

MOCK KOREABOO: APPROPRIATING APPROPRIATION

by

SARA HASKIN ROSENAU

B.A., University of Chicago, 2019

A thesis submitted to the  
Faculty of the Graduate School of the  
University of Colorado in partial fulfillment  
of the requirement for the degree of  
Master of Arts  
Department of Linguistics  
2022

Committee Members:

Kira Hall

Jeremy Calder

Natasha Shrikant

Adam Hodges

## Abstract

Rosenau, Sara Haskin (M.A., Linguistics)

Mock Koreaboo: Appropriating Appropriation

Thesis Advised by Professor Kira Hall

In the last decade, Korean pop music (K-pop) has garnered a large and passionate fanbase on the internet. One of the most notorious types of fan is the “Koreaboo”, a pejorative term used for global fans perceived as wishing they could be Korean themselves and seen as being far too invested into K-pop itself at the expense of the rest of Korean culture. This paper examines the use of Korean by fans deemed Koreaboos and the way other K-pop fans use language to criticize the Koreaboo archetype. Specifically, this paper investigates a form of speech which I am terming “mock Koreaboo”, a mock language variety (Hill 1995) created by K-pop fans for the purpose of condemning the behaviors of the Koreaboo and positioning themselves as above them. This study is concerned with the following question: why do K-pop fans use mock Koreaboo? To investigate this question, I analyze social media posts using mock Koreaboo along with discussions of the Koreaboo in general. I argue that through the use of elitist stances (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2009), K-pop fans index their disapproval of Koreaboos and their perceived fetishization of Korean culture, creating a separate indexical order (Silverstein 2003) through which to interpret Koreaboo speech. In the process, K-pop fans signal their status as global, cosmopolitan citizens while positioning Korean culture as needing to be defended from those appropriating it.

## Contents

Abstract .....	ii
List of Tables .....	iv
List of Figures .....	v
1 Introduction .....	1
2 K-pop: globally inspired music with global fans.....	3
3 Methods .....	5
4 What is a Koreaboo?.....	7
5 Mock Koreaboo .....	10
6 Elitist Stancetaking in Mock Koreaboo and Indexical Orders .....	17
7 Virtue Signaling: To Be an Anti-Racist K-pop Fan .....	21
8 Next (Indexical) Level.....	25
9 Conclusion.....	26
References.....	28

## List of Tables

### Table

1. Features associated with Koreaboo speech .....9
2. Features of Mock Koreaboo .....13

## List of Figures

### Figure

1. Reddit post by StanBTS\_ .....7
2. A Reddit post containing Mock Koreboo .....12
3. Selected lines from a TikTok video by user @camitales .....21

# 1 Introduction

Across tabloids, gossip media, and K-pop social media one name is a reoccurring trend: Oli London. After coming into public attention a few years ago, Oli London has gained notoriety for identifying as “transracial” and receiving multiple plastic surgeries to look like Jimin of the K-pop group BTS (*Oli London*, n.d.; Smith, 2021). They identify as a Korean person, despite being born as white and English, and use the media to their advantage to advance this narrative. In response, K-pop fans have gone on attack against London, to the point where London is receiving death threats (*British Influencer Getting Death Threats After Identifying As Korean*, 2021). London comes up so often in discussion that the Reddit forum r/kpoprants had to ban them as a topic (budlejari, 2021). In short, London is one of the most reviled figures in the K-pop space. Their crime? Among other things, being a Koreaboo.

A Koreaboo is an archetype of K-pop fans that is seen as being obsessed with and appropriative of Korean culture and the Korean language by other fans. Often the subject of mockery, derision, and all-out hate, the figure of the Koreaboo is not one that is seen in a positive light. While an extreme and inflammatory example, Oli London exhibits these characteristics of obsession and appropriation to the point of trying to look Korean through numerous plastic surgeries. London has taken up the mantle of the Koreaboo by releasing a song entitled “Koreaboo”. Selected lyrics from this song appear below, in which the Koreaboo is defined:

*There's no doubt  
I'm obsessed with  
Korean culture  
They tell me I'm a vulture*

*Denounce my own  
Now I'm sitting on the Korean  
throne  
I'm the king of kpop*

*Lyrics from "Koreaboo" by Oli London (Houzet & London, 2021)*

While Oli London is described as a Koreaboo, they are out of the norm by being so knowingly and proudly. Most fans who are deemed Koreaboos do not claim it as an identifier and would most likely deny any accusations of being such due to the stigma around it as a K-pop fan. When compared to the average fan, Oli London is a shock performer, partly doing these things to create rage and attention. This can be seen by their mobilization of conservative, anti-transgender media figures to validate their claims of being transracial despite identifying as non-binary (Smith, 2021). K-pop fans are eager to respond to London's actions, wanting to defend this perceived attack on Korean culture and the appropriation of their favorite singer's identity. In contrast to London's extreme behaviors, typical Koreaboo behavior is mostly defined by the idolatry of Korean people and culture and the out of context use of Korean linguistic resources. It is this use of Korean that becomes readily mocked by other fans, creating what I am calling "Mock Koreaboo" in order to express their negative view of Koreaboo fans and their linguistic habits. In this paper, I will discuss the Koreaboo and how K-pop fans react to Koreaboos strongly, through the use of a Mock Koreaboo register. I will discuss the use of this register, as well as how it utilizes stance and indexicality.

The concept of mock language was first identified by Jane Hill, writing about the use of Mock Spanish (Hill, 1995, 1998). Hill identifies Mock Spanish as a method to denigrate the use of Spanish and further perpetuate racist views of Spanish speakers via the use of Spanish linguistic resources. Like Mock Spanish, fans use this Mock Koreaboo to disparage Koreaboo

fans through an exaggerated version of Koreaboo speech. While Mock Koreaboo uses Korean linguistic resources to do this, it does not ultimately aim to mock Korean people, unlike mock Spanish. Instead, Mock Koreaboo seeks to criticize the appropriation of Korean language by those viewed as koreaboos and the ideology associated with this archetype.

In addition, I argue that Mock Koreaboo uses stancetaking to show superiority over fans seen as Koreaboos. Elitist stances, originally termed by Jaworski & Thurlow (2009), allow the speaker to claim moral superiority over others. Through its mocking nature, fans can use Mock Koreaboo to show how they reject the ideologies of the Koreaboo and are a better type of fan as a result. I will also discuss how Koreaboo speech and Mock Koreaboo create several orders of indexicality. First theorized by Silverstein (2003), indexical orders show how meanings in language can build off an original meaning, the *n*th order, to create infinitely many meanings in  $n+1^{st}$  orders of indexicality. With Korean as the *n*th order, Koreaboo speech and Mock Koreaboo constitute  $n+1^{st}$  and  $n+2^{nd}$  orders of indexicality.

Through this paper, I will show how K-pop fans use Mock Koreaboo to signal their disapproval of the Koreaboo archetype through the use of elitist stances and creating a new order of indexicality. I will also discuss how K-pop fans, through Mock Koreaboo, position Korean culture as something that needs to be defended from Koreaboos, as well as positioning themselves as cosmopolitan, anti-racist citizens.

## 2 K-pop: globally inspired music with global fans

K-pop is, at its core, simply pop music that comes from South Korea. The history of modern K-pop reaches back to the 1990's, and throughout this history the genre has always been heavily



influenced by music by Black Americans (Mosely & McMahon, 2020). While K-pop has always been global, in the past ten years K-pop has become increasingly globalized in its reach via fan efforts and increased marketing outside of Asia (Chang & Park, 2018; Herman, 2019). This has resulted in fan communities springing up all over the world, participating in mainly online contexts (Swan, 2018).

The online experience of being K-pop fan is significant to understanding K-pop fandom in general. One study of K-pop “stan” Twitter has categorized it as a community of practice (Malik & Haidar, 2020). Malik and Haidar interview and analyze interactions between a multi-national group of fans of the K-pop group Monsta X. Through their research, they show that these fans have formed real bonds with each other over their shared interests despite their distance and linguistic differences. Chang & Park view the online experience of BTS fans as a modern “tribe” despite physical and cultural distance between the fans themselves (2018). While such research shows the structure of K-pop fans online, there is little research into the ideology of K-pop fandom and its linguistic behaviors as a whole. Research on individual fans such as those who post reaction videos on YouTube exists, looking into topics such as polyculturalism in fans’ blending of Korean pop culture with Black culture (Oh, 2017). Another study based on interviews with Canadian K-pop fans found that these fans experience K-pop as a hybrid cultural product that allows them to participate in globalization (Yoon, 2018).

One important area of research in linguistics concerning Korean media and K-pop specifically is that of global flows of information. Linguistic, visual and cultural information now “flow” around the world, finding their ways into different places and along with their meanings and uses. Scholars like H. Samy Alim have researched these global flows of culture. Alim (2009) specifically has looked extensively into how hip-hop culture has spread around

world, becoming a new site for identification and meaning making. One instance of this research is on portrayal of Korean-Americans in Korean media. In the 1990s, the style of the Korean-American, especially those from Los Angeles became in vogue. The visual language of K-pop stars from the US, heavily influenced by hip-hop itself, the English language, and the representation of LA came to represent coolness (Lo & Chi Kim, 2012). The figure of the Korean American was seen as a skilled-multilingual, especially compared to Koreans who viewed themselves as bad at English. Eventually Korean Americans lost their status, replaced by the sophisticated and educated “transnational Korean returnee” figure. One specific case of the global flows of information in K-pop specifically of this is the Korean pop star CL, who in one of her music videos has adopted signifiers of hip-hop and chola culture to represent her being a “bad girl” (Garza, 2021). Embodying the *nappeun gijibae* [bad bitch] character through the visual language of chola, blackness, and hip-hop, CL can come across as this “bad bitch” but also reinforces negative stereotypes about these groups. The case of the Koreaboo is also largely caused by these global flows of cultural and linguistic information. As shown later, the behaviors of the Koreaboo archetype and Mock Koreaboo itself are only possible because Korean linguistic information have been able to flow on the internet, creating these hybrid language varieties.

### 3 Methods

This paper is mainly taking the form of an online ethnography of K-pop fans. Digital ethnography, also called virtual ethnography or cyber-ethnography, is ethnography that is done in virtual spaces. As the internet has grown and developed, it has become “central to and have fundamentally transformed the ways people around the world go about their daily business”

(Hallett & Barber, 2014, p. 307). The methods of digital ethnography can be as wide and varied as traditional, in-person ethnography. Beneito-Montagut (2011) argues that digital ethnography is not different than traditional ethnography, it just requires different “research decisions regarding the particular field and location of research” (p. 719). In this paper, Beneito-Montagut describes a method that follows a user throughout their online life and activities, just as a researcher might follow a person to their job and hobbies. Hallet and Barber (2014) advocate for incorporating someone’s online life into the rest of those experiences, as those cannot be meaningfully separated anymore. Bonilla and Rosa (2015) put forth the idea of “hashtag ethnography”, wherein a hashtag on social media can itself become a site of research, linking various ideas and posts on a certain topic together in one place. Like Beneito-Montagut (2011), Bonilla and Rosa also argue for the following of specific users to get the context of their posts. With digital ethnography and social media research in general, “we are all participant observers of the media systems that surround us; an ethnographic sensibility makes this participation the subject of analysis” (Davis & Hall, 2021, p. 94).

In this project so far, I have gathered data in two main ways: searching and browsing. For searching, I looked through mainly K-pop specific subreddits (r/kpoprants, r/kpopthoughts, etc.) and Twitter. I searched for specific terms related to this project such as “oppar”, “unnir”, “Koreaboo” and other terms, specifically Korean ones which are associated with Koreaboo speech. In regards to browsing, I collected any relevant posts which I found while browsing these spaces on my own time, which I often do. Collected posts were stored in a spreadsheet along with the time of posting, theme of post, and the platform it was found on. Posts were also archived through the Wayback Machine for posterity.

## 4 What is a Koreaboo?

The origin of the term “koreaboo” is an amalgamation of the term “weeaboo” and “Korea”. “Weeaboo” itself is a term describing people who are so into Japanese media and culture that they denounce their own culture in favor of Japanese culture, or those who wish they are Japanese but are not (Ewens, 2017; Hidayat & Hidayat, 2020). The word itself is a nonsense word, coming from a the comic *The Perry Bilbe Fellowship*, in which a person is attacked for merely mentioning the word “weeaboo” (Birney & Keogh, n.d.). The term is pejorative, and people rarely self-identify with “weeaboo”. Koreaboo is along the same lines. In one Reddit post on the subreddit r/kpoprants, a poster defines a koreaboo as “someone who is obsessed with Korean culture so much they denounce their own culture and call themselves Korean” (Engenie, 2021). A commenter on this post replies that this is too strong of a definition, saying that it is someone who becomes obsessed with Korea, but does not interact with the wider culture of Korea other than K-pop or K-dramas.

Apart from this post, the koreaboo is mainly defined through actions, particularly through the use of the Korean language. Another Reddit post on the same forum asks the question, “is my friend a Koreaboo?”

SORRY FOR ANY KOREAN WORDS SPELT WRONG.

I really need to know cause I don't know how to tell her. Her daily vocabulary is mixed with broken Korean all the time, when I call her she answers her phone with a “yeoboseyo” [hello]. But here's where it's starts getting cringe for me she calls her mom “eomma” [mom] and speaks to her whole family in Korean... like if her sibilings asks her questions or just conversing in general she'd be like “ani” [no] “ne” [yes] “jinjja” [really] “aish” [frustrated vocalization] “wae” [why] “omo”

[surprised vocalization] “aigoo” [oh my!] and “hajima” [stop it] she says aigoo [oh my!] all the time. I asked her one time do they know what she’s saying and she told me they’re starting to catch on mind you we are African American. she throws in little phrases of Korean here and there and calls her husband oppa [gendered term of address] and he’s not even Korean he’s Puerto Rican. One time she asked him to help her with this video game she was stuck on and she started to do aegyo [acting cute] to get him to help her and she did it in this whiny voice *cringe alert* oppaaaa~ jinjja [gendered term of address, really] *pouts* help me with this game and proceeded to laugh and tell me she does aegyo [acting cute] when she doesn’t get her way. She also talks to her regular friends in Korean too they don’t know a thing about kpop or Korea at all.... she talks them and they’re always like what did you say or what does that mean and it gives me second hand embarrassment soooo bad. Last thing we both went to see BTS in Chicago at soldier field what coincidence our Lyft driver was a older Korean man and the whole way she kept talking in broken Korean and I’m in the back like 🙄🙄🙄 because we’re actually in close proximity of someone who actually speaks Korean. I love her so much but I don’t want to hurt her feelings so I’m just gonna post it on here. What do y’all think?

Figure 1: Reddit post by StanBTS\_ (StanBTS\_, 2021) Translations of Korean terms in brackets

The poster describes the behavior mainly as using Korean words such as “yeoboseyo” to answer the phone instead of the English “Hello” and talking to her family in Korean despite them being African Americans living in Chicago, according to the poster. The comments on this post universally categorize this person as a Koreaboo. One commenter recommends that the friend learn Korean formally, suggesting that the bad attempts of using Korean are the problem here. Another commenter worries that they are a Koreaboo since they tend to use Korean but are studying the language. Another user replies that “it’s normal since it comes from you actually intently learning the language but Koreaboos just want to say annyeong yeorobeun [hello everyone] because it sounds cool.” This again suggests that improperly using Korean without the

proper intent is the issue with koreaboos. An article on what signs to look out for in a koreaboo also focuses on language (Napper, 2019). Interestingly, this article includes using Korean romanization but not the Korean writing system, known as *hangul*. This also adds to the inauthenticity in language dimension, where using hangul is seen as appropriate, but using romanization is unacceptable.

One major aspect of the above example is the mention of the word *oppa*. The Korean word *oppa*, written 오빠 in hangul, is a gendered term of address used by women to address a slightly older man that one is close to, like a friend or partner (Jeong & Yu, 2021). In South Korea, female fans often use *oppa* to address the K-pop boy groups they are a fan of, likely drawing on the romantic partner aspect of the term (tracy· wonwoo, 2022). Non-Korean fans have picked up on this, and some non-Korean fans have begun to use the term as well, in much the same way. In the Figure 1, the friend is said to use the term with her husband, who is also not Korean. The article makes reference to the use of this and the similar term *unnie* used by women to address slightly older women, calling it “pure K-Boo culture.” According to posts like this and my own experience, some ideologies associated with Koreaboo speech are listed in Table 1 below:

<b>Description:</b>	<b>Example:</b>
Gendered terms of address	Oppa, unnie, hyung, noona
“I love you” in Korean, especially the word “love” without the verb ending	Saranghae [I love you], saranghaeyo [I love you], I sarang [love] you
Using romanization instead of hangul	Saranghae [I love you] instead of 사랑해

Korean Intensifiers	Jinjja [very], neomu [very]
Exclamations	Omo, aigoo, aish
Other basic vocabulary	Ani/aniyo [no], ne [yes], wae [why]
Using Korean words in an otherwise English utterance	I neomu [very] like this

Table 1: Features associated with Koreaboo speech

The chief characteristic associated with Koreaboo speech is the use of Korean words and other linguistic resources outside the context of a Korean utterance. Searching Twitter, I am able to find many instances of such uses of Korean. Consider the following excerpt of a tweet: “jinjja me  $\frac{\text{ㄷ}}{\text{ㄷ}}$  freaking out” (ella, 2022). In this tweet, the user uses both a Korean intensifier written using romanization *jinjja* and the Korean topic particle  $\frac{\text{ㄷ}}{\text{ㄷ}}$  written in hangul attached to the English *me*. There is no real need to use Korean words in this context, apart from aesthetic reasons. According to this users’ personal website linked in their Twitter profile, she is from the Philippines and only speaks basic Korean, showing that this is not a native speaker mixing two languages that she is fluent in. As evidenced by Figure 1 and the comments of that post, this type of usage is considered to be Koreaboo speech.

## 5 Mock Koreaboo

In a reaction to Koreaboo speech and the figure of the Koreaboo in general, K-pop fans have created a mock language variety that I am terming “Mock Koreaboo”. The concept of mock language was pioneered by Jane Hill in her article on “Junk Spanish” (1995). While she later

switched the wording to “mock Spanish”, in this article she defines “Junk Spanish” as “a set of strategies for incorporating Spanish loan words into English in order to produce a jocular or pejorative key” (p. 205). Key aspects of mock language in this article are the pejoration of the mocked language, adoption of morphological material in order to do this pejoration, and the exaggerated mispronunciation of the mocked language. Mock Spanish is also part of a white American “light” register, where the meaning of Spanish material is completely stripped to create a non-serious variety of language for white Americans. Koreaboo speech can be seen as mock language itself, in that it is a usage of Korean that is stripped of cultural context and used for a certain aesthetic purpose. Like Mock Spanish, Koreaboo speech is also seen to have a racist effect, as will be elaborated on later.

While mock Spanish can uphold racist ideas, this is not always the case for mock languages. Elaine Chun investigates Korean-American comedian Margaret Cho’s use of “mock Asian” (2004). Chun finds that Cho’s use of mock Asian is “legitimate”, showing that Cho uses the register not only to position herself in opposition to Asianness, but also critical of mock Asian as a practice. Her use of mock Asian can de-center whiteness and critique racist imaginings of Asian women. Another example of this intra-ethnic mockery appears again in Lo and Chi Kim (2012). The article describes a comedy skit where Korean-Americans are in a Korean class, speaking Korean with bad grammar, heavy American accents, and plenty of English. While not described as so in the article, this sketch could be seen as an example of mock Korean-American, making fun of their poor command of their heritage language to platform their own savvy in languages and cultural references.



Mock koreaboo can be found all around social media, including Twitter and a parody meme subreddit called r/kpoopeheads. An example of mock Koreaboo is below (translations of Korean and Korean-derived mock Koreaboo in brackets):

Chingoose [friends], I just learnt that joy unnie [gendered term of address] has started dating crush flop oppar [gendered term of address]☹☹ me neomu [very] sed now, ottokhae [what do I do]?!1 Me sarang [love] joy unnie since me 2 year old, me thought joy unnie [gendered term of address] sarang [love] me bacc even tho me onli 11 ☹☹ I thought I felt something, but now I realised there was never any sarang [love] ☹☹ anyone else go through such betrayal? ☹ Ottokhae [what do I do]?? Me sarang [love] joy unnie [gendered term of address] but me get cheated on ☹☹💔💔 me go doxx unnie [gendered term of address] and crush flop oppar [gendered term of address]☹ now, Onion chingoose [bye friends]☹☹

Figure 2: A Reddit post containing Mock Koreaboo (Outrageous-Bottle-72, 2021)

The theme of this passage is that a K-pop artist the poster likes has announced she is in a relationship, and the poster is jealous. Prior to this post, K-pop singer Joy has announced her relationship to the K-pop singer Crush, respectfully referred to using the gendered terms of address *unnie* and *oppar*. Here, the poster mocks the attitude that some K-pop fans have regarding their favorite singers dating by pretending to be jealous of the relationship and betrayed by the singer Joy.

Jealousy is a common theme among mock Koreaboo, mocking the perceived intense attachment to K-pop idols that Koreaboos have.<sup>1</sup> Often, when K-pop idols reveal that they are in a relationship, some fans exhibit negative reactions. This can be interpreted as a type of parasocial relationship, where someone interacts with media or celebrities as if they have a personal relationship (Horton & Richard Wohl, 1956). The connection between the marketing

---

<sup>1</sup> As seen in further posts:  
[https://old.reddit.com/r/kpoopeheads/comments/ovv698/i\\_love\\_my\\_jungkook\\_oppar/](https://old.reddit.com/r/kpoopeheads/comments/ovv698/i_love_my_jungkook_oppar/)

power of K-pop and parasocial interaction has been noted in literature, with Elfving-Hwang (2018) describing the relationship between K-pop singers and fans as “parasocial kinship” and partially accounting the intense loyalty of fans to this parasocial interaction. As the term parasocial relationship has become common in popular media commentary, K-pop fans have also started to use the term, often in a negative light. Some K-pop fans disapprove of the intense parasocial relationships other K-pop fans can have to K-pop idols. This attitude is reflected here in Figure 2, where the fan parodied treats the singer Joy as having personally betrayed them by starting a romantic relationship with the singer Crush.

Mock Koreaboo is similar to Koreaboo speech, but differentiates in several key ways. One of the most relevant ways it differs is the blatant and intentional misspellings. As seen in the paragraph above, the misspellings are not only of Korean, but English as well. This can be seen in the term “onion/onion haseyo” which is used for the Korean greeting “annyeong” or “annyeong haseyo”. In the above example we can also see “chingoose”, a deliberate misspelling of “chingu”, meaning friend in Korean. This term may also be mocking the application of the English plural -s to the word, becoming “chingus”. Some features of Mock Koreaboo are presented in Table 2 below.

*Table 2: Features of Mock Koreaboo*

<b>Description:</b>	<b>Example:</b>
Deliberate misspellings of both Korean and English	Chingoose [mock form <i>chingu</i> meaning friend], onion haseyo [mock form of

	<i>annyeong haseyo</i> meaning hello], delulu (delusional)
Mock gendered terms of address	Oppar, unnir
Use of “sarang” as if an English verb	I sarang [love] you
High emoji use (common in mocking speech on the internet in general)	🙄🙄❤️❤️
Framing an unusual person as target of affection	Lee Soo Man oppar (Lee Soo Man is the former CEO of SM Entertainment)

One of the most salient examples of Mock Koreaboo is shown through *oppar*. An intentional misspelling of *oppa*, *oppar* directly mocks the overuse of the term by koreaboo fans. The reason for the added “r” on the end is not currently known, but may be because rhotic r is not found in Korean, marking “infelicitous, anglicized pronunciation” of the term (Jeong & Yu, 2021, p. 832). A related form, *unnir* also exists as a mock form of *unnie*. This, along with the themes of jealousy, seems to mock the attachment of fans to K-pop performers, specifically how they are “delusional” in thinking that K-pop artists are their romantic partners. This is especially true when *oppar* is used with an unusual person, such as entertainment company CEOs like Lee Soo Man, JY Park, and Bang Si Hyuk.<sup>2</sup>

Mock Koreaboo also shares some traits with other internet mocking registers. As mentioned in Table 2, one feature of Mock Koreaboo is the heavy use of emojis. This type of writing is reminiscent of the “emojipasta”, a type of internet meme combining the “cospypasta”

<sup>2</sup> Example: <https://twitter.com/cloudreamiena/status/1439139983529369601>

with copious emojis. Copypastas (derived from copy-paste) are an old style of internet meme that consists of blocks of text that are copied and pasted multiple times for comedic purposes (Stoltzfus, 2021). This evolved into the “emojipasta”, which simply adds emojis after nearly every word. The main venue for Mock Koreaboo on Reddit, r/kpooheads, uses this type of copypasta frequently, particularly with one verse of the SuperM song “Jopping” (chicken\_nugget\_tree, 2021). As a result, heavy emoji use in this style, as exemplified in Figure 2, can in itself represent a mocking register online. Mock Koreaboo also bears some resemblance to a style of internet writing that can be called the “lol so random” style. Popular from around 2005 to 2010 with teenagers, the style consisted of 1337 speak (a style of writing with numbers), and texting-style spelling changes and word shortenings (*I’m So Random / Lol So Random / So Random*, n.d.). One of the more popular copypastas is of this style, titled “Katy t3h PeNgU1N oF d00m!”.<sup>3</sup> This can be seen in Figure 2 as well, with phrases such as “me thought joy unnie sarang me bacc even tho me onli 11” particularly in the spelling of “bacc” and “onli”. This style is now heavily associated with “cringe culture” and, like emojipasta, can signal a mocking style through its presence alone.

Like Mock Spanish, Mock Koreaboo is both pejorative as well as used in a humorous context (Hill, 1995). The difference here is that instead of, in effect, mocking a group of people for speaking their native language, Mock Koreaboo seeks to mock people for using a non-native language inappropriately. Instead of being the mock language having a racist effect itself, Mock Koreaboo is possibly trying to make fun of the perceived racism of misusing the Korean language, through itself misusing the Korean language in a more exaggerated way. Koreaboos are often seen as appropriative of Korean, using the language in inappropriate circumstances.

---

<sup>3</sup> Full text here: <https://copypastatext.com/penguin-of-doom/>

Through exaggerating this appropriation, users of Mock Koreaboo can jokingly criticize the appropriation itself. Mock Koreaboo has a more limited use case, as well. Hill presents examples in all forms of media such as radio and birthday cards. Mock Koreaboo is limited more to directly mocking Koreaboo fans and is only found on social media. As compared to Chun's analysis of Margaret Cho's mock Asian, Mock Koreaboo is not necessarily a reclamation. The ethnic background of those who use Mock Koreaboo is unknown, but it does not seem to be restricted to Korean or Asian people. It can be seen to fight racism in a similar way, as Koreaboo Speech is often characterized as being appropriative. Mock Koreaboo also serves the purpose of being a way to distinguish oneself from undesirable fans by elevating oneself compared to the Koreaboo fan, as will be discussed in more detail later.

The mock-mock language nature of Mock Koreaboo brings it much closer to Jonathan Rosa's idea of "Inverted Spanglish" than Mock Spanish itself. In Rosa's chapter on the topic, Inverted Spanglish is seen as a reclamation of the Mock Spanish that Hill describes (Rosa, 2016). The study shows how Latine high schoolers are able to use an anglicized version of Spanish to talk back to the view that their language skills are deficient, among other things. In this case, K-pop fans are able to utilize the out-of-context Korean of Koreaboo speech to talk back at what they see is a racist and appropriative act. Like Inverted Spanglish, Mock Koreaboo functions by hyper-articulating what are seen as the problems with the varieties they are seeking to mock. In Inverted Spanglish's case, this is by hyper-anglicizing the Spanish pronunciation. For Mock Koreaboo, this is by the overuse of Korean terms as compared to typical Koreaboo speech, and overuse of emojis. In this way, Mock Koreaboo all the more points out the perceived issues with Koreaboo speech.

## 6 Elitist Stancetaking in Mock Koreaboo and Indexical Orders

To signal K-pop fans' disapproval with the figure of the Koreaboo, Mock Koreaboo utilizes elitist stancetaking as a way to show their superiority over Koreaboo fans. In Du Bois' seminal work on stance, he defines stance as a "public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field" (2007, p. 163). In his "stance triangle", Du Bois situates two subjects as points on a triangle, with an object on the third point. The subjects can then evaluate and position themselves with regards to the object, and align themselves with the other subject, creating intersubjectivity. In Ochs' view, stance is an act through which indexicality can happen. Through her writing on the indexicality of gender, Ochs' positions stance as an intermediary step for language to index social meanings such as gender (1992, p. 342). People use language to create stances through direct indexicality, and then these stances indirectly index social meanings.

Many types of stances exist including epistemic and deontic stances, but my analysis will focus on elitist stances. Jaworski and Thurlow's work on this topic sees elitism as a person "making a claim to exclusivity, superiority, and/or distinctiveness" which needs constant upkeep (2009, p. 196). Through their study of travelogues in British newspapers, Jaworski and Thurlow show that while elitist stances are still an evaluation of a subject, they do so by making this claim to superiority. Elitist stances are enacting certain ideologies wherein the object that the subject is evaluating is better than others, and therefore the subject is also better than other subjects. The identity of elitism is itself evaluative and is upheld through the evaluative power of stancetaking.

Mock Koreaboo is taking an elitist stance against Koreaboo fans. Elitist stances work through evaluation, either as something that is worse than you, or something that is better, so you are also better. An obvious example of this is the following tweet:

All the delulu sasaengs crying : But OPPAR YOU LOOKED AT ME AND FELL IN LOVE DIDN'T YOU?!

🐅: as I said I didn't make eye contact with armys for 2 years now.....

(@sgtcurrypants, 2021)

In this tweet, the poster critiques “delusional stalker fans” who believe that a member of BTS fell in love with them. In the third line, the tiger emoji represents BTS member V, who in the attached interview spoke about not being able to see his fans. Here we see the poster using *oppar* as a clear marker of Mock Koreaboo, and the fans in this fake dialogue being portrayed as unreasonable through the all caps and the content of the statement. By portraying these “sasaeng” or stalker fans in this way, the poster is evaluating these fans as less than and positioning themselves as a better type of fan. They are distinguishing themselves from the fans that are obsessive and too into K-pop.

While this Tweet is explicit in its elitist stance, Mock Koreaboo itself is imbued with elitist stances. In Figure 2, Mock Koreaboo is used to discuss the jealousy of a fictional fan when their favorite idol has entered a relationship. Even though the poster has not explicitly compared themselves with another fan, even just using the mock register shows that they disapprove of the jealous attitude and view themselves above it. The ideology of Mock Koreaboo is that certain types of fans, Koreaboo fans, are a lesser form of fan. Fans that are against Koreaboos, like those that utilize Mock Koreaboo, position themselves as better fans. Mock Koreaboo is part of this

positioning, negatively evaluating Koreaboo fans through elitist stances, therefore lifting themselves up as a superior form of fan.

Koreaboo speech and Mock Koreaboo can also be considered different indexical orders. Indexicality is a wide-reaching concept in sociocultural linguistics, and a very important one. In a simplified way, indexicality is the way social meanings are constituted through language (Ochs, 1992). These meanings can be anything from identities to activities or positions on something. One of the most influential writings on indexicality is Michael Silverstein's work on indexical order (2003). In this article, Silverstein presents the concept indexical order, a system where indexical meanings can be created from each other by incorporating the previous meaning but innovating on it at the same time. A given indexical meaning is called the  $n^{th}$  order of indexicality and any meaning that follows is therefore  $n+1^{st}$  order of indexicality. Silverstein points to several examples of this in his writing, such as hypercorrection among lower middle-class people as an  $n+1^{st}$  order. In this example, the  $n^{th}$  order is the "standard" pronunciation of New York English. Lower middle-class people were shown to hypercorrect their speech, in this case having higher rates of /th/ and final /r/ than even upper middle-class people. This hypercorrection of pronunciation constitutes a  $n+1^{st}$  order, according to Silverstein.

Blommaert (2007) innovates on this concept by conceptualizing indexicality as polycentric. In this view, indexicality revolves around "centres" comprised of "complexes of norms and perceived appropriateness criteria, in effect the larger social and cultural body of authority" (p. 118). "Centres" can be anything of any size, from a singular person to a global concept. Conversations and interactions can and often are polycentric, moving between centres of indexicality. Blommaert gives the example of a Rasta DJ in South Africa changing his speaking patterns based on how he wants to be perceived and what the topic is.



Mock Koreaboo and its elitist stances constitute another order of indexicality, signaling the identity of being anti-Koreaboo and what being a Koreaboo represents. In this system of indexicality, Korean is the  $n^{\text{th}}$  order, being the origin of the linguistic resources that both Koreaboo speech and Mock Korean use. Koreaboo speech is the  $n+1^{\text{st}}$  order, characterized by having Korean words surrounded by otherwise non-Korean utterances, typically gendered terms of address, words of love, and basic vocabulary. It is differentiated from the  $n^{\text{th}}$  order by having this mix of language resources and by primarily being used by non-Korean speakers as opposed to the Korean language itself. This  $n+1^{\text{st}}$  order indexes being a fan of K-pop and someone who knows some Korean, due to its use by K-pop fans and fans of other Korean media. In the eyes of other fans, Koreaboo speech also indexes an obsession with Korean culture and the appropriation of Korean language. Mock Koreaboo is then the  $n+2^{\text{nd}}$  order, innovating on Koreaboo speech. This order is linguistically characterized by its use of emojis, mock forms such as *oppar*, and misspellings common on the internet. It is largely similar to Koreaboo speech, but it is highly exaggerated and includes other mocking elements like the emojis. This indexical order incorporates the meaning of being a K-pop fan but adds the meaning of being a specific type of fan, one that disapproves of how Koreaboos use the Korean language and behave towards K-pop performers, due to its use by fans who actively make fun of Koreaboo fans. Mock Koreaboo specifically indexes that they think that being a Koreaboo, and therefore using Koreaboo speech, is inherently wrong. Through the exaggeration and mocking of these acts of appropriation, Mock Koreaboo clearly indexes this disapproval of the figure of the Koreaboo and the linguistic practices associated with it. In addition, the elitist stances imbued into Mock Koreaboo help create this separate indexical order. Ochs (1992) presented a view that stances are a way to indirectly index social meanings and acts. Through this view, the elitist stances work to

indirectly index this identity of being anti-koreaboo. While what is shown directly is the superiority over those deemed to be Koreaboos, it indirectly indexes being a fan that is against the fetishization of Korean culture, and the appropriation of the Korean language, looking down up on the Koreaboos who do these things.

## 7 Virtue Signaling: To Be an Anti-Racist K-pop Fan

Through its use of elitist stances, Mock Koreaboo can also be considered a form of virtue signaling. Virtue signaling is a term that has become popular in the last few years to represent when someone is touting a belief but does not actually follow through on that belief. Zentz (2021) views virtue signaling as a type of “moral-political stancetaking” that can be a part of group identity formation and should not be viewed strictly pejoratively (pp. 1, 3). Through virtue signaling, a person can display their moral stances and align with others who have the same moral stances. The use of elitist stances in certain circumstances can also be considered virtue signaling. For instance, if one person is evaluating something or another person to display a sense of moral superiority, especially to signal to others that they hold these moral views, this can be considered both virtue signaling and elitist stancetaking. Mock Koreaboo takes on a moral-political view when read through the lens of fetishization, racism, and linguistic appropriation, taking the stance that these are negative aspects of koreaboos, and verbally denouncing them. As virtue signaling can be a group building exercise, mock Koreaboo can be read as a way to build a group of fans who are actively anti-Koreaboo (Zentz, 2021). As communities like r/kpooheads show, mock Koreaboo can be a way to build a community as well as signal what that community’s values are.

Mock Koreaboo serves a purpose to signal that a fan is “not that type” of K-pop fan. A salient example of this phenomenon is a video from the app TikTok posted to the r/kpooheads subreddit (Zoshi2200, 2022). It depicts a mock version of a morning routine video, titled “morning of a black girl in South Korea”. The mocking tone of the video is clear due to the tone of voiced used in the voiceover, the facial expressions in the video, and the repeated, emphasized use of the word *oppar*. Some lines of the video are transcribed below, emojis and emphasis are taken from the video captions:

Narrator: Gotta start my morning off with my milk foam wash ☐,  
because we all know that OPPAR loves 😊 the color of milk ☐ 😊  
Only water ☐ for lunch because OPPAR said I’d be prettier if I lost weight. ☐☐ 🍷☐  
and we all know that OPPAR knows best. 😊  
In my free time I study ☐☐ Korean because...  
Ugh who wants black men? ☐ ☐  
I’m going to marry my OPPAR one day! 🤔☐ 🌹☐ ☐☐

Figure 3: Selected lines from a TikTok video by user @camitales (@camitales, 2022)

In this video, we can see that the stylistic cues of Mock Koreaboo are present, particularly the word *oppar* and the heavy emoji use. The creator of the video mocks a certain type of Koreaboo, one that will date a Korean man and obsess over him while also insulting people from their own culture. The mocked character tries to mold herself to the Korean boyfriend’s beauty standards by trying to get pale skin and lose weight. The character is positioned as obsessive, fetishizing, and has internalized racism due to her dismissal of Black men in comparison to Korean men. In response, the creator mocks these efforts and positions themselves as above these sorts of fans,

implicitly saying that they would never be this way. They are using elitist stance taking through the use of Mock Koreaboo to say that they are a superior type of fan, one that is against the fetishization and racism exhibited by the character in the video. In essence, they are virtue signaling to others on the TikTok app that they are not this sort of fan. As a result, the video has around 120,000 likes on the app and around 1,500 comments as of writing this, showing that this virtue signaling is appreciated, and arguably the start of making a community.

Another interesting aspect of this video is that it was reposted to r/kpoopeheads subreddit. This is a community that is built around the use of Mock Koreaboo, and in general making fun of other K-pop fans and lovingly mocking the genre itself. According to one poster, the stated purpose of the subreddit is that it is “literally satire and pokes fun at the way other fans inappropriately use these [Korean] terms,” i.e. Mock Koreaboo (notsamuraikari, 2022). This subreddit’s existence itself shows that being against Koreaboos and the perceived fetishizing and racism that is associated with Koreaboos is enough to make some sort of community. Like in Zentz (2021), virtue signaling here can be a community forming action. Still, what does all of this say about the people using Mock Koreaboo?

Through the use of Mock Koreaboo, K-pop fans are able to signal being cosmopolitan, anti-racist citizens while also positioning South Korea, including its culture and people, as in need of defense. The cosmopolitan attitudes attached with being a K-pop fan have been noted in research before, so this is yet another case of this phenomenon (Oh, 2017; Yoon, 2018). By using Mock Koreaboo and the elitist stances and virtue signaling that comes with it, K-pop fans can signal that they are well-researched about the world and Korean culture. In this case, it shows they know what not to do. In Figure 3, we see an example of a creator showing how not to interact with Korean culture in their view, saying that it is inappropriate to obsess over it and

blindly follow it. Through Mock Koreaboo in general, K-pop fans signal that they believe using parts of Korean language out of the context of a fully Korean utterance is a negative thing and make fun of that behavior. In turn, they position themselves as knowledgeable about the “proper” ways to interact with a culture that is not their own and are cosmopolitan citizens as a result.

Crucially, they see Koreaboo behavior as racist, and by denouncing it, they position themselves as anti-racist. On the forum site Quora, in response to the question “Why does everyone hate 'koreaboos'?”, some of the answers received are “Because koreaboos are people that are being extremely rude to korean culture (by obsessing over it), while forgetting their own” and that Koreaboos “disrespect Koreans and Asians” (Kimi Manaka, 2017). K-pop fans tend to view Koreaboo speech and Koreaboo behavior as disrespectful, appropriative, fetishistic, and ultimately racist. Therefore, making fun of those seen as Koreaboos is positioned as an anti-racist action itself. Mock Koreaboo is then a reaction to this racism and those that use it position themselves as anti-racist fans. In this, though, there is also the implicit idea that South Korea and Korean culture, the ones supposedly being hurt in this situation, needs to be defended from these Koreaboo fans. By taking up the mantle of fighting against these possibly racist actions, fans make themselves into the defenders of Korean culture, defending it from the likes of Oli London and the various fans viewed as Koreaboos on social media. Then, Korea becomes something precious and in need of defense from the Koreaboos who seek to hurt it, intentionally or unintentionally.

## 8 Next (Indexical) Level

In early January 2022, a post appeared on the subreddit *r/unpopulararkpopopinions* calling out the use of *oppar* as “not funny anymore” (fleurryya, 2022). The poster argues that the word *oppa* should not be mocked as it is a normal word in Korean, despite the fact that it is being used to mock K-pop fans in this circumstance. In the comments, other users primarily agree with this sentiment. One commenter says that using *oppa* “in a mocking tone and considering it ‘cringey’ is disrespectful to Koreans who use it in everyday conversations”. Another says that they “think a lot of i-fans [international fans] also use them stanning Koreans an excuse to be blatantly racist to Koreans, or Asians in general” seemingly in response to just the use of *oppar*. Others simply regard *oppar* as a dead joke, one that has past its prime. Some in the comments try to argue that the use of *oppar* in places such as *r/kpopheads* is just satire at those that use *oppa* inappropriately. One person even comments in *Mock Koreaboo*, “THEY’VE DISCOVERED US CHINGOOS” about others commenting on the *r/kpopheads* subreddit.

This post, and the reaction to it, can show that another indexical order has been created in addition to the ones discussed above. In this next indexical order, the *Mock Koreaboo* usage of *oppar* itself is inappropriate, and disrespectful to Koreans and the Korean language. This seems to mirror the indexical meanings of the use of *oppa* itself by *Koreaboo* fans, also considered to be disrespectful to the Korean language. It could be that those commenting on this post are not discerning between *Koreaboo* speech and *Mock Koreaboo* here, regarding the usages as equally offensive or even conflating the two varieties entirely. This seems to be somewhat the case, with one commenter complaining about “when they mix their broken Korean and English” which probably refers to *Koreaboo* speech instead of *Mock Koreaboo*, especially since someone commented a famous example of *Koreaboo* speech in reply to the above comment. However,

some seem to genuinely regard the Mock Koreaboo *oppar* as disrespectful, since in their view it still in essence mocks the Korean language.

In reaction to this post, a discussion arose on r/kpooheads about these accusations of disrespect (notsamuraikari, 2022). The poster of this response post argues that those on the subreddit “do not make fun of native speakers” by using *oppar*. Still, the poster admits that if Korean people do feel offended by the usage, that people should stop using it. The response to this post is mostly surprised that this new indexical meaning of *oppar* exists, and that the commenters on the first post do not understand that it is satire. What this whole incident shows is that indexical orders truly are infinitely possible. At any time, a new person can create a novel meaning of any sign and start circulating that meaning. This is especially powerful in the age of the internet, where any person can broadcast their new understanding to thousands of people in an instant and create a new consensus. In the near future, it could be that Mock Koreaboo is considered just as offensive and appropriative as Koreaboo speech is currently considered. All it takes is a couple people to post that it is so.

## 9 Conclusion

Mock Koreaboo is a register among K-pop fans that utilizes elitist stances to index the disapproval of the fetishization of Korean culture. Through modifying a series of Koreaboo speech characteristics, non-Koreaboo fans are able to use pejoration to dismiss Koreaboo speech and signal their elite status as compared to Koreaboo fans. The use of these elitist stances with mock Koreaboo create an  $n+1^{\text{st}}$  indexical order, innovating on Koreaboo speech and indirectly indexing their disapproval of Koreaboo fans. These fans are characterized by other fans as

appropriating the Korean language, fetishizing Korean culture, and being extremely possessive of the K-pop stars that they like. Mock Koreaboo allows fans to distance themselves from this behavior and condemn it at the same time. In addition, K-pop fans also position themselves as the defenders of Korean culture and as doing an anti-racist action.

As compared to many other instances of mock language, Mock Koreaboo is being negotiated on the global scale instead of the national scale. Varieties like Mock Spanish are typically negotiated within a national political atmosphere, like the US's contentious relationship with the Spanish language. Instead, Mock Koreaboo has been formed and enacted on a global scale. K-pop fans are intensely global and as a result any phenomenon in this fandom space is also necessarily global. Mock Koreaboo falls into this, being enacted digitally by people across the world. This shows how linguistic phenomena that were previously more localized have the potential to now be global phenomena through the internet. In addition, the case of Mock Koreaboo also displays how linguistic resources from different languages and locations can be combined due to the internet. In Mock Koreaboo, we see Korean linguistic resources combined with English language internet specific registers to create the mock language variety we see in this paper. In short, the phenomena of Mock Koreaboo would not be possible without the internet and its ability to foster global flows of language like we have never seen before. This highlights how important it is to study the language of the internet due to its ability to create unique, new language phenomena that previously would not be possible.



## References

- Alim, H. S. (2009). Straight Outta Compton, Straight aus München: Global Linguistic Flows, Identities, and the Politics of Language in a Global Hip Hop Nation. In *Global Linguistic Flows: Hip Hop Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Language*. Routledge.
- Beneito-Montagut, R. (2011). Ethnography goes online: Towards a user-centred methodology to research interpersonal communication on the internet. *Qualitative Research*, 11(6), 716–735. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794111413368>
- Birney, A., & Keogh, E. (n.d.). *Weeaboo*. The Perry Bible Fellowship. Retrieved January 30, 2022, from <https://pbfcomics.com/comics/weeaboo/>
- Blommaert, J. (2007). Sociolinguistics and Discourse Analysis: Orders of Indexicality and Polycentricity. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 2(2), 115–130. <https://doi.org/10.2167/md089.0>
- Bonilla, Y., & Rosa, J. (2015). #Ferguson: Digital protest, hashtag ethnography, and the racial politics of social media in the United States. *American Ethnologist*, 42(1), 4–17. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12112>
- British Influencer Getting Death Threats After Identifying As Korean*. (2021, June 30). TMZ. <https://www.tMZ.com/2021/06/30/oli-london-british-influencer-identify-korean-plastic-surgery-death-threats-bts-singer/>
- budlejari. (2021, October 3). *New Banned Topic: Oli London : kpoprants*. R/Kpoprants. [https://web.archive.org/web/20220124023920/https://old.reddit.com/r/kpoprants/comments/q0lgi0/new\\_banned\\_topic\\_oli\\_london/](https://web.archive.org/web/20220124023920/https://old.reddit.com/r/kpoprants/comments/q0lgi0/new_banned_topic_oli_london/)
- @camिताles. (2022, January 25). *CamiTales (@camिताles) TikTok | Watch CamiTales's Newest TikTok Videos*. TikTok. [https://www.tiktok.com/@camिताles/video/7057344162567441711?is\\_from\\_webapp=1&sender\\_device=pc&web\\_id6846464431422490118](https://www.tiktok.com/@camिताles/video/7057344162567441711?is_from_webapp=1&sender_device=pc&web_id6846464431422490118)
- Chang, W., & Park, S.-E. (2018). The Fandom of Hallyu, A Tribe in the Digital Network Era: The Case of ARMY of BTS. *Kritika Kultura*, 32. <https://doi.org/10.13185/KK2019.03213>
- chicken\_nugget\_tree. (2021, November 4). *R/kpooheads Official Copypasta Collection* [Reddit Post]. R/Kpooheads.

- [www.reddit.com/r/kpooheads/comments/qmqemj/rkpooheads\\_official\\_copypasta\\_collection/](http://www.reddit.com/r/kpooheads/comments/qmqemj/rkpooheads_official_copypasta_collection/)
- Chun, E. W. (2004). Ideologies of legitimate mockery: Margaret Cho's revoicings of mock Asian. *Pragmatics*, 14(2–3), 263–289. <https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.14.2-3.10chu>
- Davis, J. L., & Hall, K. (2021). Ethnography and the Shifting Semiotics of Gender and Sexuality: Practice, Ideology, Theory. In J. Angouri & J. Baxter (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Language, Gender and Sexuality* (pp. 93–107). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315514857-8>
- Du Bois, J. W. (2007). The stance triangle. In *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction* (pp. 139–182). John Benjamins. [http://dubois.faculty.linguistics.ucsb.edu/DuBois\\_2007\\_Stance\\_Triangle\\_M.pdf](http://dubois.faculty.linguistics.ucsb.edu/DuBois_2007_Stance_Triangle_M.pdf)
- Elfving-Hwang, J. (2018). K-pop idols, artificial beauty and affective fan relationships in South Korea. In *Routledge Handbook of Celebrity Studies*. Routledge.
- ella. (2022, January 20). Jinjja me ≡ freaking out because donghyun's description in danjjak is an animator (correct me if i'm wrong) and choi ung is an artist AND HEPWPEEJDBXBXBSISOWPDKSDBSBSHJS someone help <https://t.co/KIneyupEvw> [Tweet]. @bomdongchan. <https://web.archive.org/web/20220128215020/https://twitter.com/bomdongchan/status/1484108006732140544>
- Engenie. (2021, February 25). *Koreaboos. Let's define it* [Reddit Post]. R/Kpoprants. [https://web.archive.org/web/20220124024858/https://old.reddit.com/r/kpoprants/comments/slsf9yu/koreaboos\\_lets\\_define\\_it/](https://web.archive.org/web/20220124024858/https://old.reddit.com/r/kpoprants/comments/slsf9yu/koreaboos_lets_define_it/)
- Ewens, H. (2017, July 18). *Who Are "Weeaboos" and What Does "Weeb" Mean?* Vice. <https://www.vice.com/en/article/ywgxey/we-asked-j-culture-fans-to-defend-being-weeaboos>
- fleurryya. (2022, January 4). *i-fans' use of oppa/oppa isn't funny anymore: Unpopular kpop opinions*. [https://web.archive.org/web/20220124025937/https://www.reddit.com/r/unpopular kpop opinions/comments/rw3a2p/ifans\\_use\\_of\\_oppaoppa\\_isnt\\_funny\\_anymore/](https://web.archive.org/web/20220124025937/https://www.reddit.com/r/unpopular kpop opinions/comments/rw3a2p/ifans_use_of_oppaoppa_isnt_funny_anymore/)

- Garza, J. Y. (2021). ‘Where all my bad girls at?’: Cosmopolitan femininity through racialised appropriations in K-pop. *Gender and Language*, 15(1), 11-41-11-41.  
<https://doi.org/10.1558/genl.18565>
- Hallett, R. E., & Barber, K. (2014). Ethnographic Research in a Cyber Era. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 43(3), 306–330. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241613497749>
- Herman, T. (2019, February 28). *Why K-Pop Is Finally Breaking Into the U.S. Mainstream*. Billboard. <https://www.billboard.com/articles/columns/k-town/8500363/k-pop-closer-than-ever-american-pop-mainstream>
- Hidayat, D., & Hidayat, Z. (2020). Anime as Japanese Intercultural Communication: A Study of the Weeaboo Community of Indonesian Generation Z and Y. *Romanian Journal of Communication and Public Relations*, 22(3), 85–103.  
<https://doi.org/10.21018/rjcpr.2020.3.310>
- Hill, J. H. (1995). Junk Spanish, covert racism, and the (leaky) boundary between public and private spheres. *Pragmatics*, 5(2), 197–212.
- Hill, J. H. (1998). Language, Race, and White Public Space. *American Anthropologist*, 100(3), 680–689. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1998.100.3.680>
- Horton, D., & Richard Wohl, R. (1956). Mass Communication and Para-Social Interaction. *Psychiatry*, 19(3), 215–229. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00332747.1956.11023049>
- Houzet, S., & London, O. (2021, December 1). *Koreaboo* [Song recorded by O. London]. Oli London Entertainment. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uaJKTJlCuYY&t=5s>
- I'm So Random / Lol So Random / So Random*. (n.d.). Know Your Meme. Retrieved March 9, 2022, from <https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/im-so-random-lol-so-random-so-random>
- Jaworski, A., & Thurlow, C. (2009). Taking an elitist stance. *A. Jaffe, Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, 195–226.
- Jeong, S., & Yu, S. (2021). Identity construction through gendered terms of addresses in Korean. *Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America*, 6(1), 829–843.  
<https://doi.org/10.3765/plsa.v6i1.4958>
- Kimi Manaka. (2017). *Why does everyone hate “koreaboos”?* Quora.  
<https://www.quora.com/Why-does-everyone-hate-koreaboos>

- Lo, A., & Chi Kim, J. (2012). Linguistic competency and citizenship: Contrasting portraits of multilingualism in the South Korean popular media<sup>1</sup>. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 16(2), 255–276. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2012.00533.x>
- Malik, Z., & Haidar, S. (2020). Online community development through social interaction—K-Pop stan twitter as a community of practice. *Interactive Learning Environments*, 0(0), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10494820.2020.1805773>
- Mosely, T., & McMahon, S. (2020, September 25). *A Look At K-pop’s Black American Influence And Activism During Black Lives Matter*. <https://www.wbur.org/hereandnow/2020/09/15/k-pop-influence-blm>
- Napper, A. (2019, January 9). *What Exactly Is a Koreaboo and How Do You Know If You Are One?* VOX ATL. <https://voxatl.org/what-is-a-koreaboo/>
- notsamuraikari. (2022, January 5). *Guys, Let’s Talk: Kpooheads*. R/Kpooheads. [https://web.archive.org/web/20220124025459/https://old.reddit.com/r/kpooheads/comments/rwn237/guys\\_lets\\_talk/](https://web.archive.org/web/20220124025459/https://old.reddit.com/r/kpooheads/comments/rwn237/guys_lets_talk/)
- Ochs, E. (1992). 14 Indexing gender. *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon*, 11, 335.
- Oh, D. C. (2017). Black K-pop fan videos and polyculturalism. *Popular Communication*, 15(4), 269–282. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15405702.2017.1371309>
- Oli London: British influencer defends “identifying as Korean” after surgery to look like BTS star*. (n.d.). Sky News. Retrieved March 7, 2022, from <https://news.sky.com/story/oli-london-british-influencer-defends-identifying-as-korean-after-surgery-to-look-like-bts-star-12344765>
- Outrageous-Bottle-72. (2021, August 23). *Chingoose, my simjang is broken, joy unnie has BETRAYED ME* 🤔🤔🤔 [Reddit Post]. R/Kpooheads. [www.reddit.com/r/kpooheads/comments/p9upvd/chingoose\\_my\\_simjang\\_is\\_broken\\_joy\\_unnie\\_has/](https://www.reddit.com/r/kpooheads/comments/p9upvd/chingoose_my_simjang_is_broken_joy_unnie_has/)
- Rosa, J. (2016). From Mock Spanish to Inverted Spanglish: Language Ideologies and the Racialization of Mexican and Puerto Rican Youth in the United States. In *Raciolinguistics*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190625696.003.0004>

- @sgtcurrypants. (2021, September 24). All the delulu sasaengs crying: But OPPAR YOU LOOKED AT ME AND FELL IN LOVE DIDN'T YOU?!🙄🐼: As I said I didn't make eye contact with armys for 2 years now..... [Tweet]. @sgtcurrypants.  
<https://web.archive.org/web/20220124022444/https://twitter.com/sgtcurrypants/status/1441506738172305408>
- Silverstein, M. (2003). Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language & Communication*, 23(3–4), 193–229. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0271-5309\(03\)00013-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0271-5309(03)00013-2)
- Smith, R. (2021, June 29). *Oli London insists they're "transracial" after surgery to get "Korean eyes."* Newsweek. <https://www.newsweek.com/ben-shapiro-supports-white-instagram-star-who-identifies-korean-1605095>
- StanBTS\_. (2021, March). *Is my bestfriend a Koreaboo? : Kpoprants*. R/Kpoprants.  
[https://web.archive.org/web/20220124024743/https://old.reddit.com/r/kpoprants/comments/lr7i23/is\\_my\\_bestfriend\\_a\\_koreaboo/](https://web.archive.org/web/20220124024743/https://old.reddit.com/r/kpoprants/comments/lr7i23/is_my_bestfriend_a_koreaboo/)
- Stoltzfus, J. (2021, May 28). *What is Copypasta? - Definition from Techopedia*. Techopedia.Com. <http://www.techopedia.com/definition/31470/copypasta>
- Swan, A. L. (2018). Transnational Identities and Feeling in Fandom: Place and Embodiment in K-pop Fan Reaction Videos. *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 11(4), 548–565.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/ccc/tcy026>
- tracywonwoo. (2022, January 28). 💎: Oppa, can you lend me some money? Mingyu: (Bank) account OHHHHHH <https://t.co/J3nfBgTJB9> [Tweet]. @tinkswonu.  
<https://twitter.com/tinkswonu/status/1487008824636542976>
- Yoon, K. (2018). Global Imagination of K-Pop: Pop Music Fans' Lived Experiences of Cultural Hybridity. *Popular Music and Society*, 41(4), 373–389.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03007766.2017.1292819>
- Zentz, L. (2021). "I AM HERE AND I MATTER": Virtue signaling and moral-political stance in progressive activists' Facebook posts. *Narrative Inquiry*.  
<https://doi.org/10.1075/ni.20117.zen>
- Zoshi2200. (2022, February 14). *This is what we should strive for chingoos. It's all for Oppar🤔: Kpooheads*.  
[https://web.archive.org/web/20220314032302/https://www.reddit.com/r/kpooheads/comments/sh2b7n/this\\_is\\_what\\_we\\_should\\_strive\\_for\\_chingoos\\_its/](https://web.archive.org/web/20220314032302/https://www.reddit.com/r/kpooheads/comments/sh2b7n/this_is_what_we_should_strive_for_chingoos_its/)

