is Twitter? is it a chat website or something? XD Lol, I should watch the news more often
(XD indicates a big smile with closed eyes)

In discussing how emoticons are believed to develop, different studies have presented different views. While Crystal (2001) viewed emoticons as products which resulted from limitations of a written language, Baron (2000) attributed the emergence of emoticons to youngsters’ lack of communicative skills by mentioning the paucity of emoticons in adults’ e-
mails. Baron (2000) underestimated teenagers’ contribution to the way they change the language to meet their own needs.

It is strongly believed that the linguistic characteristics of Net-Lingo are those of teenagers (Gao, 2004; Randall, 2000; Wardhaugh, 1998). For instance, Randell, known for the book *Lingo Online*, points out that “[Teenagers] recreate the language in their own image. But this new lingo combines writing and speaking to a degree that we’ve never seen before” (as cited in Axtman (2002)). He calls teenagers the “keyboard generation” (as cited in Axtman (2002)). Wardhaugh (1998) also remarked that “the young are usually in the vanguard of most [language] changes” (p. 202). Without doubt, Net-Lingo is mainly created by the younger generation and in consequence, emotions are reflective of the keyboard generation. In discussing the motivations underlying the creation of emoticons, aside from limitations of written language noted by Crystal (2001), it should be also noted that teenagers’ sociolinguistic motivations such as creativity, innovation, and differentiation, play an important role in the era of typed communication. Given that the Internet is a global phenomenon, such motivations are cross-linguistically discussed in Gao (2004), who investigates the identity issues in the use of CIL. He claimed that the desire to construct an attractive identity is one of the driving forces in the way Chinese teenagers create CIL. He further elaborated his claim by outlining several types of attractive identities.

-entertaining and interesting
-technologically well informed and being able to keep up with social developments
-modern, fashionable and cool
-internationally oriented and transnational
-unconventional and even rebellious
-young, fresh, and innocent.

It is important to mention that teenagers’ contribution to Net-Lingo, part of which lies in sociolinguistic motivations, should also be acknowledged rather than being harshly criticized as communicative skill deficiency. In a sense, teenagers may make their communicative skills more concise and effective than adults by utilizing compact visual effects of emoticons to express their feelings as in : - ) and physical gestures as in “:P” rather than phrasing “I am smiling” and “I am sticking out my tongue at you” in a traditional writing. Furthermore, they unquestionably make their communicative skills universal. Given the globalization of the Internet and the language contact, different from the physical contact, emoticons can be a useful means of global communication online. For instance, smileys are universal, and ENL emoticons such as “<3” and “:P” will be easily comprehensible to non-English speaking netizens. In this sense, emoticons are a sign of the construction of “youth identity that reflects and also builds youth culture across the globe” (Gao, 2004, p. 129).

Chapter 4 has presented systematic descriptions of salient linguistic properties of KNL and ENL respectively from various aspects. Following the descriptions, I also presented initial points from which one can better capture the mechanisms that govern those observable linguistic characteristics.

At the orthographic level, I demonstrated that vowel deletion does not occur arbitrarily, and it is triggered by the relationship between vowel height features. I also suggested that both vowel and consonant deletion phenomena in ENL reflects actual speech in everyday language as a whole in that none of the deleted vowels are pronounced in the spoken language of English.
Both KNL and ENL also feature spellings of actual pronunciation. For KNL, while D.-G. Park (2002) proposed that the spellings of actual pronunciation are “reflection of realistic conversation” (p. 9), His proposal is only applicable to netizens’ spelling practice from the central region of South Korea (including Seoul) in that offline colloquial speech of non-central regions does not feature the substitution of the endings aforementioned. My data provided a new justification that these spelling practices –ye from –yo and –wu from –o are so widespread regardless of regions that they have nearly become standard in online communication. For ENL, spelling practices such as kinda, realli, funni, yup and dunno are shown to be greatly influenced by the way people actually talk in order to create a casual online environment.

The use of English letters, numbers and other symbols are shown to be economically driven. J.-S. Lee (2003) attributes such practice to effective syllable reductions. In contrast, I suggested that such practices help minimize the number of keystrokes rather than the number of syllables, as in the comparison of the ENL example be4 with its full counterpart, “before.”

Each Net-Lingo is also highlighted by its own linguistic characteristics: consonant addition for KNL and de-capitalization, lack of apostrophe and all-capitalization for ENL.

In the KNL situation, while previous scholars’ emphasis was on the interpretations of an added consonant, the question on how specific consonants such as -ng and -p[p’] are added in a coda position still needs answering. I proposed that the -ng addition is presumably rooted in the Korean diminutive suffixes, among which those with a final consonant in one of the syllables all feature –ng in a coda position. I also suggested two plausible underlying mechanisms of –p[p’] addition: One is associated with the influence of the non-standard spelling of the English word “yep” on KNL and the other is linked to sound symbolism in the Korean sound system, supported by Na’s (2003) study on Korean names, in which –p [p’] as a coda is only found in
men’s first names. For ENL, in discussing the motivation for all-capitalization of the word, Crystal (2001) characterized such spelling practice as a means of “shouting.” In contrary to his characterization, I suggested that the capitalization of one word in a sentence is most likely used for emphasis rather than “shouting” as illustrated in “i LOVE playin basketball.”

In the aspect of morphology, I demonstrated that there is a detectable increase of consonant only acronyms for KNL, such as *ch kh* from *chwu.kha* ‘congratulations,’ *k s* from *kam.sa* ‘thanks,’ *c s* from *coy.song* ‘sorry’ and *kh kh* and *h h* ‘onomatopoetic expressions for laughter,’ which is different from traditional Korean acronyms based on the initial syllables of words.

I also showed that both KNL and ENL acronyms no longer involve syntactic constraints. They can be created based on whole sentences, even to subjectless sentences. ENL acronyms based on subjectless sentences especially provide an opening to investigate English subject ellipsis online. While previous studies did not capture contact effects between Korean and English in online situations, KNL morphological processes represent the impact of English on KNL. In the KNL situation, I also proposed that certain morphemes are so productive in creating neologisms that now they are worth of being considered as affixes online.

Represented at the syntactic level, I suggested that English subject ellipsis commonly occurs in casual online situations, and it is also governed by the four linguistic environments: anaphoric deletion, dummy subject, deixis and conventional expressions. I also proposed that asterisk bracketing plays an important role in governing subject ellipsis online. It is worth emphasizing two important points: first, asterisk bracketing is a newly established mechanism underlying subject ellipsis exclusively in online communication. Second, from a syntactic perspective, asterisk bracketing gives rise to third person interpretation in subject ellipsis, contrary to Nariyama’s (2004) argument that first person, to a large extent, is associated with the referent of
subject ellipsis. While subject ellipsis characterizes ENL, unconventional uses of a Korean honorific title (HT) *nim* and a nominalization process of the predicate characterize KNL from a syntactic viewpoint.

Offline, the HT *nim* is mainly preceded by three categories: social titles, kinship terms, and personal names, and it is triggered by social factors such as social status, kinship, age and commercial benefits. What is salient in online, communication, however, is that it is less triggered by semantic and lexical constraints. Weaker constraints are supported by the example *ma.nwu.la* + *nim* (or *ma.nwul.nim*) ‘wife + HT’ in that *ma.nwu.la* ‘wife’ connotes a husband’s disrespect towards his wife in its conventional use. The evidence of weaker constraints can also be obtained through a paradoxical use of the HT *nim* where it co-exists with a semantically incompatible lexeme such as *pa.po* ‘fool’ + *nim*. While J.-B. Lee(2000) generalizes that in online communication, the HT *nim* is used as a means of showing respect regardless of addressee’s social traits. I, however, argued that the co-existence of contradictory linguistic elements does not show respect to the addressee or the referent. Rather, it is used for paradoxical effects.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of the HT *nim* lies in the fact it can function as a second-person pronoun, which leads to a grammatical change. Since Korean is an honorific language and there is no suitable second-person pronoun that can facilitate casual and familiar online communication, Korean netizens may have commonly adopted the HT *nim* as a new address term, yielding the birth of a second-person pronoun.

Another piece of evidence for grammatical change was captured through a new nominalization process. According to J.-B. Lee (2000), in online situations, sentence endings are increasingly marked by the nominalization process by appending a conventional nominalizer suffix –*(u)m*; he claims that part of the motivation for this phenomenon is to avoid honorifics.
Avoiding honorifics, however, is not justified when it comes to a newly emerging nominalizer suffix –*seym*, in which both the subject honorific suffix –*si* and the polite sentence ender –*e.yo* are applied in the underlying representation. Thus, the polite meaning is self-contained and exists in its own right.

At the lexical level, common methods of neologisms were found in both Net-Lingoes such as semantic shifts online and new created online lexis. In both Net-Lingoes, I partly attributed language creativity to teenagers’ sociolinguistic motivations.

From a discursive perspective, emoticons are shown to be cross-linguistically useful in online communication. It is worth mentioning that emoticons can contribute to the global communication online by using such cues as smileys, which are universally comprehensible. The investigation of linguistic characteristics of KNL and ENL also informs research on other aspects. In the light of findings made in this chapter, Chapter 5 will address issues such as language contact, the influence of Net-Lingo on offline domains and language education for KNL.
5 Discussions and Implications

This chapter examines contact effects between Korean and English online, and subsequently, it explores the influence of Net-Lingo on various offline domains. Finally, it discusses the pedagogical implications of Net-Lingo.

5.1 Contact Effects With Foreign Languages in Online Situations

The ever-growing globalization of the world is well captured in Kachru’s (1994) statement that “[English] has established contact with practically every language family, both formally and functionally” (p. 135). In the traditional paradigm of language contact, there has been an abundance of research to characterize language contact across the world, a significant body of which has involved the influence of English on other languages (Kachru, 1994). On the other hand, in the new millennium, with the globalization of the Internet and increasing online communication, one can witness that the interaction between different languages is also being carried over to online situations, leading to a new type of language contact, that is, language contact online.

Given that online contact is likely to be easier and faster than traditional contact in the era of the Internet, I envision that language contact online will be more dynamic and wield greater influence over language change. In this sense, investigation of online contact effects between languages will not only “complement studies on language contact in its traditional sense” (Gao, 2004, p. 127), but also “gain greater insights about linguistic creativity” (Kachru, 1994, p. 136), contributing to the emergence of a new language variety, Net-Lingo.
Cross-linguistic studies commonly highlight the impact of English on other languages. Just as English has had a high profile in terms of its traditional contact with other languages (Kachru, 1994), its high-profile status has also been carried over to online situations. It has been globally reported that English is the dominant language online, and the impact of English on other languages is noticeably increasing, leading to “hybrid languages” (p. 1), as termed by Hansson and Bunt-Kokjuis (2004). Examples of hybrid languages are Spanglish—Spanish influenced by English (Stavans, 2003), Denglish—German influenced by English, Franglais—French influenced by English (Johnson, 2004), and Swenglish—Swedish influenced by English (Hansson & Bunt-Kokjuis, 2004). In addition, the Englishization of modern Chinese (Gao, 2006) can also be included in the group of hybrid languages.

In the Korean situation, given the fact that South Korea has the eighth-highest number of Internet users in the world, numbering more than 34 million, or an Internet usage rate of 66.5% as of June 2007 (see section 1.2.2), it is not astonishing that the penetrated use of the Internet in Korea prompts frequent Korean–English contact online and in turn accelerates the impact of English on the Korean language. Nevertheless, contact effects with English online were not recognized in previous studies of KNL. English, as the globally dominant language, will continue to grow in the Korean language for the foreseeable future. Thus, it is valuable to discuss how KNL adopts English from a linguistic perspective. Based on my data, the influence of English on KNL can be represented from various linguistic perspectives.

**Orthographic influence**

The first evidence comes from the orthographic viewpoint. As demonstrated earlier in section 4.1.3.1, Korean netizens have borrowed English letters to substitute for Korean letters with the
same or similar pronunciation such as G[ci].lal ha.meyn D[di].cin.ta as [ci.lal ha.mjən di.jiın.da]

‘You better listen, or I will straighten you out.’ [ci] and [di] in Korean are similar to G[ʤi] and the same as D[di] in English. Other examples for using English letters include BoAyo for Po.a.yo [bo.a.yo] ‘let’s see’ and RG? for al-ci?[al.ji]? ‘You know that, right?’ While Korean netizens have adopted English letters themselves, they have also accepted an English phoneme and spelled it in Korean. A good piece of evidence is captured in the consonant addition phenomenon in KNL. Korean netizens have noticed that a consonant, p [p’], is frequently added at the end of Korean words such as neyp from ney ‘yes.’ As already mentioned in 4.1.4.1, this consonant addition phenomenon in KNL has been commonly agreed upon as a sign of conveying decisiveness, definite ending, or strength (J.-G. Lee, 2003; D.-G. Park, 2002). In discussing what motivates the –p [p’] addition to appear in coda position, I have suggested two possible underlying mechanisms, one of which I propose is rooted in a contact effect with English. Given that casual online situations are strongly associated with the emergence of Net-Lingo, Korean netizens have probably been affected by a nonstandard spelling of the English word “yep” in that not only does it signal colloquial speech, but also connotes more resolve than the standard English word “yes.” It is probable that Korean netizens took the final English phoneme –p [p’] from the word “yep” and added it to the corresponding Korean word ney ‘yes,’ leading to neyp.

While scholars such as D.-G. Park (2002) and J.-G. Lee (2003) focused on documentation for the use of English letters in Korean online communication, they did not specifically discuss the impact of English on KNL. The use of English letters or an English phoneme in the creation of KNL is emphasized as one of many illustrations of the contribution of English to KNL in a new type of language contact.
Besides adopting English letters and an English phoneme, one of the most striking effects that English has on KNL can also be observed at the morphological level.

**Morphological influence**

Across languages, there have been findings about the morphological influence of English. For instance, Gao (2006), in his study of Chinese language online, observed that “Chinese netizens have modeled on English in the creation and use of certain expressions, such as the abbreviations (which I term acronyms in this study) PP (‘beautiful’, from piaopiao in pinyin), jj (‘elder sister’, from jiejie in pinyin), DD (‘younger brother’, from didi in pinyin) and TMD (‘goddamn’, from tamadi in pinyin)” (p. 304). Similarly, in Korean online situations, acronyms have been viewed as one of the most frequently observed characteristics in KNL. Conventional Korean acronyms are created based on syllables; this traditional rule for Korean acronyms is not always applicable to newly emerging acronyms online such as ch kh from chwu.kha ‘congratulations,’ k s from kam.sa ‘thanks,’ c s from coy.song ‘sorry,’ and kh kh and h h as onomatopoetic expressions for laughter. It is remarkable that all these new online acronyms are based on the initial letters of words, just like English acronyms. Of course, there are critics who believe that these new acronyms violate the conventional rules of the Korean language. Nevertheless, according to a survey by the Korean Intellectual Property Office (Choi, 2007), these innovative acronyms are so pervasive online that they are becoming targets of corporate marketing. This issue will be elaborated upon in section 5.2. Given the increasing number of nontraditional and innovative acronyms and their high frequency, these newfangled acronyms lead us to believe that the influence of English on KNL is not confined to simply borrowing
English letters. It is quite noteworthy that the means of English word formation are also being adopted by Korean netizens.

The influence of the means of English word formation is also found in the process of blending. As mentioned in 4.2.2.1, the combination of the first syllable of a Korean word and the second syllable of an English word represents a large portion of KNL blending, which is illustrated in three groups of blendings relative to their semantic role. The first group of blendings consists of the first syllable of a Korean word followed by the second syllable of the English word ‘chatting,’ conveying different scenarios of chatting such as mol.thing ‘secret chatting’ from mol.ay.ha.ta ‘to do something secretly’ + chay.thing ‘chatting’ and col.thing ‘chatting while nodding off’ from col.ta ‘to nod’ + chay.thing ‘chatting.’ The second group is related to a series of replies whose last syllable, phul [pʊl], is rooted in the second syllable –pl of repl– after the clipping process of the English word “reply,” as in mwu.phul [mu.pʊl] ‘no reply,’ ak.phul [ak. pʊl ] ‘flame,’ pey.phul [be. pʊl] ‘best praise,’ and sen.phul [sən.pʊl ] ‘praise.’ It is also worth mentioning that Korean netizens have not only adopted English words and a syllable, phul [pʊl], but also utilized an English suffix, –er, in the creation of new terms. The last group is made up of the second group of blendings followed by an English suffix, –er ‘person,’ referring to different types of netizens who leave a series of replies, as exemplified in mwu.phul.le ‘lurker,’ ak.phul.le ‘flamer,’ pey.phul.le ‘best praiser,’ and sen.phul.le ‘praiser,’ where –le ‘person’ in Korean is equivalent to –er in English. In terms of spelling English words in Korean, following the Korean phonotactic constraint, when an English –l in the coda position of one syllable is followed by an initial vowel of another syllable, the l–resyllabification occurs and the
English –r at the end of the word is deleted. As a result, for instance, $mvu.phul$ ‘no reply’ + –er is spelled as $mvu.phul.le$ ‘lurker’ in Korean.

Along with acronyms and blendings, it has also been found that Korean netizens frequently borrow English words and then shorten them (see section 4.2.3.1), leading to clippings. One of the salient characteristics of KNL clippings is that nearly all of these clippings originated from English words. Examples include $khem$ [kəm] from computer, $ay.ni$ [ə.ni] from animation, $hom.ph+i$ [hom.pi] from homepage, $su.pheyl$ [sǐ-pel] from spelling, and $li.phul$ [li.pʰl] from reply. KNL clippings clearly mirror the ongoing influence of English on KNL and demonstrate the impact of English in Korean online communication. Given that Korean netizens utilize parts of English words in the formation of KNL terms, it is assumed that they already know the complete English terms. If this is the case, accepting English words provides simplicity and convenience; this will be discussed below.

**Lexical influence**

One of the most noticeable impacts of English on KNL is represented through the lexicon. As the United States invented the Internet and English is a globally leading language, one could make a convincing case that non-English languages have simply adopted English terms themselves, which Hansson and Bunt-Kokjuis (2004) characterized as “outright adoption” (p. 4), as seen cross-linguistically in Swedish vocabulary including $CD-ROM$, $flash$, $e-mail$, $links$, and $OK$ and in Chinese vocabulary including $mao$ ‘modem,’ $Shichuang$ ‘windows,’ and $yimeier$ ‘e-mail’ (Gao, 2006).
Based on the data across languages, one notices that most of the adopted English terms are strongly linked to the use of the Internet (as in *e-mail, links*) or the use of the computer, including software (as in *windows*) and hardware (*CD-ROM, flash*). In the Korean situation, English terms associated with the Internet or the computer have been so widespread that they have become everyday terms, including *in.te.neys* ‘Internet,’ *hom.peyi.ci* ‘homepage,’ *win.to.wu* ‘windows,’ *i.mey.il* ‘email,’ *pu.lo.ku* [블] ‘blog,’ and *heylpu teysuku* [ヘルプデスク] ‘help desk.’ It is also evident that simple and easy English words are not spelled in the Korean alphabet; instead, they have been directly adopted from English, such as *CD* and *DVD* and greeting expressions including *hi, hello,* and *good-bye,* as found in (257) to (261) from the Cyworld club bulletin boards, where English words are written in bold (emphasis added). To save space and focus on this issue, some of the original texts have been ellipted.

(257) **Hi~안녕하세요.**
  *Hi~ annyenghaseyyo*
  ‘Hi~ hello.’
  (http://blog.naver.com/tlsthdms95?Redirect=Log&logNo=90025027568 accessed on December 3, 2007)

(258) **Hi!! 클럽을 만들라고 해서 만들었는데ㅋ**
  *Hi! khullepul mantullako hayse mantulessnuntey k*
  ‘Hi!! I made a Cyworld club because I was informed to do that’

(259) **모두들 hi~~~~~~~~~~~^^ 다들 잘지내고 있겠지요??**
  *motwutul hi~~~~~~~~~~~^^ tatul cal cinayko isskeyssciyo??*
  ‘Hi all ~~~~~~~~~~~^^ hope you guys are doing well’
Last but not least, the widespread influence of English can be also captured on the discursive level, which has also been recognized across borders. Gao (2006), in his study of language contact online between Chinese and English, quoted Jin’s (2000) statement that Chinese netizens are willing to offer and take compliments, which she attributes to the impact of English on Chinese (p. 305). Jin’s findings are comparable with the situation in Korea. Korean netizens have used an English greeting expression as a model to create a new way of greeting online. For instance, one of the emerging greeting expressions among Korean netizens is coh.un a.chim, which is literally translated from the English greeting expression ‘good morning,’ as illustrated below, where coh.un a.chim ‘good morning’ is written in bold.
(263) 좋은 아침  
cohun achim  
‘Good morning.’

(http://c.rd.empas.com/r.tsp/%C1%C1%C0%BA+%BE%C6%C4%A7/10C:3:0101 00:1703E48D::t/*http://club.cyworld.com/common/club_hub.asp?boardtype=1&club_id=50920684&board_no=79&item_seq=165942110 accessed on January 20, 2009)

(264) 좋은 아침. 아침에 일어나기가 우찌 그리 힘든지  
cohun achim. achimey ileankika wucci kuli himtunci  
‘Good morning. How hard to get up in the morning!’


(265) 좋은 아침 오늘은 또 뭘 해먹어야하나?  
cohun achim onulun tto mewl hay mekeyahana?  
‘Good morning. What should I cook again today?’

(http://c.rd.empas.com/r.tsp/%C1%C1%C0%BA+%BE%C6%C4%A7/10C:3:0101 00:1703E48D::t/*http://club.cyworld.com/common/club_hub.asp?boardtype=1&club_id=50920684&board_no=79&item_seq=165942110 accessed on January 20, 2009)

In fact, there are corresponding, longstanding Korean expressions such as an.nyeng or an.nyeng.ha.sey.yo, which are used conventionally in Korean people’s lives. Nevertheless, the literally translated English greeting expression coh.un a.chim ‘good morning’ is spreading out to online situations. This example, to a certain degree, corroborates earlier cross-linguistic documentation by Jin (2002), who stated that the impact of English on the Chinese language penetrated discourse and pragmatics, including “answering questions, expressing greetings and wishes and showing appreciation” (as cited in Gao, 2006, p. 305).

With ever-increasing online communication, I envision that the dynamic interaction between English, as a globally crucial language, and Korean is inevitable and will continue to increase. As a result, the investigation of a new type of language contact will be valuable for better understanding the emergence of KNL and, furthermore, the impact of English on KNL, which
subsequently contributes to the evolution of the Korean language in various domains of offline situations, which I will discuss in the following section.

5.2 Challenges to Offline Situations

The traditional sources of new words were the media and intellectuals, but now the Internet seems to be much more influential as “a treasure trove for newly coined words” (Yang, 2007, ¶ 1). According to JoongAng Daily, anonymous netizens are powerful in coining new words and ideas, so “one could say that democratization of language has been realized through the Internet” (Yang, 2007, ¶ 4). In the new millennium, it is observable that Net-Lingo has become pervasive not only in online communication, but also in offline communication, and it is having profound effects on people’s lives in various offline domains. My observation is also supported by Crystal’s argument that the “salient features [of Net-Lingo] . . . have already begun to be used outside of the situation of computer-mediated communication, even though the medium has become available to most people only in the past decade or so” (pp. 20–21).

In this section, I will present the evidence of how both KNL and ENL are affecting other language varieties in offline situations.

5.2.1 KNL in Offline Situations

First, KNL is spreading to the offline publishing industry. Due to the increasing number of KNL terms and expressions online and the influence of KNL on offline domains, the need arises to provide useful references for better communication. In response to this need, KNL terms not only are being constantly introduced in online dictionaries such as http://kr.dic.yahoo.com and http://dic.naver.com, but also have started to enter non-electronic dictionaries. For instance, an offline dictionary exclusively for KNL entitled Khemphyute thongsin ene sacen (‘Net-Lingo
Dictionary’; Cho et al., 2002) was published for the first time in 2002, followed by another dictionary, Saceney Epsnum Mal Sincoe (‘New Words Not in the Dictionary’; The National Institute of the Korean Language, 2007). In the previous section, I claim that the influence of English on KNL is observable at the lexical level, and the fact that both dictionaries list a number of KNL terms that were borrowed from English supports my claim. In those two dictionaries, examples include pul.lo.ku ‘blog,’ pul.lo.ke ‘blogger,’ sa.i.pe. ma.ni ‘cyber money,’ sa.i.che ‘cy(ber) (tea)cher’ (as a blending), seyl.kha ‘sel(f) ca(mera)’ (as an acronym), in.the.neyt.song ‘Internet song,’ i.le.ning ‘e-learning,’ su.phaym.phon ‘spam or marketing calls or text messages coming to one’s cellular phone,’ na.i.su ‘nice,’ i.mey.il ‘email,’ nik.ney.im ‘nickname,’ to.mey.in ‘domain,’ meyl.cin ‘e-magazine coming to your email,’ al.la.pyu ‘I love you,’ a.i.di ‘ID,’ ay.ni ‘animation,’ khem(te) ‘computer,’ pho.syap ‘photoshop,’ hom.pi ‘homepage,’ ki.phu.ti.khon ‘emoticon as a gift delivered to one’s cellular phone or a messenger’ (as a blending coming from the combination of gift and emoticon), ney.pha.la.chi ‘a paparazzi-like netizen who secretly leaves a post about a celebrity’s personal life,’ neys.pho.the ‘a netizen reporter who writes a news on the Internet,’ ti.kha ‘digital camera,’ and phu.lo.chwu.e ‘a very good amateur, but not a professional.’

Besides offline dictionaries for KNL, Internet novels have emerged from the offline publishing industry. In section 4.5.1, I illustrated a Korean Internet novel titled ku nom.un mes.iss.ess.ta ‘The Guy Was Cool’ by a teenage author whose penname is GwiYeni, meaning ‘the cute one’ in Korean. This online novel was so popular that it has been published offline, and it has become a bestseller “with sales of more than 200,000 copies since being published” (Asia Pulse News, 2003, ¶ 13). Subsequently, this novel was translated into Chinese with sales of over 600,000 copies. A number of Internet novels have continued to make their way offline, such as
Temptation of the Wolf (2004), Outsider (2005), Five Stars (2005), and Syndrome (2007), and they are constantly gaining in popularity. In addition, high-profile novelists have started to use KNL terms in their print novels without first being published online in an attempt to appeal to young readers. For instance, headings of a recent paper novel, Ha.ak ha.ak by Yi Oi-Soo (2008), feature KNL terms and expressions such as ccen.ta ‘to be amazing/to be great,’ tay.lyak.nan.kam ‘being in a mostly awkward situation,’ khay.an.sup ‘very sympathetic’ (see section 4.2.4.1), and cul ‘have fun.’ In his interview with JoongAng Ilbo (J.-H. Kim, 2008), Yi Oi-Soo defined writers as ones who communicate with readers, and he further stated that he studies the language of young people and their interests by visiting various websites that they like and chatting with them online. Through his interview, one can see that this new trend of using KNL terms in traditional print media is appealing to traditional writers as they hope to appeal to potential young readers by narrowing the generation gap. Another initially printed paper novel, Hwang.hon ‘Twilight,’ also draws special attention. The KNL term an.sup is used in the novel, and it also features a new KNL prefix, ccang ‘very,’ which I highlighted as a newly emerging online prefix in section 4.2.4.1. Examples (266) and (267) from the novel are listed below:

(266) 이야기 짱 구질구질 하고 (p. 163)
    i.ya.ki ccang kwu.cil.kwu.cil. ha-ko
    talk/story very be dirty and
    ‘His talk is very dirty’

(267) 짱 어려워 (p. 260)
    ccang e.lye.we
    ‘very difficult’
    ‘(it is) very difficult’
Along with the publishing industry, the film industry has been catching up with Internet novels, “with many believing [online novels] have the potential for great success,” according to AsiaPulse News (2003, ¶ 3). Korean major movie producers are looking for promising Internet novels because recent movies such as *My Sassy Girl* of 2001 and *My Tutor Friend* in 2003 based on online fiction were big hits, with each attracting more than 5 million people to movie theaters (AsiaPulse News, 2003). Following these smash hits, other online novels such as *My Tutor Friend 2* in 2003; *The Guy Was Cool, 100 Days With Mr. Arrogant*, and *Temptation of the Wolf* in 2004; and *Jenny and Juno* in 2008 have also been made into movies. In addition to being used in movie scripts based on online fiction, KNL terms are constantly being employed in other original movie scripts, as shown in *Spy Girl* in 2004, *Seducing Mr. Perfect* in 2006, and *The 200 Pound Beauty* in 2006, and also in movie titles such as *Twu el.kwul.u ye.chin* (ye.chin is an acronym for *ye.ca chi.kwu*, ‘girlfriend’) ‘The Two Faces of My Girlfriend’ in 2007 and *Wul.Hak.kyo E.T.* (E.T. is an acronym for English teacher) ‘My School English Teacher’ in 2008.

Encouraged by the great successes in the film industry, the same phenomenon is reaching Korean soap operas (AsiaPulse News, 2003). For instance, Korean TV soap operas such as *A Cat in the Rooftop Room* (2003), *Sweet 18* (2004), *Coffee Prince* (2007), and *Hello, Baby* (KBS TV series; 2007) are based on online novels. TV dramas, including *Heart of Nineteen AKA* (KBS TV series) in 2006, *Palace aka: Princess* (MBC TV series) in 2006, and *Man More Than Flowers* (KBS TV series) in 2009 are largely characterized by the extensive use of KNL terms and expressions in order to appeal to youth culture, even though their scripts did not originate from Internet novels. KNL terms such as *khing.wang.ccang* ‘(the) best,’ *cwung.ting* ‘a middle school student,’ *an.sup* ‘evoking tears,’ *mweng.mi* ‘what,’ *ye.chin* ‘girlfriend,’ *nam.chin* ‘boyfriend,’ *em.chin.a* ‘Mr. Perfect,’ *em.chin.ttal* ‘Ms. Perfect,’ *sya.pang* ‘glittering,’ and *pey.phu* ‘best friend’
are frequently used KNL terms in the Korean media. Among these words, some contradict an earlier observation by scholars. As noted in section 2.1, studies from Inha University (1997) and Kwon (2000) have characterized a KNL term, *cwung.ting* ‘a middle school student,’ as an exclusively online term. My offline data from recent movies and soap operas, however, demonstrate that their statement is no longer valid, as this word has already been used in offline domains.

School essays are another domain affected by KNL. A.-Y. Kim (2007), in her research on Korean high school students’ use of KNL in their school essays, reveals that 161 out of 329 essays (approximately 49%) were highlighted by the linguistic characteristics of KNL. Similarly to my data shown in section 4, in Kim’s research, students’ writings also included linguistic characteristics such as the use of symbols (including excessive use of dots and exclamation points), spellings of actual pronunciation, emoticons, consonant-only acronyms (see 4.2.1.1), and newly coined KNL lexemes.

Another domain illustrating the offline challenge of KNL comes from people’s oral speech. The following data were drawn from interviews with popular Korean celebrities broadcast on Korean TV, with KNL terms written in bold:

(268)“...첫 키스 이후로 급여색해져서…”
...ches khisu ihwulo kupesayhayceyese...
First kiss after **sudden awkwardness**-become-and
“after the first kiss , suddenly (we) felt awkward and . . .”
Example (268) was drawn from a popular Korean actor’s answer in response to a question about how he and an actress felt after their first kissing scene in a soap opera (KBS TV series) titled *Man More Than Flowers*. During his interview, the use of a KNL prefix, *kup–*, in *kup.e.sayk* ‘very awkwardness’ is captured. Example (269) comes from a well-known female comedian’s oral speech in answering the question of whether she would like to say a word to her boyfriend on TV. It is noteworthy that she refers to her boyfriend with a KNL acronym, *nam.chin* ‘boyfriend,’ which originated from the first syllables of the words *nam.ca* ‘man’ + *chin.kwu* ‘friend.’ Example (270) is especially noteworthy in that it was drawn from a middle-aged actor’s oral speech, in which he used a KNL term in responding to a question about his children. His expression *tak.pon.sa* is also an acronym derived from the combination of the first syllables of three words: *tak.chi.ko* ‘without any hesitation’ + *pon.pang.song* ‘the first run of the show’ + *sa.swu* ‘desperateness.’ These three oral interview samples demonstrate that Korean Net-Lingo terms and expressions are included in a portion of people’s oral speech, even among members of the older generation. An article from *Asia Economy Newspaper* (Moon, 2008) also
reported a famous female actress’s offline use of KNL terms. A famous middle-aged actress, Yi Mi-Sook, who plays the role of a mother in a current KBS TV soap opera titled eytenuy tongccok ‘East of Eden,’ is known for using KNL terms with young celebrities off the set of the soap opera. The article documents that the famous middle-aged actress calls younger celebrities nim.\textit{a} (nim ‘you’ followed by a vocative particle \textit{a}) meaning ‘hey, you,’ which I characterized as a newly surfacing online second-person pronoun in section 4.3.1.2.4.

If it has been observed that middle-aged people are using KNL in their daily speech, it is easy to presume that teenagers also use KNL in their oral speech. In an interview with teenagers done by a major Korean newspaper, \textit{DongA.com} (H.-J. Lee, 2008, ¶ 5), a seventh-grade student whose last name is Seo stated that “I by myself will be in an unpleasant situation of not understanding my friends’ offline conversation unless I catch up with the latest KNL terms and expressions. Even teachers are trying to be on the Internet to search for KNL terms and expressions due to students’ use of KNL in class.” In this example, the need to update one’s knowledge of KNL, regardless of generation, shows that contemporary society is strongly influenced by the Internet, which itself encourages language change, and that KNL, as a product of the Internet, functions as a unique bond between and within generations.

Given all of the above offline domains influenced by online terms and expressions, it is no wonder that KNL has surfaced as a new resource in the music industry. For instance, a song title by Korean female singer Lee Young-Eun features a KNL acronym, \textit{wan.so ku.tay} (\textit{wan}.cen \textit{so.cwung.han} ‘the most precious’), meaning ‘the most precious dear.’ Another piece of evidence is a new KNL term, \textit{syapang.hay} ‘glittering,’ which is found in lyrics from a song by the Korean band Humming Urban Stereo.
It is also astonishing that companies are integrating KNL terms and expressions into their trademarks and branding. According to the *Korean Economy Daily* (S.-M. Cho, 2006), since 2000, a number of companies have registered KNL terms as their trademarks. As of February 2006, the morpheme *ccang* ‘best/very’ had been registered 644 times and *kang.chwu* ‘strongly recommended’ had been registered 23 times. In more detail, *mu.hus* ‘satisfaction’ was registered for Korea Yakult Co., *sya.pang* ‘glittering’ for Orion Confectionary, and *phyey.in* ‘the Web-familiar generation that communicates primarily in cyberspace’ for Wise Cat, an online game company. Besides these KNL terms, *Chwu.kha* ‘congratulations,’ *wen.chwu* ‘wanted and recommended,’ *ha.i.lwu* ‘hello,’ *yel.kong* ‘study hard,’ and *hel* ‘the action of dropping jaws: used for a surprise’ were also enlisted as registered trademarks. This adds to the legitimacy of the use of Net-Lingo, as companies are willing to invest their advertising money by copyrighting and trade marketing Net-Lingo terms. Commercial entities are surely reaching out to their customers using an emerging language: KNL.

Finally, the influence of KNL has reached more formal domains, such as newspapers. The potential impact of Net-Lingo on formal domains was cross-linguistically predicted by Gao (2006), who investigated CIL. According to him, “there is nothing intrinsic in CIL per se that forever prevents it from being employed in formal writing or speech” (p. 306). Although he did not specifically discuss the influence of CIL on formal writing, his prediction is being realized when it comes to Korean formal writing, as illustrated below, where KNL terms are written in bold and their meanings are provided in brackets “< >”.

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As illustrated in (271), an article from Chosun Ilbo, a major newspaper in Korea, on January 30, 2007, included a term, *wan.so.hwun.nam* from *wan.cen* ‘completely’ + *so.cwung.han* ‘precious’ + *hwun.hwun.han* ‘warm-hearted’ + *nam.ca* ‘man,’ leading to the meaning of ‘the completely precious warm-hearted man’ when it described a famous actor. Another major newspaper, DongA Ilbo, on October 30, 2006, described Cin-Cwu Hong, a Korean female golfer, as *phil.tu.el.ccang*. ‘the best/prettiest face on the field,’ as shown in (272). *El.ccang* is an acronym originating from the combination of *el.kwul* ‘face’ and *ccang* ‘best,’ meaning ‘the best face.’

The following example (273) is more noteworthy.
One of the major Korean newspapers, Chosun Ilbo, on November 22, 2006, employed a Net-Lingo suffix, –nye ‘woman,’ in one of its articles about a woman who works at the Korean embassy. The suffix –nye ‘woman’ was attached to the word tay.sa.kwan ‘embassy,’ leading to tay.sa.kwan.nye, lit. ‘an embassy woman.’ Compared to its formal expression, tay.sa.kwan.ey.se kun.mwu.ha.nun ye.ca ‘a woman who works at the embassy,’ the new expression tay.sa.kwan.nye ‘an embassy woman’ is concise yet comprehensive. Along with all the aforementioned examples, other KNL terms already introduced in section 4.2 such as em.chin.a ‘Mr. Perfect’ and em.chin.ttal ‘Ms. Perfect’ are frequently found in formal writing, as displayed below, where KNL terms are written in bold and spaces are modified for legibility.

(274) 눈에 띄는 연예계의 엽친아! (Hankook.Ilbo February 14, 2009)
nwuney ttayunun yeneyeyuyu emchina!
‘distinguished “Mr. Perfect” in the entertainment industry’
(http://news.hankooki.com/lpage/sports/200902/h2009021407153497630.htm accessed on March 1, 2009)

(275) 해외파 엽친딸· 주보라’ (Hankook.Ilbo February 19, 2009)
hayokypha emchnnttal ‘cwupola’
‘Ms. Perfect, Joo Bo-Ra from overseas’

The recent KNL terms em.chin.a ‘Mr. Perfect’ in (274) and em.chin.ttal ‘Ms. Perfect’ in (275) literally mean ‘my mother’s friend’s son’ and ‘my mother’s friend’s daughter,’ respectively, but
according to JoongAng Daily (Y.-R. Shin, 2009), both actually “refer to a person who is superior to oneself in every way and makes one feel inferior” (¶ 3). These examples seem to reflect part of teenagers’ stressful lives where they are frequently compared to their mother’s friends’ children, who are seen in a better light by their own mothers. Formal writings also make great use of KNL terms such as nam.chin ‘boyfriend’ and ci.mos.mi ‘sorry that I could not take care of you,’ as illustrated in (276) and (277).

(276) 남친, 메신저백·워셔블 니트로 멋지게 (JoongAng.Ilbo, January 19, 2009)

namchin, meysincepayk-wesyepul nithulo mescikey
‘Make your BF stylish with a messenger bag and a washable sweater.’

(277) “크루즈 지못미지못미지못미지못미”…주연 졸리로 대체 (DongA Ilbo, August 15, 2008)

“khulwucu ci mos mi” . . . cwuyeon collilo taychey
‘Sorry (Tom) Cruise, main character replaced by (Angelina) Jolie’

Aside from adopting KNL terms and expressions, formal writings are gradually adopting online prefixes such as kup– ‘sudden.’ As mentioned in 4.2.4.1, the prefix kup– ‘sudden’ has had limited use with certain nouns strongly linked to speed, degree of angle, or disease. On the other hand, in online situations, this morpheme has less restriction in terms of co-occurring nouns, leading to new KNL terms, one of which was observable in Korean newspapers, as illustrated below, where the KNL term kup.man.nam ‘sudden meeting’ is written in bold. To save space, some of the original texts have been modified and ellipted.
Amy shows off her sociable traits by having a sudden meeting with Chris, a songwriter who wrote an album for a Korean singer, Song Ho-Young.

KBO, 이병규 ‘급만남’ (Ilkan Sports April 23, 2008)

KBO, ipyengkyu ‘kupmanna’

‘KBO (Korean Baseball Organization), “a sudden meeting” with a baseball player, Lee, Byung-kyu’

KBO (Korean Baseball Organization), “a sudden meeting” with a baseball player, Lee, Byung-kyu’


Kimyena kotayhoycang, inchenkonghang ‘kupmannam’

‘Yuna-Kim and Korea University’s SGA president’s sudden meeting at Incheon International Airport’


In fact, the prefix kup– was also captured in kup.e.sayk ‘very awkward or great awkwardness,’ which comes from a popular Korean actor’s oral speech as illustrated in example (268).

Examples (278), (279), and (280) confirm my argument that we are in the phase of adopting KNL not only at the lexical level, but also at the morphological level, as exhibited by the degree of influence KNL has in various offline domains.

In section 4.1.3.1, I mentioned that Korean netizens are using English letters and numbers in online communication. It should also be noted that this use is spreading not only to informal writing, but also to traditional media such as newspapers (JoongAng Daily). For instance, as already mentioned in 4.1.3.1, the KNL term 2MB consists of the number two followed by the initials of the South Korean president’s full name, Lee Myung-Bak. Sometimes, only the initials
of his first name are employed, as illustrated in (281) to (283), where his initials are written in bold. To save space, some of the original texts have been modified and ellipted.

(281) 서 의원은 머리를 긁으며 "MB가 하도 복잡하게 하니 우리도 힘듭니다. 잘 할랍니다."라고 말했다 (JoongAng Ilbo, January 28, 2009)

서의원은 머리를 긁으며 "MB가 하도 복잡하게 하니 우리도 힘듭니다. 잘 할랍니다."라고 말했다 (JoongAng Ilbo, January 28, 2009)


(282) 한국의 이명박 대통령은 '2MB'라는 이니셜 겸 별명으로 곤욕을 치르고 있다. (JoongAng Ilbo, June 25, 2008)

한국의 이명박 대통령은 '2MB'라는 이니셜 겸 별명으로 곤욕을 치르고 있다. (JoongAng Ilbo, June 25, 2008)

(283) 소위 MB 노믹스의 '747' (JoongAng Ilbo, August 2, 2008)

소위 MB 노믹스의 '747'

As expected, in examples (281), (282) and (283), the use of the president’s first name initials has penetrated the online and offline domains, such that MB has become the president’s nickname. Again, it is worth highlighting that the Internet increasingly expedites contact between English and Korean and subsequently the impact of the former on the latter, leading to the accelerating process of globalization both online and offline.

Ultimately, KNL impacts Korean language education. According to MBC News (H.-W. Kim, 2007), the Korean government decided to introduce an elective high school course beginning in 2012 that includes discussion of various phenomena arising from KNL. With the introduction of courses such as this in South Korea, KNL involves pedagogical implications. This will be further discussed in section 5.3.
In this section, I have provided data showing the influence of KNL on various offline domains. They validate my claim that Net-Lingo’s reach and its influence are no longer bound to the Internet; it is making its way into other language varieties, even formal offline situations, “signifying the completion of language change initiated by the online use of electronic language” (Gao, 2006, p. 306).

Similar to my observations of KNL, my data also demonstrate that ENL is having effects on offline domains. These effects are not happening as quickly as the effects of KNL, but the impact of ENL is gaining visibility, which I will discuss in the following section.

5.2.2 ENL in Offline Situations

Up to now, the impact of ENL on offline domains has been less influential, compared to that of KNL. Nevertheless, it is making gradual inroads into various offline platforms.

Just as observed in the KNL situations, the English publishing industry recognizes the prevalence of ENL in people’s daily lives and includes a number of ENL words in dictionaries. For instance, the 2000 edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* updates 62 words, many of which are related to the Internet, such as *e-commerce*, *cybersquatting*, *e-tailer*, and *screenager* (meaning a Web/computer-obsessed teenager), “representing the changes in our culture” (McCarthy, 2000, ¶ 1).

There has also been a detectable influence of ENL on college students’ essays. A study reported by the BBC (2003) documents that a famous quote from Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, “To be or not to be, that’s the question” is coded as “2be or not 2be that’s?” in school essays, and the title of Samuel Beckett’s play *Waiting for Godot* is also coded with numbers and a symbol, leading to “w8ing4go” (as cited in Hansson & Bunt-Kokhuis, 2004, p. 6).
Ongoing changes in people’s oral speech, especially younger people’s speech, also portray the influence of the Internet. A recent newspaper article reported struggles of communication between parents and their adolescent children. According to an article reported by *USA Weekend* (L. Shin, 2004), the writer’s 19-year-old daughter is constantly saying things like “BRB.” The writer did not understand what her daughter meant. Finally, the daughter rolled her eyes and explained what she meant: “Be right back.” As expected from this instance, the Internet has been so pervasive in young people’s lives that they use Net-Lingo terms when they are either online or offline, and in turn, the linguistic character of the Internet is also becoming the linguistic character of teenagers (Baron, 2000; Gao, 2004; Hansson & Bunt-Kokhuis, 2004; Wardhaugh, 1998), both online and offline.

Similar to Korean corporate marketing, American companies are caught up in the Net-Lingo trend. It is worth mentioning that acronyms, as a popular means of word formation for Net-Lingo, are emerging in American corporate branding and marketing messages. For instance, according to *Brandweek* (2007), Domino’s Pizza, a franchise pizza chain found commonly in college and university towns, advertised a new pizza product that it labeled the *BFD*, which it specified “is an acronym for another kind of Big Deal, only this one switches out the ‘Fantastic’” (¶ 2). Based on my own data, Saks Fifth Avenue, in advertising mailer postcards, also featured the acronym *BOGO*, meaning buy-one-get-one. The use of the acronym BOGO was also observed on a poster in the window of a Charlotte Russe® retail store in a mall in Alpharetta, Georgia (see Figure 9).
Besides acronyms, the use of emoticons is an additional means of attracting young consumers with branding. It is remarkable that emoticons born on the Internet are surfacing as a fresh resource to enhance corporate marketing and sales, especially targeting youth. PepsiCo®, makers of Pepsi Cola®, recently started using emoticons to decorate a series of soft drink cans in the summer of 2008 and paper drink cups in the spring of 2009. Given that Pepsi consistently markets to youth (in the 1980s, its slogan was “The Choice of a New Generation”), using emoticons conveys its message effectively: Its product is in line with the values and communication style of the younger side of society.

In this section, I have illustrated pieces of evidence that reflect the influence of ENL on different offline platforms. Compared to the influence of KNL offline, until now, the uptake of ENL into offline situations has been relatively slow. Nonetheless, all of the above examples lead me to believe that our lives in the 21st century are more and more reliant on the Internet, and
ENL, as a product of the Internet, will continue to bring noticeable change in other varieties of English, even in formal writing. In this sense, Net-Lingo will serve “as doors and keys to open up new ideas and worlds” (Yang, 2007, ¶ 6).

This growing influence of Net-Lingo in various spheres of our lives also involves pedagogical implications (Gao, 2004; Hansson & Bunt-Kokjuis, 2004), especially regarding the Korean language, which exhibits the accelerating influence of KNL, and the Korean government’s decision to provide an elective high school course concerning KNL starting in 2012. This issue will be discussed in the following section.

5.3 Pedagogical Implications

As mentioned earlier in section 5.2.1, in South Korea, the influence of KNL has increased to the point that it has prompted the Korean government’s decision to create a new elective high school course called ‘media language’ including KNL, which will be added to the Korean school curriculum in 2012. According to MBC News (H.-W. Kim, 2007), the South Korean government recognizes that the media, including the Internet, TV, and radio, are increasingly affecting various spheres of Korean people’s lives, such as politics, society, and economics, and the language used in the media (including KNL) is becoming a large portion of the language that people use in contemporary society, yielding a third language, which has been similarly referred to as “a third medium” by Crystal (2001). Nevertheless, no previous school curriculum has offered a course that provides insights into the significant linguistic influence of the media. The government envisions that expanding language education to the sphere of real life will facilitate students’ understanding of the Korean language as a whole, and by discussing linguistic characteristics of the media with constructive criticism, students may better meet linguistic
challenges. In the long run, the course will help students improve their linguistic abilities. In response to this, how do Korean educators in South Korea view the government’s decision?

While they generally support the new course, educators have expressed different views on the degree to which their students should use the third language. Some hold very conservative opinions. According to H.-Y. Lee (2004, p. 90), teachers should educate students to use KNL in online situations exclusively so as not to violate the rules of standard language. Others are somewhat more liberal, such as C.-E. Jeong (2004, pp. 40-41), who recommended teaching KNL to middle-school students. Based on his research, he argued that with proper instruction on KNL, students not only approach KNL with more criticism, but also use it more discreetly. D.-G. Park (2002, p. 4) said that there are positive and negative consequences of KNL, but that many previous studies may have overemphasized the negative ones. He argued that KNL can facilitate communication and that educators should make students aware of the negative side of KNL. Despite the debates, the bottom line is that the use of KNL is becoming more and more widespread in both online and offline platforms and is already being recognized as a national issue.

With the new Net-Lingo course in South Korea, KFL (Korean as a Foreign Language) educators outside South Korea, including me, must inevitably face the question of whether KNL should be introduced into the KFL classroom. If KNL is accepted in the classroom, to what extent should teachers incorporate KNL into their instruction? In response to these questions, I make a few suggestions on how to incorporate KNL into KFL instruction.
The Teacher’s Role

KFL learners can easily access both online and offline Korean media outside the classroom because of worldwide Internet access and global distribution of other Korean media (TV and movies via satellite, DVD, video-sharing sites, newspapers, etc.). Furthermore, the influence of *Hallyu* increases interest in Korean language and culture. As long as we live in the era of the Internet, the emergence of Net-Lingo is unavoidable. Therefore, I argue that KNL is an indispensable supplement to the Korean language, and hence it deserves a robust portion of KFL instruction. Consequently, teachers must question the extent to which they should incorporate KNL into the classroom.

At this point, I claim that it is safe to introduce frequently occurring lexemes with distinctive categorization: newly coined words online (such as *wan.so.hwun.nam* ‘completely previous warm-hearted man’), words with counterparts in everyday language (such as *nam.chin* vs. *nam.ca.chin.kwu* ‘boyfriend’), and existing offline words with semantic shifts online (such as *sssip.ta* meaning ‘to chew’ offline, versus ‘to ignore’ online). Introduced to both KNL and everyday language terms with the same meaning and both online and offline meanings for the same lexeme, KFL students will not only expand their vocabulary, but also gain a deeper appreciation for the growing and changing nature of the Korean language and culture. In addition, given that certain morphemes as affixes have spawned many neologisms, the introduction of widespread affixes will also enrich the understanding of KNL.

Languages are constantly evolving, and now they seem to be evolving more rapidly than at any previous time. Thus, the description of the distinctive characteristics of KNL also requires a constant finger on its pulse. In response to this, educators’ updated knowledge of KNL is crucial to teaching Korean as a foreign language. Otherwise, learners may have difficulty understanding
KNL from both online and offline materials in Korean or communicating with Korean people, especially those of younger generations.

**Online Reference Sites for KNL**

KFL learners will need a robust KNL reference as they encounter new Net-Lingo terms both online and offline; an online reference site that contains KNL terms and their definitions in both Korean and English may be the most practical solution. There are already accessible online reference sites such as http://www.yahoo.co.kr and www.naver.com, but they all have limitations. At first, online reference sites were simple online dictionaries, providing only a portion of KNL words. While offline Net-Lingo dictionaries are available, non-electronic materials seem to become easily outdated for KNL. Furthermore, as both online and offline sources were originally made for native Koreans, they do not provide the meanings of words in English. Thus, except for advanced learners of Korean, it would be hard to comprehend the definitions of KNL terms. As they were not intended for KFL learners, they are inadequate for use in KFL instruction. Hence, creating an online reference website where users can find definitions for KNL words in both Korean and English would be desirable.

In chapter 5, distinctive linguistic characteristics of KNL and ENL were compared at the orthographic, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and discursive levels. Although KNL and ENL exhibit their own linguistic characteristics, both Net-Lingoes, to a certain extent, show cross-linguistically comparable tendencies in terms of how netizens shape a language online.

As one of the major characteristics of KNL, I pointed out the extensive use of English in KNL, which in turn provides insight into a new type of language contact.
English, as the leading language in the world, is influencing other languages, including Korean, both online and offline. I examined the contact effects between English and Korean online, and the impact of English on KNL was captured on the levels of orthography, morphology, and lexis. With globally increasing online communication, I predict that the interaction between English and Korean will be unavoidable and robust. Thus, research on a new type of language contact will be beneficial for gaining greater insight on how different languages interact and influence one another, which ultimately contributes to language change in multilayered offline situations.

I have also explored the influence of ENL and KNL on various offline platforms. Although the uptake of KNL into offline situations is much faster than that of ENL, both Net-Lingoes are commonly reaching offline domains including the publishing industry, oral speech, students’ school essays, corporate marketing, and branding. It is worth mentioning that KNL is also making its way into the music, film, and television industries; newspapers; and school curricula. The Korean government’s decision to introduce a new elective high school course regarding KNL in 2012 certainly must raise concerns about pedagogical implications. For instance, KFL educators need to answer the questions of whether KNL should be introduced into the KFL classroom, and to what extent it should be incorporated. Considering the strong influence of KNL on offline situations, KFL learners’ easy access to the worldwide Internet, the global distribution of Korean media, the influence of Hallyu overseas, and a new elective high school course relating to KNL, I argued that KNL is a vital supplement to the Korean language and should be incorporated into KFL instruction. For better teaching and learning KNL, emphasis was given to teachers’ updated knowledge of KNL and setting up online reference sites for KFL learners. In more detail, at this point, I suggested the incorporation of KNL into KFL
classrooms on the morphological and lexical levels. It is hoped that this study will serve as a useful reference on KNL for KFL teachers.
6 Conclusions

In this section, I highlight the important findings regarding the following issues: the mechanism for the KNL vowel deletion process; the penetration of spellings of actual pronunciations in KNL, leading to standard acceptance online; the motivations for consonant addition in KNL; the emergence of consonant-only acronyms in KNL; syntactic constraints in the formation of KNL and ENL acronyms; the mechanisms for ENL subject ellipsis; the online use of the HT nim, including nim as a second-person pronoun; the emergence of new KNL affixes including a new nominalizer suffix, –seym; and the motivation of the use of emoticons. In addition, I recapitulate Net-Lingo-related issues such as language contact online, the influence of Net-Lingo on offline domains, and language education for KNL. Then I discuss limitations of this study. Finally, I discuss necessary further research.

6.1 Important Findings

With the ever-increasing use of the Internet throughout the world, online communication has been one of the most popular activities and has subsequently become a vital alternative to traditional means of communication.

Given that language mirrors society, it is noteworthy that Net-Lingo has emerged as a new language variety, as the Internet, as a medium of online communication, is deeply integrated in contemporary society.

In chapter 1, I first provided a working definition for Net-Lingo grounded on Crystal’s (2001) definition but with further refinement.
In my definition, Net-Lingo, as a medium of electronically globalized interaction, is a type of language with unique characteristics that is practically generated online and mainly found in written online situations, such as chat rooms, bulletin boards, public websites, social networking sites, online games, blogs, and text messages, but it is not confined to online situations.

Given the working definition for Net-Lingo as one of the objectives for this study, in Chapter 4, I provided systematic descriptions of distinctive linguistic characteristics of KNL and ENL, respectively, at the orthographic, morphological, lexical, syntactic, and discursive levels, based on written data collected from various online platforms. Along with descriptions, I presented initial points from which one can better capture the mechanisms that govern these linguistic characteristics.

In the orthographic domain, both KNL and ENL are characterized by features such as deletion (vowel deletion for KNL, and both consonant and vowel deletion for ENL), spellings of actual pronunciation, and the use of letters, numbers, or other symbols.

For KNL, vowel deletion is one of the most frequently observed patterns, and it is characterized by \( i \) [i] vowel deletion, \( u \) [ɪ] vowel deletion, and \( wu \) [u] vowel deletion. While previous studies (Inha University, 1997; J.-G. Lee, 2003) have described the motivation of the vowel deletion phenomenon as a reflection of spoken language, none of them have examined the mechanisms that govern vowel deletion. My data analysis has suggested that vowel deletion does not occur arbitrarily. It is triggered by “the relation between vowel height features,” which was initially proposed by K.-O. Kim (1977) based on his offline data. His generalization is that “within a morpheme containing a two-vowel sequence, the second vowel is deleted [only if it is as high as the first vowel or higher than the first]” (p. 72). I, however, showed that in online situations, the vowel deletion process can also occur in other sequences, and final consonants
such as $m$, $n$, or $l$ also play crucial roles in triggering the vowel deletion process. While KNL is mainly characterized by vowel deletion, ENL is marked by both vowel and consonant deletions. In discussing the ENL deletion phenomenon, J.-S. Lee (2003), whose study was mainly based on chat room data, viewed the deletion phenomenon as the reflection of fast speech in everyday language. It is true that the phenomenon of deletion originally spread out from chat rooms, which largely feature spontaneous responses, but my data analysis showed that the deletion phenomenon is commonly found in other casual online situations besides chat rooms. Thus, it is not quite accurate to confine the motivation of the deletion phenomenon to the domain of chat rooms only. Rather, I suggested that the deletion phenomenon in ENL reflects actual speech in everyday language as a whole in that all deleted vowels and consonants are not pronounced in the spoken language of English. The influence of spoken language on ENL is also observed when netizens spell words as actually pronounced, as shown in examples such as *kinda, funni, realli, yup*, and *dunno*. KNL is no exception to this kind of spelling practice. Reference to D.-G. Park (2002) helped establish that there is a distinction between spellings of standard pronunciation and spellings of colloquial pronunciation. Given that KNL is frequently observed in casual online situations, discussion was focused on the spellings of colloquial pronunciation, whose examples include the replacement of $o$ [o] with *wu* [u] and *yo* [jo] with *ye* [jə] at the end of the syllable, as in *ceng-mal-lwu* [lu] ‘really?’ from *ceng-mal-lo* [lo] and *caym-iss-e-ye* [jə] from *caym-iss-e-yo* [jo] ‘(It is) interesting.’ In discussing what counts as spellings of colloquial speech, his (2002) proposal is that the standard writing that spells out every morpheme of the word cannot realistically capture the actual conversational situation. Therefore, the spellings of actual pronunciation are “a reflection of realistic conversation” (p. 9). Prior to my suggestion, I mentioned that his view only applies to netizens’ spelling practice from the central region of
South Korea (including Seoul) in that offline colloquial speech of non-central regions is not marked by the substitution of endings such as –wu for –o and –ye for –yo.

Grounded on H. Sohn’s (2001) claim that South Korean dialects can be largely divided based on five different regions, I investigated the phenomenon of the replacement of o [o] with wu [u] and yo [jo] with ye [jə], based on selected bulletin boards of Cyworld clubs whose members are not from the central region of South Korea. My data suggested that netizens from non-central regions frequently utilize such practices as replacing o [o] with wu [u] and yo [jo] with ye [jə] at the end of syllables. Hence, I argued that these spelling practices, –ye from –yo and –wu from –o, have virtually become standard because they are so widely used in online situations regardless of region.

The use of English letters, numbers, and other symbols was shown to be present cross-linguistically. In discussing what motivates such practice in languages, J.-S. Lee (2003) attributed such practice to effective syllable reductions. I, however, showed that such practices help minimize the number of keystrokes rather than the number of syllables, as illustrated in the comparison of the ENL example be4 with its full version “before,” where the former requires three keystrokes, b-e-4, and the latter requires six, b-e-f-o-r-e, although both examples consist of the same number of syllables. Presumably, fewer keystrokes can be equated to more time gained. For KNL, I emphasized that the online use of English letters by Korean netizens provides insights into a new type of language contact that is different from the traditional offline contact, where there is physical space between the speakers of contact languages. In opposition to the aforementioned orthographic characteristics, which feature both KNL and ENL, each Net-Lingo also displays its own language-specific characteristics, such as consonant addition for KNL, decapitalization, lack of apostrophe, and all-capitalization for ENL.
In the KNL situation, the phenomenon of addition, identified as adding a consonant at the end of the word, debunks a common assumption that netizens are likely to reduce the number of keystrokes in online communication. My data showed that the phenomenon of addition is as prevalent as the phenomenon of deletion in online situations. The most frequently mentioned addition phenomena are related to the addition of \(-ng\) or \(-p\) [p’] (Inha University, 1997; Kwon, 1997; J.-G. Lee, 2003; D.-G. Park, 2002), and the motivation for the phenomenon of addition is viewed as supplementing the shortcomings of nonverbal online communication in terms of expressing personal emotions and adding emphasis.

Scholars have generally noted that \(-ng\) addition, as in the creation of \(ye.ppu.tang\) from \(ye.ppu.ta\) ‘to be pretty,’ connotes quaintness and intimacy (Inha University, 1997; Kwon, 1997; J.-G. Lee, 2003; D.-G. Park, 2002), whereas \(-p\) [p’] addition, as shown in \(neyp\) from \(ney\) ‘yes,’ connotes decisiveness, definite ending, or strength (J.-G. Lee, 2003; D.-G. Park, 2002). While these scholars were primarily interested in discussing the interpretations of an added consonant, one of the important questions that still needs to be answered is how specific consonants from the Korean phonemic inventory emerge in coda position. Drawn from the generally accepted interpretation of \(-ng\) as quaintness or intimacy, the investigation of diminutives helped account for the emergence of \(-ng\) in coda position.

In light of what has been observed in Rhee’s (2001) study on Korean diminutives and Jurafsky’s cross-linguistic framework on the meanings of diminutives, I argued that \(-ng\) addition, which underlies the diminutive suffixes, conveys netizens’ intimacy, friendliness, and quaintness toward each other in online situations and, in turn, helps netizens establish informal and casual online communication environments.
As the commonly accepted interpretation of \(-p\) [p’] addition is that of decisiveness, definite ending, or strength (Inha University, 1997; Kwon, 1997; J.-G. Lee, 2003; D.-G. Park, 2002), I suggested two possible underlying mechanisms that motivate the \(-p\) [p’] addition to surface in coda position. My first suggestion was linked to contact effects with English as the globally dominant language. Given that KNL is most likely characterized from casual online situations, my emphasis was on the influence of a non-standard spelling of the English word “yep” on KNL due to its reflection of colloquial pronunciation and its stronger connotation effect, compared to the standard word “yes.”

Another plausible factor that I proposed is in the spirit of Na’s (2003) study on Korean names, especially first names. Na’s (2003) research allowed me to compare her corpus data with \(-p\) [p’] addition in KNL. In her study, while both Korean women’s and men’s first names display consonants \(-k\), \(-n\), \(-l\), and \(-ng\) in coda position, \(-p\) [p’] as a coda is only found in men’s first names, such as cong-hyep, swu-heyep, man-sep, chang-sep, min-sep, cay-sep, hyo-sep, sang-yep, sang-sep, swu-yep, and so on. Supported by her research, it is plausible to assume that the sole occurrence of \(-p\) [p’] as a coda in men’s first names conveys masculinity and strength in the Korean sound system. Her corpus analysis corroborates my claim that different consonants in coda position convey different pragmatic connotations in online situations, just as they do in Korean first names.

Moving from orthographic aspects to morphological ones, both KNL and ENL are characterized by acronyms, blend(ing)s, and clippings.

With respect to KNL acronyms, along with conventional acronyms, which are based on the initial syllables of words, I demonstrated that consonant-only acronyms such as ch kh from chwu.kha ‘congratulations,’ k s from kam.sa ‘thanks,’ c s from coy.song ‘sorry,’ and kh kh and h
onomatopoetic expressions for laughter’ are becoming the latest trend to create Korean acronyms exclusively online. Furthermore, I suggested that this new type of acronym is one of many reflecting the influence of English on KNL, in that Korean acronyms are traditionally created from the initial syllables of words, such as pen.mo ‘a sudden meeting’ taking the first syllable of the words pen.kay ‘lightning’ + mo.im ‘meeting/gathering.’

Both KNL and ENL acronyms were believed to involve syntactic constraints as they only applied to noun phrases. I, however, showed that both KNL and ENL acronyms can be created based on whole sentences. Reference to Crystal (2001) helped support my argument that there is no syntactic restriction on the ENL acronym formation. I also mentioned that subject ellipsis is frequently found in ENL acronyms. While ENL blendings (such as sexting and vlogging) and clippings (such as pic and vid) do not currently demonstrate contact with different languages, those of KNL suggest the influence of English in that a majority of KNL blendings and clippings were created based on English words. Nevertheless, none of the previous studies captured contact effects between Korean and English in online situations. In terms of KNL morphological processes, I highly capitalized on the impact of English on KNL, which reflects a new type of language contact, different from a conventional, physical contact. It is clear that the globalization of the Internet is prompting contact between English and Korean, and the influence of the former on the latter will be unavoidable.

In the KNL situation, certain morphemes play crucial roles in creating KNL terms. Previous studies (Inha University, 1997; Kwon, 2000; J.-G. Lee, 2003) helped establish that certain morphemes are products of online communication. Nevertheless, what is not recognized in these studies is that those morphemes function as online affixes. While their examples were limited to suffixes, I also proposed newly emerging morphemes as prefixes such as kup– ‘sudden’ and
khay– ‘very/really.’ It is worth recapitalizing that certain morphemes are so productive and
prevalent that they have become situated as affixes online and will contribute to expand the mass
coinage of KNL expressions.

The evidence of the emergence of KNL and ENL is also found at the syntactic level. ENL is
characterized by subject ellipsis, which defies a common belief that the subject is not ellipted in
English. Nariyama’s (2004) study helped account for English subject ellipsis. She proposed that
subject ellipsis is commonly observable in English conversation and informal written situations,
and it is governed by mechanisms such as anaphoric deletion, dummy subject, deixis, and
conventional expressions. While her study primarily centered on subject ellipsis in offline
situations, my research exclusively focused on casual online situations. My data showed that
English subject ellipsis commonly occurs in casual online situations and that it is governed by
the aforementioned mechanisms suggested by Nariyama (2004). In addition, I suggested that
asterisk bracketing is a new mechanism, identified as an expression of the predicate in the third
person bracketed by asterisks such as *explodes* and *watches it again*. By definition, asterisk
bracketing is believed to govern subject ellipsis. It is noticeable that within asterisk bracketing,
the status of the first person is removed and veiled in the third person’s viewpoint by appending
the third person singular –s. Votta’s (2007) examination of asterisk bracketing (which she termed
asterisk action) taken from a Harry Potter online fan community helped in part to support my
proposal that asterisk bracketing governs subject ellipsis online exclusively. Nonetheless, she
characterized asterisk bracketing as a means of communication only for a special group of people
with the same interest. I, however, based on data collected from various situations including
blogs, Facebook and YouTube, demonstrated that the use of asterisk bracketing is no longer
restricted to a narrowly focused online community. Given that asterisk bracketing is widespread
in casual online communication, I capitalized on two important points: First, asterisk bracketing is a newly established mechanism underlying subject ellipsis exclusively in online communication. Second, represented at a syntactic level, asterisk bracketing gives rise to third-person interpretation in subject ellipsis, contrary to Nariyama’s (2004) argument that the first person, to a large extent, is associated with the referent of subject ellipsis.

While subject ellipsis highlights ENL at the syntactic level, unconventional uses of a Korean honorific title (HT), *nim*, and a nominalization process of the predicate are remarkable pieces of evidence to characterize KNL from a syntactic viewpoint.

Speaking of the Korean HT *nim*, J.-B. Lee’s (2000b) study helped establish that there are distinctive uses of the HT *nim* in online situations, compared to its offline use. While his study was limited to simple descriptions of the use of the HT *nim*, in this study, I have not only explored the distinctive uses of the HT *nim* in casual online situations, but also attempted to explore the implied meanings arising out of them.

Offline, the HT *nim* mainly appears after three categories: social titles, kinship terms, and personal names, and it is mainly triggered by factors such as social status, kinship, age, and commercial benefits. Likewise, the HT *nim* is also commonly appended to those three aforementioned categories online. Closer observation, however, revealed that the HT *nim* is also used for paradoxical effects by appending the HT *nim* to a semantically incompatible lexeme such as *pa.po*, ‘fool’ + *nim*, and it is used as a second-person pronoun.

In terms of social titles, the HT *nim* occurs after newly respected online social titles such as *hom.ci.ki* + *nim*, *wun.yeng.ca* + *nim* and *pang.cang* + *nim*, all meaning ‘webmaster,’ which arose from the nature of the Internet. As netizens with a special interest are willing to show appreciation and respect to a webmaster who updates and manages a club site to which they
belong, it is not surprising that these new social titles are shown to be well situated as new social
titles online, and they are often appended with the HT *nim*.

In offline situations, certain kinship terms have the privilege of carrying the HT *nim*. Among
those privileged kinship terms, *en.ni* ‘elder sister from a woman’s perspective’ and *ma.nwu.la*
‘wife’ are excluded. In contrast to offline situations, new honorific forms, *en.ni + nim* ‘elder
sister (from a woman’s perspective) + HT’ and *ma.nwu.la + nim* (or *ma.nwul.nim*) ‘wife + HT,’
are emerging in online situations. While J.-B. Lee’s (2000) study did not discuss it further, I
investigated what motivates the emergence of the HT *nim* after these two kinship terms.

With respect to *en.ni.nim* ‘esteemed elder sister (from a woman’s perspective),’ this
phenomenon seems logical from the perspective of age, given that it has no competing term in
offline situations. Despite the commonly viewed grammatical inappropriateness of the term
*ma.nwu.la* or *ma.nwul*, which supposedly conveys a husband’s disrespect towards his wife,
online, my data showed that both *ma.nwul.nim* and *ma.nwu.la.nim* meaning ‘esteemed wife’ are
becoming more acceptable online. As a result, I proposed that in online situations, both
*ma.nwu.la* and *ma.nwul* are going through a semantic shift by virtue of the semantic role of
‘politeness’ that the HT *nim* itself contains. Overall, I pointed out two crucial characteristics
arising out of the exceptional use of the HT *nim* with respect to kinship terms. First, it involves a
weaker lexical constraint. That is, it is no longer limited to certain kinship terms in online
situations. Second, it also involves a weaker semantic constraint, as predicted from a new
honorific word, “esteemed wife.” I also emphasized that the unconventional use of the HT *nim*,
in online communication, establishes familiarity and informality that convey the speaker’s
friendliness and closeness toward the addressee (and the referent) while maintaining courtesy.
A weaker semantic constraint was also captured through another piece of evidence. A
paradoxical use of the HT nim was shown to be salient online exclusively as displayed in
elements of profanity followed by the HT nim. By showing the co-occurrence of the HT nim
with a semantically incompatible lexeme, I leveled criticism against J.-B. Lee’s (2000b) broad
generalization that the HT nim is used as a means of showing respect regardless of the
addressee’s social traits. Even though honorification is morphologically marked by the HT nim, I
believe that joining an incompatible lexeme keeps the HT nim from playing its genuine polite
semantic role. Hence, I argued that the coexistence of contradictory linguistic elements adopted
by Korean netizens does not show respect to the addressee or the referent, as opposed to J.-B.
Lee’s (2000b) assumption mentioned above. Rather, it is used for paradoxical effects.

Besides paradoxical effects, online, one of the striking characteristics of the HT nim lies in
the fact that it can function as the second-person pronoun, which corroborates an earlier
observation by J.-B. Lee (2000b). This study goes further than his work. Extended from Lee’s
initial opening, I also investigated what motivated the HT nim to undergo a unique
grammaticalization process through a semantic shift. By unique grammaticalization process, I
mean the HT nim, which is originally a suffix, can also function as a second-person pronoun in
online situations. To do so, I examined second-person pronouns in the current Korean lexicon.
Given that Korean is an honorific language and that there is no suitable second-person pronoun
as an address term that can create casual and familiar online environments while conveying
politeness regardless of social factors, it is reasonable to assume that Korean netizens have been
searching for a new agreeable address term to meet this need. In response to this, Korean
netizens may have shifted the HT nim to a second-person pronoun nim as a new address term in
online communication. Besides the motivation underlying a new grammatical category, I also
highlighted the great advantages of the new grammatical category. For instance, *nim*, as a second-person pronoun, makes it possible for Korean netizens to eliminate the variability of social factors that are, to a large extent, taken into account in online communication, especially in situations of unfamiliarity and anonymity. Furthermore, whether the situation is anonymous or unfamiliar, the newly emerging second-person pronoun *nim* contributes to successful and vigorous online communication by establishing familiarity and informality but maintaining its genuine, polite semantic role.

Another salient aspect represented at the syntactic level was captured in examining a new nominalization process. In an SOV language like Korean, the predicate appears at the end of the sentence. J.-B. Lee’s (2000b) study helped ascertain that in online situations, sentence endings are increasingly marked by the nominalization process by appending a conventional nominalizer suffix, *(u)m*. His generalization is that the nominalization process is utilized not only to help netizens type faster, but also to avoid honorifics. While I agreed with his first economic argument, I demonstrated that his generalization on avoiding honorifics is inadequate when it comes to a newly emerging nominalizer suffix, *(u)m*. His generalization is that the nominalization process is utilized not only to help netizens type faster, but also to avoid honorifics. While I agreed with his first economic argument, I demonstrated that his generalization on avoiding honorifics is inadequate when it comes to a newly emerging nominalizer suffix, *(u)m*. His generalization is that the nominalization process is utilized not only to help netizens type faster, but also to avoid honorifics. While I agreed with his first economic argument, I demonstrated that his generalization on avoiding honorifics is inadequate when it comes to a newly emerging nominalizer suffix, *(u)m*. His generalization is that the nominalization process is utilized not only to help netizens type faster, but also to avoid honorifics.

I highlighted two essential points regarding the new nominalizer suffix *(u)m*: First, *(u)m* is strongly associated with the nominalization processes of propositional and imperative sentences. While predicates cannot be nominalized in both propositional and imperative sentences offline, such a case is no longer impossible online by employing *(u)m*. In this sense, *(u)m* gives us insight into a grammatical change from predicates to nominals. Second, in opposition to J.-B. Lee’s (2001) generalization that a nominalization process is used as a way to avoid honorifics and create a neutral environment, I argued that an honorific connotation is still conveyed in the
nominalization process in that –sey– (from seym) originated from the subject honorific suffix si [ʃi] followed by part of the polite sentence ender ey [ə]. Thus, the polite meaning is self-contained and exists in its own right.

From a syntactic perspective, subject ellipsis for ENL and the grammatical change of the HT nim and –seym for KNL would add to the evidence to refute.

Crystal’s (2001) claim that the unique grammatical (including syntax) features of Net-Lingo are much less frequent than other features. It should be emphasized that the online platform is just as much a source of lexical innovation and, moreover, grammatical change.

At the lexical level, semantic shifts online and new lexis are two main aspects that show how netizens have agreed to shape both KNL and ENL lexemes in online situations.

In the KNL situation, my data showed that two groups of words were frequently created online: onomatopoeic expressions and words strongly associated with appearance. The latter group of words highlights the role of teenagers in language creation and demonstrates their values in life.

It has been cross-linguistically noticed that teenagers are forerunners in language change and language creation in online situations (Baron, 2000; Gao, 2004; Wardhaugh, 1998). Given that teenagers, whom Randall (2002) characterized as “the keyboard generation” (as cited in Axtman, 2002), play important roles in the emergence of Net-Lingo, it is reasonable to assume that their high interest in an attractive appearance exposes itself in language creation, as illustrated in KNL (see Table 30). In the ENL situation, none of the previous studies revealed that existing lexemes can undergo semantic shift in online situations. I provided words that semantically changed online, including German(s) and google. In online situations, the former can mean ‘an old idea’
or ‘old news’ or ‘old stuff,’ and the latter can semantically shift from a trademark for a search engine to ‘to search for information on any kind of search engine.’

Last but not least, both ENL and KNL are marked by discourse features such as emoticons. In the KNL situation, I showed that emoticons are so popular that they are commonly employed in Internet literature such as Internet novels. I exemplified a popular teenage Korean Internet novelist, Gwiyeni, whose Internet novels prominently feature the extensive use of emoticons to describe characters’ emotions, feelings, and body gestures; at the same time, emoticons allow readers to capture the author’s message quickly.

In discussing how emoticons are believed to develop, I capitalized on teenagers’ sociolinguistic motivations such as creativity, innovation, and differentiation. Gao’s (2004) study of Chinese teenagers’ identity construction online helped account for the essential role of teenagers in the creation of Net-Lingo. He claimed that the desire to construct an attractive identity is one of the driving forces in the way Chinese teenagers create Chinese Net-Lingo. Given the globalization of the Internet, his claim can also be generalized to other languages. I proposed that emoticons are reflective of the keyboard generation. It is worth emphasizing that teenagers’ contribution to Net-Lingo, part of which lies in sociolinguistic motivations such as creativity, innovation, and differentiation to construct an attractive identity, as claimed by Gao (2004), should be recognized rather than being labeled a communicative skill deficiency, to which Baron (2000) attributed the emergence of emoticons.

In addition to noting the effectiveness of emoticons, I mentioned that they can make online communication more concise by employing visually compact images to express feelings as well as make online communication universally comprehensible.
In light of findings in Chapter 4, in Chapter 5, I first showed why the cross-linguistic investigation of linguistic characteristics of Net-Lingo is crucial in demonstrating the impact of language contact and the direction of language change.

As one of the noticeable characteristics of KNL, I pointed out the extensive use of English in KNL, which subsequently adds insight to our understanding of a new type of language contact, where the physical space is absent between speakers of contact languages. Given that English is the globally dominant language both online and offline, I investigated the contact effects between English and Korean online, and I demonstrated the impact of English at the levels of orthography, morphology, and lexis, as described below.

With the ever-growing development of the worldwide Internet, online communication is getting faster and easier, compared to traditional communication. English, as the globally leading language, is increasingly affecting other languages online, just as it is offline. South Korea is internationally ranked eighth in terms of the highest number of Internet users, as of June 2007 (see section 1.2.2). Drawing from all of these facts, I predict that the online interaction between English and Korean will be increasingly active and robust. As a result, it is worth investigating how KNL is linguistically affected by English. While none of the previous studies of KNL captured contact effects with English online, I proposed that research on a new type of language contact will be valuable for gaining insights on the development of KNL and moreover the impact of English on KNL, which will eventually contribute to the change of the Korean language in various offline platforms.

In fact, the Internet is becoming “a treasure trove” (Yang, 2007, ¶ 1) for neologisms in offline situations. Both KNL and ENL terms and expressions are steadily making their way to multilayered offline domains. Although the landing of KNL into offline situations has been much
faster than that of ENL, both Net-Lingoes are commonly exhibiting their influence on offline domains such as the publishing industry, oral speech, students’ school essays, corporate marketing, and branding. With respect to the publishing industry, Net-Lingo terms and expressions are entering nonelectronic dictionaries. Regarding oral speech, in the KNL situation, it is worth highlighting that people’s oral speech features not only the use of KNL lexis, but also the use of the KNL prefix *kup*, as in *kup.e.sayk* ‘very awkward,’ and the use of a KNL second-person pronoun, *nim*. The use of ENL in oral speech is also observable through a teenager’s oral response to her mother—*BRB* for “be right back”—which was illustrated in *USA Weekend* (Shin, 2004).

It is noticeable that the use of Net-Lingo is observed in students’ school essays. In the KNL situation, school essays were highlighted by various linguistic characteristics such as spellings of actual pronunciation, the use of emoticons, consonant-only acronyms, and KNL lexis. ENL is also influencing college students’ essays, as in “2be or not 2be that’s?” for “To be or not to be, that’s the question” and “w8ting4go” for “Waiting for Godot,” the title of a Samuel Beckett play.

It is striking that companies are integrating Net-Lingo terms into their trademarks and branding. Since 2000, a number of companies have registered KNL terms as their trademarks, including the morpheme *ccang* ‘best/very,’ *kang.chwu* ‘strongly recommended,’ *sya.pang* ‘glittering,’ *phyey.in* ‘the Web-familiar generation that communicates primarily in cyberspace,’ *chwu.kha* ‘congratulations,’ *wen.chwu* ‘wanted and recommended,’ *ha.i.lwu* ‘hello,’ *yel.kong* ‘study hard,’ and *hel* ‘the action of one’s jaw dropping; used for a surprise.’ American corporate marketers have also used the formation of ENL acronyms as a model. The use of acronyms in their marketing is surfacing, as shown in *BFD* (Big Fantastic Deal) from Domino’s Pizza and
BOGO (buy-one-get-one) from Saks Fifth Avenue. It is also noteworthy that Pepsi is incorporating emoticons as a fresh source in its branding.

More pieces of evidence for KNL’s reach into offline domains were captured in the music, film, and television industries; newspapers; and school curricula involving the introduction of a high school elective course on KNL in 2012. KNL terms are frequently used in Korean film and television (e.g., soap operas). In addition, they are found in music lyrics. Moreover, a number of Internet novels have been published offline, and they have also been made into movies. It should also be mentioned that the use of KNL has reached not only informal writing, but also formal writing such as major newspapers. Not only do newspapers utilize KNL terms, but they also use KNL affixes such as the suffix –nye ‘woman,’ as shown in tay.sa.kwan.nye (tay.sa.kwan ‘embassy’ + nye ‘woman’) ‘a woman who works at the embassy,’ and the prefix kup–, as illustrated in kup.man.nam (kup ‘sudden’ + man.nam ‘meeting’) ‘sudden meeting.’ More strikingly, they employ a KNL term, 2MB, to refer to the current president of South Korea, Lee Myung-bak. 2MB consists of the number two followed by the initials of the South Korean president’s first name. Please note that the pronunciation of the number two in Korean is synonymous to that of his last name, Lee. 2MB is one of many instances reflecting that the globalization of the Internet is increasingly accelerating the contact between English and Korean. Subsequently, the impact of the former on the latter yields the effects of globalization both online and offline.

Given the accelerating influence of KNL on multilayered offline domains and the South Korean government’s decision to add a new elective course regarding KNL, investigation of KNL also prompted me, as a KFL (Korean as a Foreign Language) teacher, to discuss
pedagogical implications by raising questions such as whether KNL should be introduced into the KFL classroom, and to what extent it should be incorporated.

Concerning the increasingly noticeable influence of KNL on multilayered offline platforms, KFL learners’ easy access to the Internet, and the distribution of Korean media in the global economy, I proposed that incorporating KNL into KFL instruction is certainly necessary, as KNL is being quickly adopted by contemporary Korean society. I also proposed that KFL educators should make continuous efforts to update their knowledge of KNL and build useful online reference sites for KFL learners. In doing so, KFL teachers will help enrich their students’ understanding of changes in Korean language and culture.

### 6.2 Further Research

My study focused solely on KNL and ENL. Given that online communication is an activity whose popularity is growing rapidly in the era of the Internet across the globe (MIC & NIDA, 2007), different Net-Lingoes are also emerging, as shown in cases of Chinese by Gao (2004) and Swedish by Hansson and Bunt-Kokjuis (2004); almost certainly, new Net-Lingoes are forthcoming. Thus, new research on other Net-Lingoes should also be conducted, which will provide cross-linguistic data on Net-Lingo. In the long run, they will bring insights into universal linguistic implications.

As already mentioned in Chapter 5, language contact online is a new area to explore in linguistics. As online contact is likely to be easier and faster than conventional physical contact, I envision that contact with different languages online will vigorously increase and, in turn, the investigation of contact effects with different languages online deserves further exploration. Continued research not only will add new insights on the research of language contact in its
traditional sense (Gao, 2004), but also will help to develop a better grasp on the direction of language change.

The issue of language contact is gradually gaining scholars’ attention across the globe (Gao, 2006; Hansson & Bunt-Kokjuis, 2004; Johnson, 2004; Stavans, 2003). What is commonly recognized in cross-linguistic studies is the impact of English on languages that they investigate. That is, the influence has been noticeably unidirectional from English to non-English languages. Given the dramatically growing Hispanic population within the United States and the recognition that Spanish is gaining in various domains of offline platforms within the United States, it remains to be explored whether Spanish will flourish online and eventually have an influence on the English language in the future.

Net-Lingo, created through a new medium, is still in its early stages. The Internet has become an indispensible part of life in the new millennium. Net-Lingo, which is a product of online communication in the era of the Internet, is a type of language with unique linguistic characteristics that we have not seen before in the history of the human race. There is a need and space for consistent scholarly investigation on the direction of language change. Compared to the relatively limited descriptions of previous studies in KNL and ENL, in this study, I endeavored to provide a more elaborate picture of both Net-Lingoes from a linguistic perspective. Creating this picture involved documenting systematic descriptions of their linguistic characteristics under clearly defined working definitions as well as exploring the mechanisms of those underlying characteristics. Based on this documentation and linguistic analysis, I also brought to light other important issues arising out of Net-Lingo, such as the challenges to various offline platforms, language contact online, and pedagogical implications. Given the number of significant
consequences, the investigation of Net-Lingo becomes more valuable and robust. In this sense, Net-Lingo is a window on the future of language.
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Appendices

Appendix A
List of Emoticons

Table 31 Basic Emoticons from Emoticons & Smileys | Basic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emoticon</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>:-)</td>
<td>Standard Smiley (you are joking; satisfied)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:)</td>
<td>Standard Smiley for lazy people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,-)</td>
<td>Winking Smiley. You don't mean it, even if you are joking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>;-)</td>
<td>Winking Smiley. See above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:-)</td>
<td>Follows a really sarcastic remark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:-(</td>
<td>Left handed Smiley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:-(</td>
<td>Sad Smiley. You aren't joking: You are not satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:&lt;</td>
<td>Very Sad Smiley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:C</td>
<td>Very Sad Smiley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:-*</td>
<td>Kissing Smiley</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 32 Animal Emoticons from Emoticons & Smileys | Animals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emoticon</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>_@/</td>
<td>ascii snail - meaning a slow connection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=:~&gt;</td>
<td>Bunny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&lt;</td>
<td>Mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;:3)~~~~~</td>
<td>Mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{:V</td>
<td>Duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>Baby bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(o.o)</td>
<td>Owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@( .@ )&gt;</td>
<td>Owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:-o</td>
<td>Cow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emoticon</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:(,:) )</td>
<td>Cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:@~</td>
<td>Cow grazing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[:(:))</td>
<td>Happy cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[:(:)</td>
<td>Sad cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8^</td>
<td>Chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:}-------*</td>
<td>Frog catching a fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>________/</td>
<td>Shark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;==&gt;</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@)</td>
<td>(happy) pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:8)</td>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:@)</td>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:(;)</td>
<td>Happy pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:():(</td>
<td>Sad pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>)))i()</td>
<td>butterfly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;&quot;&quot;-[ [ [ [ [ ~~~</td>
<td>alligator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;&gt;&gt;&lt;</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~)))))'&gt;'</td>
<td>possum (large)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~)))))'&gt;'</td>
<td>possum (medium)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~))'&gt;'</td>
<td>possum (small)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 33 Descriptive Emoticons from Emoticons and Smileys | Descriptive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emoticon</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>:-)</td>
<td>Really Happy (or has double chin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-((</td>
<td>Really Sad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-&gt;</td>
<td>Smiley with beard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>::=&gt;&lt;</td>
<td>Smiley with mustache and beard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d:-)</td>
<td>Wearing a baseball hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-(</td>
<td>Swollen-eyed smiley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:-s</td>
<td>Don't know what to say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:-s</td>
<td>That is really disgusting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---


246
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emoticon</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?)</td>
<td>Lazy Eyed smiley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:-()=0</td>
<td>Fat smiley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$-)</td>
<td>Won the lottery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:-#/</td>
<td>Wears braces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:-~)</td>
<td>Got a flew / Runny nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-)</td>
<td>Cyclops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;#</td>
<td>Cyclops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;: )</td>
<td>Curly haired smiling girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:V</td>
<td>Can't keep his mouth shut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:&gt;)</td>
<td>Nosy smiley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:-Q</td>
<td>Smoker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:-Q</td>
<td>Smoking smiley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:-?</td>
<td>Pipe smoking smiley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-)</td>
<td>Wearing (sun) glasses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-)</td>
<td>Bandit or Masked Man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-)</td>
<td>Smiley with sunglasses on his head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-=()</td>
<td>Fish lips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:-{()</td>
<td>Has a mustache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ü)</td>
<td>Very happy, with big cheeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:=)</td>
<td>Has two noses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X-(</td>
<td>Just died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[:-)</td>
<td>Wearing a walkman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.-)</td>
<td>Smiley with one eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(:-)</td>
<td>Bald smiley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(:+)</td>
<td>Bald smiley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;:::-)</td>
<td>Bad Hairday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{(:-)</td>
<td>Smiley with a toupee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{(:{)</td>
<td>Smiley with a mustache and a toupee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>}(:-()</td>
<td>Smiley with a toupee when it is windy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>!-)</td>
<td>Smiley with a black eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>::-{}</td>
<td>Wearing lipstick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@:-)</td>
<td>Hajji or guy with a turban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emoticon</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$-0</td>
<td>Writer only talks money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>::-&amp;</td>
<td>Writer only want to hear himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>::&amp;</td>
<td>Tongue tied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>::~X</td>
<td>Tongue tied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=:-O</td>
<td>Scared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:-).</td>
<td>I have an inny (belly button)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:-),</td>
<td>I have an outy (belly button)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:-8</td>
<td>Smiley with bow tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:-P</td>
<td>Sticking out tongue (typ :- than press alt+ 0222)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:-p</td>
<td>Tongue sticking out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:-)~</td>
<td>Tongue sticking out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$=)-</td>
<td>Curly haired smile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$):-)</td>
<td>Happy person with curly hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:^)</td>
<td>Regular smile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>;^)</td>
<td>Winking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>::(E</td>
<td>Sloppy eater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:o)</td>
<td>Smiley with a big nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-]</td>
<td>Silly smiley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:z</td>
<td>Sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;:-)</td>
<td>cone head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;:)-</td>
<td>Dunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:)</td>
<td>Unibrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-)</td>
<td>someone with eyebrows growing through each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-{</td>
<td>Have got eyes for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L:)</td>
<td>Wearing hat sideways</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;-)</td>
<td>Stoned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;:-)</td>
<td>Dunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L:</td>
<td>Loser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;%-)</td>
<td>Cross eyed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>