

# Shift to Impress: How Thai LGBTs Create New Terms in Their Daily Chats

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<b>Article information</b>	<b>Abstract</b>
<p><b>Article history:</b> Received: 24 May 2022 Accepted: 23 Nov 2022 Available online: 26 Nov 2022</p> <p><b>Keywords:</b> Thai LGBT Word formation Shift of meaning Diary tootsies the series</p>	<p><i>This research study aims to investigate word-formation strategies employed by Thai LGBTs in creating new terms. A number of LGBT terms were preselected from a Thai LGBT series named <i>Diary Tootsies The Series</i>, then validated by three external raters. The 50 remaining terms were analysed through an adapted framework of word formation (Algeo and Algeo, 1993; Bauer, 2020). The result indicates that Shift of Meaning, which is the strategy of assigning new meaning to the existing terms, was the predominant strategy employed. Shift of Meaning may possibly co-occur with some other strategies, such as using rhyme-motivated or compounding words. The use of more than one strategy may help embellish the terms and make their meaning more expressive and entertaining. As language can reflect its users' identity, new terms created by Thai LGBTs would embrace the stereotypical image that people have about them in the ways that they are outgoing, funny, and creative.</i></p>

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## INTRODUCTION

### The language of Thai LGBTs

Research on the Thai LGBT community (i.e. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and other genders) is not new, but it continues to yield fresh insights. Several Thai scholars have carried out research on Thai LGBT people (Thai LGBTs) to explore more about their existence. Some of them have conducted research in the field of sociology on topics such as depression and Thai LGBTs (Kittiteerasack et al., 2020), discrimination and marginalization of Thai LGBTs (Suriyasarn, 2016), or acceptance of Thai LGBTs in Thai society (Monjagapate & Rungkittanasan, 2019). Among this sizeable body of research regarding Thai LGBTs, the number of studies regarding their language use remains relatively limited.

In the past, Thai LGBTs were marginalised and discriminated against by most people in society (Shrestha et al., 2020). Fortunately, the situation has improved. The Thai LGBT community has been growing, and Thai LGBTs have acquired more acceptance than in the old days. Some positive legislative changes for LGBT rights can be evidenced in recent years. For instance,

marriage of same-sex people was once seen as impossible, but people have started to value it more these days. The movement of claiming legal rights for same-sex marriage has grown over the past couple of years. The first transgender politician has entered the Thai parliament. In addition, more LGBT figures play a dominant role in Thai mass media. This phenomenon occurred due to many LGBT social movements unfolding over recent decades. As people in society value the existence of gender diversity, Thai LGBTs are gradually entering mainstream society and blending into every social dimension. This shows positive proof of Thai LGBTs being accepted as a part of society.

Thai LGBTs integrate into various communities, and their personal characteristics are often seen as distinctive compared to straight people. To explain, when people are requested to describe Thai LGBTs', people often resort to general stereotypes and adjectives like humorous, entertaining, or even overly confident (Saisuwan, 2016). Even though these characteristics cannot be applied to all LGBTs, they are strong enough to designate a norm that can be applied to Thai LGBTs in general. These stereotypical characteristics not only portray how LGBTs interact with people but also provide a clear picture of their communicative manner.

The language use of Thai LGBTs is unique, and it is possible that this uniqueness might come from their identity as the relationship between language and identity is often inseparable (Tabouret-Keller, 2017). Owing to this assumption, it means that personal identities such as nationality, educational level, or age might have an influence on how people communicate. In addition, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2013) suggest that the gender of a person may shape his or her communicative manner as well.

Therefore, this explains why Thai LGBTs communicate differently from straight people. To elaborate, it has been noted that Thai LGBTs often express themselves in an entertaining manner through their use of words. Some word choices or slang that they use are creative and unique to the LGBT speech community. They can be defined as 'LGBT terms.' Moreover, this entertaining way of communication initiated by Thai LGBTs is so enjoyable that it is often imitated. Thai people of different ages and gender backgrounds begin to borrow Thai LGBT terms and use them in daily life. Some so-called iconic terms have ultimately become common terms in standard Thai owing to their frequency of use. This shows that Thai LGBT terms not only bring comical vibes to a conversation but also have an impact on the hearer. Due to their creativity, Thai LGBT terms can possibly influence the use of language in society.

To summarize, it can be seen that Thai LGBT terms are creative, comical, and unique to the Thai LGBTs and could even influence the use of Thai in daily life. This inspired the researchers of this paper to explore more about the terms in detail. As a result, we decided to study how Thai LGBT terms were created.

### **Previous studies on word formation**

In the area of linguistics, a number of researchers conducted word formation analysis, considered as another effective method that can be employed to investigate how terms were created. For instance, Liu and Liu (2014) employed word formation analysis in examining English terms

used on the internet, known as 'Netspeak.' They conducted the study from the outset by collecting a number of terms from a website named Wordspy. The researchers analysed the selected terms focusing on their characteristics and patterns of formation. Ultimately, they were able to identify the most frequently used word formation strategies and discovered the creativity of netizens in how they create terms.

Since we have studied Netspeak, which are considered random terms created on the internet, we can equally study terms used on particular social media platforms. For example, Faradias and the team (2019) carried out research on terms created and exploited on Instagram, an image-based mobile application in which, the created terms are used as a part of short captions or comments. The researchers gathered a number of terms from captions, hashtags, and *instastories*, analysed them, and discovered that most of them were acronyms.

In addition to studying terms created on the internet, scholars have also studied terms used in classic entertainment media such as movies. Hafiza and Rosa (2020) conducted a study to investigate the word formation strategy of modern slang used in an English-language movie named *Straight Outta Compton*. Their results show that, besides common word-formation patterns, multiple-process can be employed in creating slang as well. In other words, it is possible that creating a new term or slang may require more than one word formation process. The process is explained thoroughly in the section of Word Formation Analysis of this paper.

As such, it is obvious that word formation analysis can be employed effectively to examine how English terms are created. The approach can be utilised in studying Thai terms as well, yet the number of such studies remains relatively limited. Srinarawat (2007), for instance, studied the word formation of Thai slang used in political news articles. The researcher gathered a number of terms from news articles published by two main national publications including *Thairath* and *Matichon*. After analysing the collected terms, the researcher discovered that Thai slang used in news articles was mostly created by the process of compounding.

These previous studies demonstrate that word formation analysis can be employed as a tool to examine how terms are created. Based on the patterns of formation thus discovered, scholars have also been able to reveal key characteristics of terms. Even though the existing body of research regarding word formation in Thai is limited, it does not mean that the analysis cannot be employed to study the Thai language. Inspired by this literature review, the researchers agreed to employ word formation analysis as a key approach to examine data for how LGBT terms are created. Details about word formation analysis were provided in the next section.

## The data

A Thai LGBT series *Diary Tootsies The Series* (2016 - 2017) was selected as the data source for this study. The series was previously employed by Thai scholars as research data to investigate the language use of Thai LGBTs (i.e. Kuptanaroaj et al., 2020; Kuptanaroaj, 2021). Its plot follows a Thai LGBT squad consisting of three gay characters and one lesbian character. So, LGBT vibes namely behaviours, in-group cultures, and language can be observed throughout the series. The series is inspired by true events posted on a Facebook page *บันทึกของตุ๊ด (ban.t<sup>h</sup>úk.k<sup>h</sup>ǎ:ŋ.tút)*

or in English *'the diary of a sissy,'* which has almost 2 million followers. The conversations between LGBT characters in this series are loosely based on real-life situations. Therefore, they represent the authentic language use of Thai LGBTs. With its popularity, Thai people are interested and decide to watch the series. Consequently, this leads to Thai audience becoming more familiar with the LGBT language. Besides its popularity among the Thai audience, the series also found international success when it was picked up by Netflix where it is available with English subtitles. This context of success further justifies the use of the series as data for this study.

### Data collection

The researchers watched and rewatched the series to list all possible LGBT terms spoken by the leading characters in their casual conversations. Initially, 60 LGBT terms from the series were preselected. Some terms may be debatable whether they are employed by all-gendered people and considered commonly used terms among Thai people. Therefore, to validate the terms and avoid bias at all costs, three external raters were invited to go through the list of the terms and identify whether they were literally used by Thai LGBTs. The researchers were aware that gender and exposure to the Thai LGBT community might have some effects on the rating of LGBT terms. As a result, the three raters were selected based on their genders and exposure to LGBT people and culture. Below is the description of the three raters.

- 1.) **Gay:** This rater was a member of the Thai LGBT community. He had regular contact with Thai LGBTs. Thus, he had direct and high exposure to the language used by Thai LGBTs.
- 2.) **Straight with close contact with LGBTs:** This rater is not a true member of the Thai LGBT community, but she had close contact with Thai LGBTs. Therefore, she had some exposure to the language used by Thai LGBTs.
- 3.) **Straight with superficial contact with LGBTs:** This rater had minor contact with Thai LGBTs. He had limited exposure to the language used by Thai LGBTs.

Apart from the above criteria, other external factors that might affect the raters' judgement were controlled. The three raters were equal in their age and level of education. They are native speakers of Thai and regular users of all kinds of media namely the internet, television, and radio.

A list of the preselected 60 terms was handed to the three external raters. The raters were requested to go through the list and identify whether the terms were used by Thai LGBTs. When two out of the three raters agreed that the terms were Thai LGBT terms, they were selected to be used as data of the study. Finally, only 50 terms out of 60 terms remained, and a list of the validated terms refers to Appendix A.

### Word formation analysis

To analyse the data, the researchers had chosen and adjusted the word-formation frameworks proposed by Algeo and Algeo (1993) and Bauer (2020). As a result, the adapted framework used in this current study includes 8 possible word-formation strategies, defined as follows.

**Table 1**  
**Word formation strategies and explanation of concept**

<b>Word Formation Types</b>	<b>Concept</b>
1. Compounding	Compound is word formation by combining at least two meaningful words together to create a new word that may or may not have a meaning adhered to the base words.
2. Clipping	Clipping is word formation by shortening an existing word while its original meaning remains.
3. Initialism	Initialism is word formation by taking the initial letter of words or phrases and arranging them together to form a new word. The word, however, is read by pronouncing every single alphabet.
4. Blending	Blending is word formation by combining phonological parts of at least two words together to form a new word, and the sound of the two mixing words may or may not overlap at the place where the words join.
5. Rhyme-Motivated Word	Rhyme-Motivated Word is word formation by combining at least two terms that share a similar rhyme together to form a new word.
6. Borrowing	Borrowing is word formation by taking words from other languages. It can be (1) a loanword with a minor change in pronunciation, (2) the direct translation of the loanword, and (3) a combination of a loanword and a Thai word.
7. Shift	Shifts is word formation by replacing the original meaning of a word with a new one or changing part of speech of a word without any changes in its spelling.
8. Coinage	Coinage is word formation by putting letters or phonemes in a sequence to form a new word on purpose. It can be a specific name for one thing and does not require any meaningful word as its element. Coinage refers to all possible sorts of word formation found in the study excluding <i>Compounding, Clipping, Initialism, Blending, Rhyme-Motivated Words, Borrowing, and Shift</i> .

Each term was then investigated based on this framework. The results are presented in the next section along with some unique characteristics of the Thai LGBT terms that we happened to discover throughout the analysis by employing Content Analysis.

## RESULTS

The researchers analysed the terms validated by the three external raters, based on the adjusted framework. Some terms were created using one word formation strategy, while in some cases, two or more word-formation strategies may be employed. The overall result of the analysis is demonstrated in the table below.

**Table 2**  
The word formation used in creating the selected terms

Word Formation Types	Number of Terms (Out of 50)	Percentage (Per 50 Terms)
Compounding	17	34%
Clipping	3	6%
Initialism	0	0%
Blending	0	0%
Rhyme-Motivated Words	7	14%
Borrowing	8	16%
Shift	41	82%
Coinage	6	12%

From Table 2, it can be noticed that *Shift* is the most prominent strategy used by Thai LGBTs to create new terms (82%). The other types of word formation were found, but the percentages are notably lower than that of Shift. When taking a closer look at how the word-formation occurred, it was found that the word-formation types with lower percentages usually co-occurred with Shift. Therefore, Shift can be stated as the most prominent word-formation strategy in creating Thai LGBT terms. Therefore, an in-depth investigation of Shift was carried out. The process involved examining the literal meaning of the term in the standard Thai (*LIT.*) and the meaning when it was presented in the LGBT context (*LGBT.*). Examples of the terms being created using each word formation type refer to Appendix B.

### Shifts in creating Thai LGBT terms

Shift can be categorised into two main groups including *Shift of Grammar* and *Shift of Meaning*. Unfortunately, Shift of Grammar might not be easily identified because Thai words usually lack a clear classification of their parts of speech (Rajadhon, 1961). To explain, one word can be used as a noun, verb, adjective, adverb, etc., depending on the context where it was found. As a result, the researchers only focused on the Shift of Meaning which is the main word formation strategy found being used to create the Thai LGBT terms. A full report of results refers to Appendix C.

**Table 3**  
The use of shift of meaning with and without another word-formation strategy

Word-formation Strategies	Number of Terms (out of 41)	Percentage (per 41 Terms)
Shift	26	63.41%
Shift + Compounding	6	14.63%
Shift + Coinage	1	2.44%
Shift + Compounding + Borrowing	2	4.88%

Word-formation Strategies	Number of Terms (out of 41)	Percentage (per 41 Terms)
Shift + Compounding + Rhyme-motivated Words	5	12.20%
Shift + Rhyme-motivated Words + Borrowing + Coinage	1	2.44%
Total	41	100%

By considering the use of Shift, the results indicate that more than half (63.41%) of the terms were formed solely via the use of Shift. The researchers noticed that Shift may coincide with other word-formation strategies, and 15 terms out of 41 were created using Shift along with at least one other word-formation strategy. For instance, it was found that 6 terms (14.63%) were created using Shift and Compounding. It can be regarded as ordinary because using Compounding in creating Thai words is considered common (i.e. Iwasaki et al., 2005; Pimpuang, 2019). Moreover, the use of Rhyme-motivated Words can be found coinciding with Shift and Compounding as well. The combination of the three word-formation strategies creates more vocally-entertaining terms and was found to be used in creating 5 terms (12.20%). The new shifted meaning of words can be regarded as a strategy that makes the Thai LGBT terms stand out successfully and be easily remembered. The terms sound catchy and entertaining, and they represent the colourful ethos of Thai LGBTs. Some representative examples of how existing Thai words were shifted in their meaning when they are used by Thai LGBTs as follows.

### Shift of meaning

The first word *เท* (*t<sup>h</sup>e:*) was once an ordinary Thai verb used by all Thais, meaning ‘to pour,’ until Thai LGBTs changed the meaning to signify ‘to immediately dump someone’ or ‘to abruptly cancel an appointment.’ Generally, the word does not involve the act of leaving someone or cancelling an appointment. Instead, it explicitly shows that an individual has absolutely no interest in caring about what is going to happen if s/he made a particular decision, compared with how people throw everything away by pouring.

The second term *ตะห่าจ.นิ:* (*tə<sup>h</sup>áʔ.ni:*) is supposed to refer to a gibbon, an energetic noisy wild animal, but in Thai LGBTs’ perspective, it means girls or women. The concept of comparing girls or women to gibbons comes from how Thai people duplicate the onomatopoeic noise of a gibbon ‘*ห่า*’ (*p<sup>h</sup>ǎ:a*) which sounds like a Thai word meaning ‘a husband.’ While it can be presumed that Thai LGBTs call girls or women *ตะห่าจ.นิ:* (*tə<sup>h</sup>áʔ.ni:*) just because a gibbon says *ห่า* (*p<sup>h</sup>ǎ:a*), which sounds like it is asking for or finding a husband, the term has multiple functions and cannot refer to every girl or woman for some complicated reasons. *ตะห่าจ.นิ:* (*tə<sup>h</sup>áʔ.ni:*) can be used as a light-hearted term to call close friends or a sarcastic term to insult someone simultaneously, which can be noticed from the higher or lower pitch when pronouncing the term or even from facial expressions. This sensitivity to potential offensiveness is one of the reasons why *ตะห่าจ.นิ:* (*tə<sup>h</sup>áʔ.ni:*) cannot be used to refer to every girl or woman. The term has become familiar among Thai people of all genders. This argument is supported by External Rater C (male, Straight), according to his additional comments.

Lastly, the term แม่ (mĕ:) which literally means a mother is powerful, full of warmth on the soul and is used as a pronoun to politely refer to the interlocutor, someone else, or oneself among Thai LGBTs. To elaborate, some colloquial expressions feature the use of ‘แม่’ (mĕ:). For instance, ว่าใจแม่ (wâ:.ɲaj.mĕ:) can be used to greet people, meaning ‘Hey (you),’ แม่ว่า (mĕ:.wâ:) can be used to begin expressing opinions ‘I think, ...’ or ฟังแม่เขาสิลูก (fan.mĕ:.kĕw.sì?.lû:k) which means ‘Listen to her.’ The meaning of the three terms coincides with the context in which it is observed, so the definition may as well adhere to the original one – a mom or mother – when being used among Thai LGBTs, relying on the intention of the speaker. Like the case of ชะนี (tĕhĕn.i:), แม่ (mĕ:) can be used to call girls, women, and feminine LGBTs, who are willing to be labelled with a female pronoun. Even though the term is not inherently negative, some LGBTs feel uncomfortable or may even be offended by it.

In addition to the change of meaning that makes the use of Thai LGBT terms interesting, it can be observed that Thai LGBTs make the shifted terms even more colourful and entertaining by featuring another linguistic strategy. As the Thai language is well-known for having a variety of word levels according to formality and social status and power, the researchers have discovered that this characteristic of Thai can be a tool for creating new terms which denote some idiomatic meanings.

### Shift of word level

In this study, the use of Shift of Word Level was found. It is another word-formation method that replaces one term with another existing term that shares the same meaning yet holds either more or less formality. To create terms using this method, the meaning of a new term may or may not adhere strictly to its original term. The perception of an interlocutor towards the newly created term, however, will generally change. For instance, the LGBT term ถวายบัว (tĕhĕ.wa:j.bu:a) is a commonly used compound noun meaning ‘to offer a lotus bouquet (to Buddhist monks).’ The term consists of two elements namely ถวาย (tĕhĕ.wa:j) and บัว (bu:a). First, the term ถวาย (tĕhĕ.wa:j) is a verb that means ‘to give.’ It shares the same meaning as ordinary verbs namely ให้ (hĕj) or มอบ (mĕ:p), yet it holds a higher formality level. To elaborate, the term ถวาย (tĕhĕ.wa:j) represents a sense of giving something to someone who is of a higher social status, members of the royal family, or Buddhist monks. Aside from that, in Thai culture, ถวาย (tĕhĕ.wa:j) also portrays a manner of kneeling and raising something higher than one’s head. Meanwhile, the second element is บัว (bu:a), a common Thai noun meaning ‘lotus flowers.’ In the LGBT context, the term บัว (bu:a) has a shifted meaning which is ‘to give head to a man.’ When ถวาย (tĕhĕ.wa:j) is accompanied by บัว (bu:a), the expressive meaning of บัว (bu:a) is drastically intensified.

### Multiple shifts

Ultimately, the pragmatic meaning of ถวายบัว (tĕhĕ.wa:j.bu:a) in the LGBT context can portray the apparent action of ‘one giving oral sex to a man with willingness and feeling of honour’ instead of just ‘someone giving oral sex to a man.’ In addition, besides the adjustment of the word level that the researchers have remarked, it can be observed that the term บัว (bu:a) was possibly created through the imitation of a sucking voice in the Thai language. This assumption



shows that creativity is also one crucial part of creating Thai LGBT terms. It is arguable that the term *ถวายเป็น* (*t<sup>h</sup>ǎ.wa:j.bu:a*) is seen being formed through both *Shift of Word Levels* and *Shift of Meaning*. In every case, in which more than one step of Shift has been found, the term will be considered being created through a strategy of **Multiple Shifts**.

Another example of Thai LGBT term created via the Shift of Word Level is *น้ำเดิน* (*ná:m.dɤ:n*). The term was a compound of *น้ำ* (*ná:m*) meaning ‘water’ and *เดิน* (*dɤ:n*) meaning ‘to walk,’ and it literally makes no sense. The term *น้ำเดิน* (*ná:m.dɤ:n*), however, later denoted a state of ‘being ready to give birth’ before the meaning was shifted to ‘feel sexually aroused in the Thai LGBT context. Moreover, the Multiple Shifts may as well coincide with the Shift of Word Level as we can observe in an LGBT term *วารีดำเนิน* (*wa:ri:.dam.nɤ:n*). The term was created by replacing *น้ำ* (*ná:m*) and *เดิน* (*dɤ:n*) with the more-formal words with the same meaning, which are *วารี* (*wa:ri:*) and *ดำเนิน* (*dam.nɤ:n*) respectively. When the meaning in the Thai LGBT context is in consideration, the term *วารีดำเนิน* (*wa:ri:.dam.nɤ:n*) can still convey the same pragmatic meaning as *น้ำเดิน* (*ná:m.dɤ:n*) when it refers to ‘being sexually aroused.’ However, the term *วารีดำเนิน* (*wa:ri:.dam.nɤ:n*) is unable to deliver the meaning of ‘being ready to give birth.’ Consequently, it shows that changing word levels to either greater or less formality does not always work in creating Thai LGBT terms.

As Thai is acknowledged as a hierarchical language, there are several levels of formality for terms to be employed in conversations. To explain, this means that people have more word choices to choose from when they want to say something. Owing to this variety, it allows Thai people to be more creative and playful when they speak. Considering the mentioned example, *วารีดำเนิน* (*wa:ri:.dam.nɤ:n*) is a decent example of increasing the formality level of a term *น้ำเดิน* (*ná:m.dɤ:n*). By doing this, Thai LGBTs can create another term immediately. Moreover, it can be observed that people’s perspective on the expressive meaning of terms may change when it is switched to another term with different word levels. People may employ a more formal term to season a conversation, or they may intentionally want to be sarcastic by using a term with a different formality level. For example, addressing a close friend with formal pronouns *คุณ* (*k<sup>h</sup>un*) or *ท่าน* (*t<sup>h</sup>ân*) does not express politeness as clear as sarcasm. However, the change of word levels may only add a flavour to the conversation and have nothing to do with negative intention. The user of a term may only aim to entertain his or her interlocutor with the conversation they have been holding. Therefore, Shift of Word Level is acceptable among Thai LGBTs to be used as a strategy to connote the meaning or sense of terms in the present.

### Hybrid shift

Additionally, Thai LGBTs do not only play with the level of words to make their conversation more entertaining. According to the data, the researchers have also remarked that Thai LGBTs employ other strategies of word formation along with Shift in creating terms. The strategy of word formation in which Shift is employed together with at least one another word-formation strategy to create new terms is regarded as Hybrid Shift.

From the data, examples of Thai LGBT terms created through Hybrid Shift are such as *ชนะมีชัย* *ผมเปีย* (*tɕ<sup>h</sup>áʔ.ni:.mát.t<sup>h</sup>á.jom.p<sup>h</sup>ǒm.pi:a*) and *ตุ๊ดล่ำก้ามปู* (*tút.lâm.kâ:m.pu:*). The two terms require

the use of *Compounding* at the beginning by combining existing words together. Moreover, Thai LGBTs boost the entertainment level by adding *Rhyme-Motivated Words*. Through these word-formation processes, the researchers notice that the meaning of each term has been intensified. Hence, it can be remarked that the *Shift of Meaning* can also coincide with the modifier(s) added.

To explain, the term *ชนะนี้มีมัธยมผมเปีย* (*tɕʰáʔ.ni:.mát.tʰá.jom.pʰǒm.pi:a*) consists of three elements including *ชนะนี้* (*tɕʰáʔ.ni:*), *มัธยม* (*.mát.tʰá.jom*), and *ผมเปีย* (*pʰǒm.pi:a*). The first element *ชนะนี้* (*tɕʰáʔ.ni:*), as already discussed, means ‘a girl or a woman.’ The term *มัธยม* (*.mát.tʰá.jom*) contextually functions as a modifier referring to ‘related to middle or high school.’ The last element *ผมเปีย* (*pʰǒm.pi:a*) is another modifier referring to ‘pigtails.’ The key meaning of the term still adheres to a girl. However, with the modifiers *มัธยม* (*.mát.tʰá.jom*) and *ผมเปีย* (*pʰǒm.pi:a*), the term portrays a very clear picture of a Thai schoolgirl in a private Catholic girls’ school, who has two pigtails and wears a student uniform. The concept is very culturally specific and can only be recognised by those who are familiar with Thai culture. While the term seems to draw a picture of a schoolgirl, it simultaneously connotes a sense of sarcasm. In the context in which the term was found, it was employed for a sarcastic purpose, that one is negatively behaving like a schoolgirl. *ชนะนี้มีมัธยมผมเปีย* (*tɕʰáʔ.ni:.mát.tʰá.jom.pʰǒm.pi:a*) represents the act of negative sisterhood when a schoolgirl cannot be alone and always needs someone else to be with her. Besides that, the hidden meaning of *ชนะนี้* (*tɕʰáʔ.ni:*) as explained earlier portrays a wild animal saying *ห้าว* (*pʰáʔ.a*), which is completely against the proper characteristics of schoolgirls in a girls’ school.

Another decent example the researchers found is *ตุ๊ดล่ำกำมปู* (*tút.lâm.kâ:m.pu:*). While the term *ตุ๊ด* (*tút*) signifies boys or men with feminine stereotypes such as long hair, wearing makeup, or a petite body, the term *ล่ำ* (*lâm*) is an adjective presenting a very muscular male figure. The two characteristics - *ตุ๊ด* (*tút*) and *ล่ำ* (*lâm*) - are absolutely against each other in the process of Compounding, and the Shift of Meaning occurred when the use of Rhyme-Motivated Words was added. To form *ตุ๊ดล่ำกำมปู* (*tút.lâm.kâ:m.pu:*), another element added to the term *ตุ๊ดล่ำ* (*tút.lâm*) for the sake of entertainment is *กำมปู* (*kâ:m.pu:*). The term commonly refers to ‘crab claw’ in daily conversation in Thai, but it signifies bulging biceps in the Thai LGBT context. Along with this process, the meaning of the term became dramatically clearer as the term *กำมปู* (*kâ:m.pu:*) draws a figure of a male bodybuilder, not only a man with big muscles. Therefore, it can be observed that rhyme playing makes a term more entertaining and intensifies the meaning or makes it even clearer. As it can be seen in *ตุ๊ดล่ำกำมปู* (*tút.lâm.kâ:m.pu:*), the picture of a girly gay with a masculine bodybuilder-liked figure is apparently presented. Consequently, to form this term requires two processes of word-formation strategies including Compounding, and Rhyme-Motivated Word which later brings about Shift in Meaning. And, this formation gives a perfect example of Hybrid Shift, in which Shift and other word-formation strategies combine. The researchers summarised that the use of The Hybrid Shift strategy not only helps make the selected terms entertaining but also plays a major role in delivering a sense of sarcasm, which can be seen as another feature of the Thai LGBT conversation style, and in intensifying meaning.

## DISCUSSION

According to the results, it can be concluded that Shift is the key strategy that was dominantly employed to create Thai LGBT terms in *Diary Tootsies The Series*. It is noted that 82% of the collected terms were created using Shift. Of these, 63.41% were created solely through Shift, and the rest were created through Shift in combination with other word formation strategies. In other words, the finding shows that Thai LGBTs mostly choose to add a new meaning to the existing terms in Thai instead of creating new terms. Moreover, the use of Shift in coining terms portrays some characteristics of the Thai LGBT terms, which make themselves stand out from common Thai usage.

Once the terms with a shifted meaning are employed by Thai LGBTs, they signify some noticeable characteristics that come with the new denotation. The terms can become somewhat more expressive or elaborate, such as *ชนะมีชัยผมเป๋ย* (*tɕʰáʔ.ni:.mát.tʰá.jom.pʰǒm.pi:a*) or *ตุ๊ดล่าก้ามปู* (*tút.lâm.kâ:m.pu:*). In addition, the use of Shift in creating Thai LGBT terms allows people to mention sexual taboos in public by giving them a funnier and more acceptable connotation, namely *ถวายเป็น* (*tʰà.wa:j.bu:a*) or *ยี้ม* (*jím*). Aside from the shift of meaning, it can be noticed that the use of rhyme in creating terms makes it more entertaining for both speakers and listeners. Most of the time, the terms must be delivered along with other non-verbal cues including extraordinary gestures or facial expressions. These non-verbal cues are unique to gender and culture (Phutela, 2015), and they can be well observed as it is drastically different from gender binary people. Besides that, they help signify humour, sarcasm, and other emotions. These characteristics could not totally represent the use of terms of the whole Thai LGBT community, but they are commonly discovered in daily conversation among Thai LGBTs. Consequently, it can be summarised that the identified characteristics could partly be a stereotypical feature of Thai LGBTs' use of terms.

The identified characteristics were well portrayed in *Diary Tootsies The Series*. This phenomenon helped make the series very successful as both an entertainment piece and a popular portrayal of Thai LGBT people. The use of terms in the series not only represents the daily use of such terms among Thai LGBTs, but it also helped popularise these terms in common Thai. Because the terms are seen to imbue comical vibes in a conversation, they are increasingly employed by Thai people from different backgrounds of gender and age. Many people have begun to adopt the terms, use them in daily life, and they are progressively becoming terms in common Thai. It can thus be implied that the growing acceptance of Thai LGBT language in mainstream Thai society is indicative of how Thai LGBTs are gaining more acceptance in the society as well.

Thai LGBTs play a more prominent role in Thai society nowadays, especially in the use of terms. Mainstream audiences are very good at following trends, social affairs, and online content, and such influences often create new terms. The data being collected and used in this study was once very new and specific. Now, however, some of them have become common terms and others are no longer used and regarded as 'other old terms.' Meanwhile, a huge number of newly created terms are promulgated on the internet, and they are used in daily conversation. The Thai LGBT terms will continue to change as society evolves, and this makes the study of Thai LGBT terms or Thai LGBT language a particularly interesting topic in the field of linguistics.

Ultimately, the researchers have found a possible limitation in the study and would suggest that the use of Thai LGBT terms in *Dairy Tootsie The Series* may only represent the language use of feminine gays. To explain, the leading characters of this series consist of three feminine gays and one lesbian. Considering the gender diversity of 'LGBT,' the language use of bisexual, transgendered, and other gender people might not be truly represented in this study. In other words, studying language use in the Boy Love series, the genre of series that follows the love of masculine gay characters, might exhibit something different regarding the use of terms. In addition to the use of language, a study of non-verbal elements in communication is suggested for future studies. During the analysis of words in this study, the researchers observed that non-verbal elements also play a major role in delivering messages in communication, especially among LGBTs. Finally, as the researchers have stated that the use of Thai LGBT terms always changes, it means it is necessary to draw from the most up-to-date data to study the latest developments of the Thai LGBT terms or language.

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## Appendix A

### Thai LGBT terms and pronunciation

Number	Thai LGBT Terms	International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)
1	อรรถรส	ʔət.tʰà.rót
2	เท	tʰe:
3	ตุ๊ดล่ำก้ามปู	tút.lâm.kâ:m.pu:
4	ตลาดเก้งกวาง	tà.là:t.kêŋ.kwa:ŋ
5	สจ๊วต	sà.tci:
6	เรียด	rý:t
7	ขะนิ	tɕʰáʔ.ni:
8	จั๊ตจั๊ต	ŋát.dân
9	มีความแรด ความดอก	mí:.kʰwa:m.rê:t.kʰwa:m.dò:k
10	ยี้ม	jím
11	แซ่บกว่า	sê:p.kwà:
12	งู	ŋu:
13	เก้ง	kêŋ
14	ไม่แสดงออก	mâj.sà.dɛ:ŋ.ʔò:k
15	จิก (ใคร)	tɕik (kʰraj)
16	แอบใส่หัวใจสี่ดวง	ʔé:p.sǎj.hũ:a.teaj.si:.du:an
17	ถวายเป็น	tʰà.wa:j.bu:a
18	จิก (สั้นสูง)	tɕik (sôn.sũ:ŋ)
19	ว้าย อิจ	wá:j.ʔit
20	มโน	má.no:
21	(งบบมีเท่า) หอยหามา	(ŋóp.mi:.tʰâw) hǎ:j.mǎ:
22	น้ำท่วม	má:w.mc:j
23	ตุ๊ดหน้าเทาเมารองพื้น	tút.nâ:.tʰaw.maw.ro:ŋ.pʰúm:n
24	วารีดำนิน	wa:.ri:.dam.ny:n
25	ไปวิน	paj.wi:n
26	ขะนิมีโยมผมเปีย	tɕʰáʔ.ni:.mát.tʰá.jom.pʰôm.pi:a

Number	Thai LGBT Terms	International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)
27	ช่างหอย (รถใหม่มีงสิ)	tɕʰá:ŋ.hǒ:j (rót.màj.mwŋ.sìʔ)
28	(เหม็น) จริงอะไรจริง	(měn) tɕiŋ.ʔàʔ.raj.tɕiŋ
29	เปรี้ยวเขียวราด	pri:aw.ji:aw.rà:t
30	ดูแพงมาก	du:pʰɛ:ŋ.má:k
31	น้ำเดิน	ná:m.dv:n
32	กินไส้กรอก	kin.sáj.krò:k
33	แม่ซี	mê:.tɕʰi:
34	ลำไย	lam.jaj
35	มึงว่าไซ้ไซ้ใหม่	mwŋ.wá:.tɕʰáj.tɕʰáj.mǎj
36	แห้งทอง	tʰɛ̃:ŋ.tʰw:ŋ
37	ซิส	sít
38	เทิร์นรูก	tʰv:n.rúk
39	แต่งหญิง	tɛ̃ŋ.jiŋ
40	เพลีสิม	pʰlɛ:n.lu:m
41	นาก	nók
42	แซ่บ	sɛ̃:p
43	มันหน้า	mân.nâ:
44	แม่	mê:
45	สร้างแลนด์มาร์ค	sá:ŋ.le:n.má:k
46	สิป สิบ สิบ	sip.sip.sip
47	้วย ตายแล้ว	wá:j.ta:j.lé:w
48	เมายาคูม	maw.ja:kʰum
49	แรด	rɛ̃:t
50	โนสนโนแคร์	no:.són.no:.kʰɛ:

## Appendix B

### Word formation types and examples

Word Formation Types	Number of Terms (Out of 50)	Percentage (Per 50 Terms)	Examples
Compounding	17	34%	วารีดำนิน (wa:.ri:.dam.nv:n), เบรียวเยี้ยวราด (prí:aw.ji:aw.rá:t), แต่งหญิง (tên.jín)
Clipping	3	6%	้วย อิจ (wá:j.ʔit), ซิส (sít), มั่นหน้า (mân.nâ:)
Initialism	0	0%	-
Blending	0	0%	-
Rhyme-Motivated Words	7	14%	ตุ้ดล่ำกำมปุ (tút.lâm.kâ:m.pu:), ตุ้ดหน้าเหาเมารองพั้น (tút.nâ:.t <sup>h</sup> aw.maw.ro:ŋ.p <sup>h</sup> ú:n), ขณะนี้มีร้อยผมเปีย (tc <sup>h</sup> áʔ.ni:.mát.t <sup>h</sup> á.jom.p <sup>h</sup> ôm.pi:a)
Borrowing	8	16%	เทิร์นรุก (t <sup>h</sup> y:n.rúk), สร้างแลนด์มาร์ค (sá:ŋ.lɛ:n.mâ:k), โนสนโนแคร์ (no:.són.no:.k <sup>h</sup> ɛ:)
Shift	41	82%	อรรถรส (ʔà:t <sup>h</sup> à.rót), ไม่แสดงออก (mâ:sà.dɛ:ŋ.ʔò:k), ถวายบัว (t <sup>h</sup> à.wa:j.bu:a)
Coinage	6	12%	สจี้ (sà.tci:), เม้าทมอย (má:w.mo:j), สิบ สิบ สิบ (sip.sip.sip)



### Appendix C

#### Shift with and without other word-formation strategies

Word-formation Strategies	Number of Terms (out of 41)	Percentage (per 41 Terms)	Terms
Shift	26	63.41%	อรรถรส (ʔàt.tʰà.rót), เท (tʰe:), เร็ด (rít), ซะนี่ (tɕʰáʔ.ní:), ยิ้ม (jím), งู (nu:), เก้ง (kêŋ), etc.
Shift + Compounding	6	14.63%	จัดตั้ง (ját.dân), หอยหามา (hǎ:j.mǎ:), วารีดำเนิน (wa:ri:.dam.nx:n), ไปวิน (paj.wi:n), กินไส้กรอก (kin.sáj.krò:k), เพลินลิ้ม (pʰly:n.lu:m)
Shift + Coinage	1	2.44%	มีความแรดความดอก (mí:.kʰwa:m.rê:t.kʰwa:m.dò:k)
Shift + Compounding + Borrowing	2	4.88%	เทิร์นรุก (tʰy:n.rúk), สร้างแลนด์มาร์ค (sǎ:ŋ.le:n.má:k)
Shift + Compounding + Rhyme-motivated Words	5	12.20%	ตุ๊ดล้าก้ามปู (tút.lâm.ká:m.pu:), ตลาดแก๊งกวาง (tà.là:t.kêŋ.kwa:ŋ), ตุ๊ดหน้าเทาเมารองพื้น (tút.ná:.tʰaw.maw.rɔ:ŋ.pʰún:n), ซะนี่มีธยมผมเปีย (tɕʰáʔ.ní:.mát.tʰá.jom.pʰǒm.pi:a), เบรี่ยวเยี้ยววราด (prí:aw.jí:aw.râ:t)
Shift + Rhyme-motivated Words + Borrowing + Coinage	1	2.44%	เม้าท์มอย (má:w.mɔ:j)
Total	41	100%	