

# A study of Thai and English Misogynistic Language in Social Media

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## บทคัดย่อ

งานวิจัยนี้ ศึกษาลักษณะภาษาและมิติทางวัฒนธรรมของการใช้ข้อความภาษาไทยและภาษาอังกฤษที่แสดงความเกลียดชังและเหยียดเพศหญิงในสื่อสังคมออนไลน์ โดยมีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อเปรียบเทียบความแตกต่างด้านภาษาและวัฒนธรรมไทยและอังกฤษ และเพื่อสร้างความตระหนักถึงผลกระทบเชิงลบของการใช้ภาษาในสื่อสังคมออนไลน์ ผลการวิจัยพบว่าลักษณะทางภาษาและวัฒนธรรมของข้อความแสดงความเกลียดชังเพศหญิงในภาษาไทยและภาษาอังกฤษส่วนใหญ่มีรูปภาพที่สะท้อนความรุนแรงแบบปกปิด และสะท้อนถึงความเหมือนและความแตกต่างทางวัฒนธรรมของทั้งสองภาษาเกี่ยวกับการให้คุณค่าของเพศหญิง ความคาดหวังในบทบาทและพฤติกรรมและรูปลักษณ์ภายนอกของเพศหญิง ผู้ใช้ภาษาจึงควรเข้าใจความสัมพันธ์ที่ไม่ชัดเจนระหว่างรูปภาพกับความหมาย ตลอดจนมิติทางวัฒนธรรมของภาษาเพื่อตระหนักถึงความรุนแรงและผลกระทบเชิงลบของการใช้ภาษาที่สื่อถึงความเกลียดชังเพศหญิงในสื่อสังคมออนไลน์

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## Abstract

This study examines the linguistic features and cultural implications of misogynistic language in Thai and English social media posts and comments. The objectives are to compare the cultural patterns underlying the posts, and to raise social media users' awareness of the mechanisms and negative impact of misogynistic language. By examining the characteristics of such verbal violence, cultural similarities and differences between misogynistic language in Thai and English can be exposed in relation to cultural values, and social expectations regarding female stereotypes, as

expressed through the locutionary and illocutionary functions of language. For optimal awareness of misogyny, language users must be aware of the often non-explicit relationship between linguistic forms and functions and the cultural implications of misogynistic language.

**Keywords:** Online misogyny, Gender bias, Sexist language, Social media

## Introduction

Social media are a key field where sexist language may occur because the number of users has been rising every year. In 2020, 3.6 billion people around the world were using social media, with that number anticipated to increase to 4.41 billion in 2025 (Statista, 2022). The opportunities for instant communication and access to abundant information can allow online social media to have a harmful impact. Social media users may exploit the freedom of speech and anonymity offered by social media as a means to express aggression and hostility. (Zimmerman, 2012; Essen & Jansson, 2020). Such aggression may include stressing perceived inequality between genders. One form this may take is misogyny, gender-based violence with women as victims (Dehingia, 2020).

The issue of language violence may receive unduly little attention if it is supposed that only physical violence is real, and that language can do no physical harm. According to Wongsuppan (2013), language can perpetrate a covert form of violence that can harm an individual's mind and well-being. He observes as well that it can also cause social and cultural structural concerns, one of which is gender inequality with women as the typical victims. An Amnesty International IPSOS MORI poll (Amnesty International, 2017) reported that 23 percent of women aged 18-55 in eight countries (Denmark, Italy, New Zealand, Poland, Spain, Sweden, the UK and USA.) had experienced verbal abuse online. Additionally, the number of victims may not be as worrying as the intensity of the harm. 41 percent of those who had been exposed to online threats felt that their physical safety was at risk and 61 percent expressed that they had lower self-esteem and self-confidence. Moreover, more than a half of those affected have developed a psychiatric disorder and are concerned with their physical wellbeing. A substantial percentage also reported that they had been unable to sleep. Finally,

beyond physical and mental health challenges, the poll indicated that online verbal abuse can lead to suicide. These consequences make misogyny a very severe social issue.

Studies of gender bias including misogyny have shown signs of this plague in diverse areas of professional activity, which include legal services and public health (Pitaksantayothin, 2020) as well as online newspaper publishing (Demberg, 2014). Such research has been carried out through information management to document misogyny in online social media (Pamungkas, Basile & Patti, 2020), and sometimes within a feminist framework (Barker & Jurasz, 2019). Furthermore, the breadth of the problem has been highlighted by examination of different languages (for instance, not only English but also Spanish) where misogynistic language may be used to express hatred of women, with the conviction that women are worth less than men frequently discovered (Essen & Jansson, 2020; Goblet & Glowacz, 2021; Aldana-bobadilla et al., 2021; Barker & Jurasz, 2019). In fact there appear to be relatively few studies specifically of this issue in Thai, although exceptions include a report on sexism on the Internet (Roopsa-ard & Jantarangsee, 2021) and another on sexual violence and sexual inequality (Aroonjit, 2019). Still, there are studies about other related issues in Thai language, such as gender stereotypes (Setthankarn, 2019), sexual orientation and representation in newspaper and online news (พงษ์แก้ว, et al., 2020) and sexist language in Thai (Wongsupphakan, 2013).

A sense of the complexity of this field emerges from a review of the literature, which suggests three noteworthy themes. First, one study revealed that half of the misogynistic language found on Twitter was not written by men, but by women (Laville, 2016). This means that women devalue themselves and feel ashamed of themselves and other women. Cherry (2018), identifies this phenomenon as internalized misogyny. Second, with respect to research in the Thai context, studies about sexism in Thai songs released on the internet indicate the content that depicts women as sinful, sexual objects and the butt of jokes. Additionally, online songs also embody sexual harassment and sexist female beauty standards. Such content reflects a patriarchal culture, where males are dominant (Roopsa-ard & Jantarangsee, 2021). Third, some research has argued for a counterintuitive trend: although a substantial number of studies confirm the existence of misogyny in various social spheres mentioned earlier, one contrasting study in a strongly male-oriented journal has employed a review of earlier studies to claim there is no scientific evidence for negative attitudes

toward women, but rather prejudices against men and favoring women (Moxon, 2018). That study expresses the concern that people may unreasonably trivialize if not ignore the issue of misogyny. Although this is a minority view, it vividly underlines how sensitive and potentially damaging sexist language of any kind can be.

In linguistic terms, it is noticeable that misogynistic expressions may not always have an explicitly aggressive manifestation such as satire and swear words. Aldana-Bobadilla et al (2021) stress that misogynistic language is subtle and is usually disguised in many common language forms such as flattery, proverbs, jokes and parodies. This makes it difficult to identify, so that language users may have trouble gaining awareness of the violence of misogynistic language. In order to make language users, especially on social media, more conscious of the risk that they might lapse into such gender-biased language as misogynistic expressions, they may need to understand how the language functions. It is important for them to understand how intended and especially unintended meanings are actually implied, so that they become sensitized to the great impact it could have on its victims. Therefore, this study aims to identify the typical communication strategies and the socio-cultural implications of misogynistic language as observed in social media posts. For analytical purposes, we will narrow our focus to a set of high-frequency communication strategies of misogynistic language that we have drawn from previous studies (Aldana-Bobadilla et al., 2021; Wongsuppakarn, 2013), designated throughout this paper by the acronym HFCSs: slang, idioms, proverbs, swear words, jokes, satire, patronizing expressions, metaphors or other figurative language and noun and pronoun references used in naming. It is important to consider how such HFCSs can be used to connote gender bias, and what socio-cultural factors underlie their use. This matters not only because language use can reflect the social and cultural background of language community, but also because socio-cultural factors may actually motivate the use of misogynistic language by a language community. An aggravating factor is the way in which misogynistic language can operate implicitly, by hiding behind HFCSs that may not seem aggressive in themselves. That obliqueness can explain why people tend to normalize the covertly misogynistic use of HFCSs in the erroneous belief that they can use such expressions to make fun of others in ways that are always just playful and harmless. If this issue is left unaddressed, it might escalate to larger-scale incidents of aggression and confrontation.

We chose to do a comparative study of misogynistic language in English and Thai because we saw that previous studies of misogynistic gender biases in the English language were more common than for the Thai language. Also, English and Thai lend themselves to comparative study because both languages seem to embody fewer gender-specific features than are seen in gendered languages such as French, Spanish and Hindi, which usually have gender biases (BBC, n.d.). According to Prewitt-Freilino, Caswell and Laakso (2012), gender-specific exponents in a language embody the relevant society's social and cultural propensities with respect to gender equality. According to the World Economic Forum (2021), English is categorized as a natural gender and Thai as a genderless language. This implies that the countries speaking either language may well have high gender equality than countries speaking a gendered language. If this inference is true, we wondered if we would find greater or lesser evidence of sexist language or gender bias in the HFCSs used in online posts by native speakers of one or the other language. Another important reason why we chose to study these two languages is that English is used worldwide as an international language, so that media are commonly presented in English, and Thai is the native language of the researchers. Arguably, the two languages may represent opposite worldviews from western and eastern cultural perspectives. So, we were interested in comparing if, despite being non-gender specific, HFCSs used by speakers of either or even both languages carry any forms of cultural implications that indicate gender biases in the society. We hope to identify if and in what aspects the cultural backgrounds underlying each of the two languages are similar or different, postulating that English reflects western culture and Thai, eastern. According to 2021 the gender gap ranking report presented by World Economic Forum, all native English-speaking countries were ranked in higher gender equality than Thailand: top 50 of gender equality, but with Thailand at the rank of 79 among all 156 countries (World Economic Forum, 2021).

The above considerations suggest that the logical first step will be to analyze the specific characteristics of misogynistic language and how it reflects social and cultural beliefs. However, because the HFCSs tend so often to convey sexist meanings implicitly, it will also be necessary at least briefly to explore the inherently implicit nature of all language use. From there, we anticipate it may be possible to highlight the critical issues and raise social consciousness in such a way as to discourage the use of misogynistic language. We hope that this research will shed light on this point,

so that language users will recognize the forms and intended meanings of the HFCSs clearly enough to be motivated to avoid the normalization of misogynistic language. That practical goal is our rationale for giving the HFCSs a central place in the overall analysis, and for prioritizing them in Tables 1 and 2, which display our results. Given our wish to influence not just scholars but also the general public, we have been moved by the pedagogical principle that explanation should begin with the known (i.e. the familiar HFCSs) before introducing new and unfamiliar elements (i.e. the more abstruse linguistic mechanisms underlying communication).

### **Objectives**

This study aims to identify the HFCSs of misogynistic language in Thai and English, as observed on social media platforms, and to explore the socio-cultural implications underlying misogynistic communication in both Thai and English languages. We anticipate useful implications for raising awareness among language users in general, and particularly in the context of online communication.

### **Research Questions**

To address the issue of linguistic misogyny, this study will address the following questions:

1. What are the HFCSs of Thai and English misogynistic language use?
2. What are the socio-cultural implications of verbal misogyny in Thai and in English?

## **Literature Review**

### **Misogyny and Sexist Language**

The word "misogyny" was originally from a Greek word meaning hatred towards women, which is generally characterized as sexism and prejudice against women in the form of speech and behavior (Srivastava et al., 2017; Blackburn Center, 2019; Merriam-Webster, n.d.). Misogyny implies acting on sexist attitudes in an aggressive manner; it is often demonstrated through demeaning or degrading verbal remarks. For example, if a woman is hired over a man and the man reacts by accusing her of a variety of gender-based misconducts, this is considered a form of misogyny (McGrew & Bahn, 2017). Moreover, such patriarchal conditions will restrict women's and girls' social, economic, and cultural participation and opportunities, as well as promoting the possibility of

unhealthy personal and professional relationships with men. These incidents have negative consequences for women's and girls' mental and physical well-being, and victims of misogyny may suffer low self-esteem, embarrassment, and insecurity. Yet, although they might feel useless, frightened, and enraged, they may internalize their feelings because of being taught that frustration is immodest (Richardson, 2018). For all these reasons, misogyny is one of the most pressing issues that people should be concerned with, including not just its mechanisms but also its effects.

Misogyny can take the form of sexist language in a society that holds maleness as the norm. Language in such a society is formulated on the basis of an assumption of maleness; for example, the word 'doctor' is presumed as male, so that a female doctor requires another word such as 'lady doctor' (Wongsuppakarn, 2013). There are sexist words used to describe women in circumstances where there are no men equivalent terms: for example, 'working mother', 'career woman', 'feisty' and so on (Thaliakr, 2016). These language systems imply that female words are abnormal or irregular form of language. Also, words may be encoded based on a male worldview, such as chick, pussy, son of a bitch, or old maid (Wongsuppakarn, 2013). According to Thaliakr (2016), some words are used to reproach women's behavior when the same behavior by men is not remarked. Among those are 'drama queen', 'gossipy', 'bitchy' and many others. In addition, misogynistic language also includes the use of words relating to women's physical appearance more frequent than those of men, such as 'curvy', 'cheap', or 'plus-size', along with descriptions of women's fluctuating emotions in relation to hormones and physicality, as in 'emotional', 'hysterical', 'flaky', 'over-sensitive' and many others (Thaliakr, 2016).

### **Socio-Cultural Reflections of Misogyny**

Misogyny is grounded on gender stereotypes. Gender inequality has been illustrated in previous literature. Neculaesei (2015), for example, conducted a document review and found that women are generally stereotyped and devalued as passive, fragile, weak and lacking in virtues, while men are regarded more positively. The way society devalues women can be traced back to religion or ancient philosophy. Christians often believe that God made men and women differently, with a more dominant role for men as quoted below:

*Wives, submit to your husbands as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body, of which he is the Saviour. Now as the church submits to Christ, so also wives should submit to their husbands in everything.*  
(St Paul's letter to the Ephesians 5:21-22)

(BBC, 2022)

In many religions, divine entities are most frequently represented as males, while women are underrepresented in religious roles. In ancient Sanskrit literature, women are presented through negative depictions, such as being untrustworthy or evil, causing men to become evil, being nothing but a man's property, and so forth. These images reflect a traditional prejudice against women in Indian society (Rodsap, Rodpaen & Nachapa, 2014). Even up until today, such beliefs and values can set norms and social practices for the role of women. Misogyny can also reveal itself through the masculine dimension of a culture, such that men and women receive unequal different degree of representation. Men are often held in higher regard than women with respect to authority or pay, and may be pressured to behave in a more masculine-looking way, and in all fields women tend to be underrepresented in positions of authority (Hofstede, 2011).

### **Language Features and Cultural Reflections in Thai and English**

Misogyny is a language phenomenon that reflects the way each culture perceives and values gender roles. Cultural values and norms can be expressed through the HFCSs identified above: slang, idioms, proverbs, swear words, jokes, patronizing expressions, metaphors or other figurative language, noun and pronoun references used in naming. Incidentally, the potential for male dominance in even a genderless language like Thai is revealed by some proverbs that can reflect distinctive cultural norms and values very clearly. For example, a Thai proverb, “สามีเป็นช้างเท้าหน้า ภรรยาเป็นช้างเท้าหลัง” reflects the unequal role of husband and wife in the family, by representing the husband as the forelegs of an elephant, while wife is the hind legs. Although the role of husband and wife in English culture may not be differentiated as commonly as the Thai culture, English language also has an equivalent expression, “It's a sad house where the hen crows louder than the cock”, which means no home is happy if the husband is such weakling that his wife gives all the orders. Moreover, such associations are complicated because evidence regarding the relation between Thai



language and Thai culture also shows a contrasting view of female dominance down through history. The use of word “แม่” (Mother) in some Thai words such as “แม่น้ำ” (Mother River), “แม่ทัพ” (Commander-in chief) can be viewed as reflecting recognition of females as leaders (สมจิตรา นุกิจ, 2013).

Another subtle way in which language can reflect what a society expects from males and females concerns noun and pronoun references used in naming. Some given names such as “Aunt Jemina” are now understood as conveying the derogatory meaning of “a black woman considered by other black people to be subservient to or to curry favor with white people” (Dictionary.com, n.d.). In Thai, the words, “วันทอง” (pronounced /wan tong/ and “กาเกี” (pronounced /ka ki/), which are names derived from a Thai literature, are used to designate a woman who has many love affairs or cheats her husband (Wongsuppan, 2013). When used in common situations, these words are found unpleasant and disgraceful for females. By contrast, in Thai culture, a man who has a lot of lovers and wives are sometimes referred to as a “Casanova”, or in the Thai words “เจ้าชู้” /jao ju/, “นักรัก” /nak rak/ and “เสียผู้หญิง” /suea pu yin/, which are all perceived as highly positive. Such behavior is considered more acceptable for men than for women, and men generally take pride in it (Wongsuppan (2013). This contrast reflects sexual double-standards in a society.

### Online Sexist Hate Speech

According to Barker and Jurasz (2019), online communication can be intimidating to women. Studies have found many cases of abuse of females or discrimination against them via online communication, and particularly in social media. Online misogyny may be denominated by other terminology such as “gendered cyberhate, technology-facilitated violence, tech-related violence, online abuse, hate speech online, digital violence, networked harassment, cyberbullying, cyber harassment, online violence against women,...” (Ging & Siapera, 2018, p.516). Still, whatever the specific term, the negative impact is the same. In terms of the HFCSs, there are many forms of misogynistic messages on social media. First, misogyny can take the form of jokes such as “What do you do when your dishwasher stops working? You hit her.”. It compares a dishwasher with a woman, doing her job (Prasad, 2019). This form of humor might be viewed merely amusing; however, it is plainly a form of gender bias. Also, sexual harassment can take the form of literary, verbal, or physical

communication; so, it can take place either in person or online, such as using offensive names or terms of endearment like 'honey bun' or 'boobsy' (Association of Women for Action and Research, 2022). Thirdly, victim blaming is a version of violence. It happens, for instance, when a woman becomes a victim of a rape or sexual harassment but is held solely responsible for the damage she has suffered. Examples of victim blaming statements are "Look at how they are dressed, no wonder they were raped." (UNICEF Thailand, 2020). In terms of the HFCSs, such comments may be categorized as an extreme form of patronizing language. Another way to express misogyny is through slut-shaming, which is a kind of cyberbullying where women are verbally abused through the act of humiliating and mocking their body image and sexual behavior. This includes how women are punished for breaking a society's rules and or are blamed in relation to supposedly inappropriate dress or behavior, while men have more freedom in doing the same kind of behavior (Gordon, 2021). Lastly, the act of negatively criticizing or mocking others' body image or height is known as body shaming; for example, "I bet they had to buy an extra plane ticket to fit", which implies fat-shaming, a type of body shaming that typically targets women (Resnick, 2022).

#### **Explicit Utterance vs Implicit Illocutionary Force**

While it is entirely possible to identify HFCSs as used in online language, and to advocate against their misogynistic utilization, an important complexity remains. Any list of HFCSs is no more than a collection of what Widdowson would term explicit utterances: instances of actual "language when we hear it or read it" (1996, p. 62). However, the literal meaning of an utterance does not directly indicate its practical meaning in the context where it is used. That second kind of meaning is what Widdowson calls the utterance's "illocutionary force": the meaning that "the speaker may intend" (Widdowson, 1996, p. 62). And Speech Act Theory people are always aware that communication depends on the illocutionary force of utterances, not the literal meaning of the phrases that express them (Widdowson, 1996). For instance, someone might ask, 'Could you close the door?' If so, a 'Yes' or 'No' answer would obviously not be expected! The speaker wants the hearer to actually close the door; that is the illocutionary force of the utterance.

The same concept applies to the HFCSs. A good example is proverbs. On the surface – as utterances – proverbs usually take the form of factual comments about life that purport to provide

well-intended lessons, guidance and advice. But is that always their actual illocutionary force? According to He and Zhang (2018), proverbs often obliquely express sexism. For instance, some English proverbs contain thoughts about male dominance, female inferiority, and the lower position of women in marriage, as in “If the husband be not at home, there is nobody.”, “A woman’s advice is never to seek” and “Marry a wife of thine own degree” (He & Zhang, p. 426). In the Thai language, there is a category of proverbs specifically for young women, concerning proper manners and behavior: such as being reserved in sexual relationships, dressing, walking, speaking properly, being a good wife, and so forth (นิตยา เขยกลีน, 2014). These proverbs reflect the high social demands and pressures for responsibility that weigh on Thai women. Likewise, we could also consider idioms, which are more commonly used in everyday life than proverbs and which may depict females’ inferiority in character, wisdom and status, as in “ally cat”, “golf widow” or “call girl” (He & Zhang, 2018, p. 427). In all such cases, the literal utterance need not inevitably point to a negative illocutionary force; the expression could perhaps be understood as helpful, friendly, or even playful. As Widdowson would say, the accurate illocutionary force can only be inferred in the “specific context” where it has been used (Widdowson, 1996, p. 62).

Thus, ambiguities are possible in real life. If a speaker uses an expression to which a sexist illocutionary force could well be attributed, the defense might be that no such meaning was intended. For example, the English slang term, ‘bitch’ could at least theoretically be considered as a normally-used colloquialism, even though it can and often is intended as an insult when it is intentionally used in contrast to ‘girl’ or ‘lady.’ Similarly in Thai, the comparable noun reference “อี-ด-ก” (/i-dɔk/) can sometimes be regarded as just a colloquial expression used between female friends with no misogynistic intention, although that need not always be the intention. And in online communication, it is possible for patronizing statements that are ostensibly empathetic, such as ‘Oh... poor you!’ to be interpreted with a negative illocutionary force that belittles the addressee. Patronizing language can similarly promote female trivialization, such as using the word ‘girl’ instead of ‘woman’ (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2022).

This means that language expressions cannot simply be understood as if an utterance directly reflects the intention of the user. It is important for analysts to be aware of the often non-explicit relationship between linguistic forms and their illocutionary force. Correspondingly, the cultural

implications of misogynistic language require that we carefully interpret instances of HFCSs as detected in online communication. Such awareness can not only support more effective academic understanding, but also promote greater sophistication among the general public.

## Methodology

### Method of data collection

This study is a qualitative analysis of online social media discourse. The researchers manually collected 30 random messages on online posts written in Thai and English, 15 posts each, from three sources of social media platforms, namely Facebook, Instagram and Twitter via each researcher's social media account during January and February, 2021. These social media platforms were selected as the sources because related studies reveal detection of sexist hate speech in various languages from these media (Council of Europe Gender Equality Strategy, 2016.; Essen & Jansson, 2020; Mulki & Ghanem, 2021; Aldana-Bobadilla et al., 2021; Istaiteh, Al-Omouh & Tedmori, 2020, Sharifirad, Matwin & Jafarpour, 2019). The target posts are the ones that contain words or statements that referred to women negatively such as insults, devaluing and shaming as described in the previous section.

However, it should be noted that there are two restrictions in collecting these statements from social media stream, both of which stem from the origin of the data. First, the identity of the authors of the posts was unidentified. Although some of the posts and threads on those social media platforms were written by friends and acquaintance whose social media accounts were connected to those of the researchers', many of them were written by strangers whose accounts were opened for public access. Thus, it was impossible to indicate the specific context for each post. Second, even when posts were written in English, it may not be justifiable to presume that their writers were native English speakers. Some of them could have been written in English by native Thai speakers or other languages' speakers. Thus, the cultural interpretation of the posts written in English will reflect the cultural values of an English language speaker reading them, but not necessarily the native culture of the writers themselves. This may question to the validity of interpretation as the users of English may not represent the English-speaking culture. However, we hope to find that by expressing

their thought in English, users may exploit some characteristics of the language in imposing their biases and this could be evident in the social media posts that we collected.

### **Research Framework and Data Analysis**

As Speech Act Theory implies, misogynistic language may be communicated covertly through utterances that embody unaggressive language forms such as proverbs, which superficially profess to convey only positive lessons or thoughtful statements. Therefore, it is essential to interpret the connotative meaning in order to identify the underlying misogyny. This means there are no surface-level theoretical principles of misogynistic language that can be used as a research framework; thus, our analysis began with a focus on overt language features generally associated with online verbal violence and cyber bullying. From explicit utterances of that kind, analysis could then progress to focusing on the illocutionary forces of such expressions. The collected English and Thai posts from Facebook, Twitter and Instagram stream were identified and classified based on the following frameworks.

**1. High-Frequency Communication Strategies** consist of slang, idioms, proverbs, swear words, jokes, patronizing expressions, metaphors or other figurative language, and noun and pronoun references used in naming. (Aldana-Bobadilla et al., 2021; Wongsuppakarn, 2013).

**2. Intended Illocutionary Force of Utterances.** Utterances mentioned in 3.2.1 were classified into five broader illocutionary forces: insulting or devaluing, victim blaming, slut shaming, body shaming and gender stereotyping. That classification is not adopted from any particular source but compiled from types of verbal language violence and sexist hate speech found in related reviews and previous studies (Council of Europe Gender Equality Strategy, 2016; Wongsuppakarn, 2013; Goblet & Glowacz, 2021; Ayuningtyas & Kariko, 2019).

To respond to Research Question 1, first, each post was scrutinized in terms of its relevance and reference to females. Then, in order to identify characteristics of Thai and English misogynistic language in social media, the posts were classified according to the HFCS and the illocutionary force detected in each post. In that manner it was possible to determine that each post had an intended meaning indicative of misogyny. In order to respond to Research Question 2, the researchers

described socio-cultural implications of each statement with regard to gender stereotypes and gender roles of the culture reflected by each of the two languages.

To ensure the accurate interpretation of the posts, the research obtained two methods of validation. First, each researcher repeated the classification and interpretation of each post for two rounds. Then, two experts, one specializing in Thai and the other in English language discourse, examined and endorsed the posts as categorized and interpreted by the researchers based on the framework.

## Findings and Discussion

Misogynistic language in various forms and meanings targeting women were found in both Thai and English on social media. The analysis will be presented under two main headings according to the Research Questions. The first finding concerns the linguistic characteristics (communication strategies) and intended meanings (illocutionary forces) of online social media posts in Thai and English, aiming at answering Research Question 1. The second finding, aiming at answering Research Question 2, is analysis of the socio-cultural implications underlying the misogynistic language used in Thai and English social media posts.

### 1. High Frequency Communication Strategies and Illocutionary Force of Thai and English Misogynistic Language on Social Media

Firstly, in concord with previous studies (Aldana-Bobadilla et al., 2021) and with Speech Act Theory, the misogynistic language found in the 30 English and Thai posts on online social media can be characterized in terms of overt language features and covert communication of violent intensions. In our data collection we observed the overt use of slang, idioms, proverbs, swear words, jokes, patronizing expressions, metaphors or other figurative language, and noun and pronoun references used in naming.

In Thai, some misogynistic expressions are explicitly coded in the form of swear words such as ‘เ-ดแม่’ (the omitted is ‘ย’, word pronounced as /yɛd.mæ/) meaning ‘mother fucker’; derogatory nouns and pronouns used to address women such as ‘อี’ (pronounced as /i:/); and ‘อีต-ก’ (the omitted is ‘อ’, word pronounced as /i:ɔ̀k/) abbreviated from ‘ตอกทอง’ / ɔ̀k-tong/, meaning

'golden flowers' in Thai, equivalent to 'courtesan' (Pallegoix, 1999). In English, the nouns and pronouns that are explicitly used to insult women are 'bitches', 'slut', 'whore', 'Karen' as shown in sample post #1, 2, 3, 9 and 10 in Table 2. This finding can be supported by Wongsuppakarn (2013) in that such use of Thai language reflects a male-dominant society by referring to women as weak or of low value, by insulting them, and by associating women with sexuality and wickedness. Meanwhile, some nouns that generally convey denotative meanings, such as 'nipples' and a proper noun, 'Karen,' can be considered as insults or body shaming due to the context of use and the way they are written, such as in all upper-case type.

Some statements both in Thai and English exploited metaphors to compare women with bad objects or animals. For example, a Thai post reads “นี่ก็เป็นแค่ดอกไม้ริมทางเท่านั้นแหละ” (She is only a street-side flower) - sample post #11, Table 1. Another Thai post compares having girls in the family to putting toilets in front of the house for public use (มีลูกผู้หญิงเหมือนมีส้วมอยู่หน้าบ้าน – sample post #12, Table 1). An English post compares women with dogs, implying that women are promiscuous; hence, men do not deserve such women, as in “*Women are like dogs. We don't deserve them*”- sample post #4, Table 2. The comparison of women to valueless and dirty objects and low forms of life as animals, 'street-side flowers' and 'toilets' can be considered as instances of insults and degradation.

Besides, some Thai and English posts contained slang that challenges the value of women, directly referring to women's genital and involving women's taking advantage of men, such as “ซิง” (pronounced /**sin**/ as in sample post #7 and 9, Table 1), meaning “being virgin”, “pussy” (Sample post #5, Table 2) and “sugar daddy” (Sample post #12, Table 2), which is used to refer to rich old men who give money and presents to young women in exchange for her a relationship (The Britannica Dictionary, n.d.). These words were used explicitly to insult and disrespect women.

Such explicit language is easy to identify as it contains key denotative words with derogatory meanings. Therefore, with appropriate awareness-raising campaigns, the use of misogynistic language of this kind seems to be most readily banned on media.

In contrast, it is worth noting that in both Thai and English the overt language forms of utterances on social media can sometimes be in striking contradiction with their covertly implied misogynistic meanings. In both languages, an utterance may not superficially look aggressive or

violent, even though the intended illocutionary force may be severely misogynistic. This is especially the case with familiar-seeming expressions using ostensibly innocuous words or statements in such forms as idioms, proverbs or satire, as shown below:

ผู้หญิงก็ต้องรักษานวลสงวนตัว (Thai sample post # 4)

ลูกผู้หญิงควรอยู่กับเหย้าเฝ้ากับเรือน (Thai sample post # 5)

ผู้หญิงควรมีสเน่ห์ปลายจวัก (Thai sample post # 16)

Even in some jokes that are seemingly meant for fun and laughter, wordplay can be exploited to satirize females' intellect, as in “*Women have two sides, left side and another left side because they have no rights*”. (Sample English post #13, Table 2).

In addition, it was surprising to see that many misogynistic utterances take the form of patronization, which is a kind of gender-discriminatory language that trivializes women (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2022). Looking on the surface, such language is seemingly intended to provide support and advice, but on closer examination, we see that by speaking down to others, the illocutionary force is to make the speakers look smarter and better. In some cases, these utterances may superficially look like expressions of helpful and well-intentioned warning; however, their illocutionary force is to call for self-blaming responsibility from females. Examples are shown below:

“ผู้หญิงไม่ระวังตัวเองเลย เทียวได้ก็ดูแลตัวเองด้วยกรณีแบบนี้ก็มีมาเยอะยังไม่ระวังตัวอีกรู้หน้าไม่รู้ใจครับ ผู้ชายแบบนี้ก็มีเยอะครับกฎหมายมันช่วยมันก็เลยกล้าทำ ดังนั้นต้องระวังตัวเองให้ดีครับ” (Girls don't take care of themselves. If they like having fun with men, they should be careful. There are so many bad guys out there. The law can't help, so guys can do what they want. Girls should accept their own risks then.)

(Thai sample post # 1, Table 1)

“คิดจะเทียว จะกิน จะดื่ม ก็ต้องรู้จักดูแลตัวเองด้วยนะ หวังให้ใครมาดูแลเราตอนเทียวมันไม่มีหรอก เตื่อ ฝากไว้ให้คิด” (“If you like to hang out at night, drinking, you should take care of yourselves. Don't hope for anyone to take care of you. Just a piece of thought for you.”) – Thai Sample Post #2, Table 1.



“ปล่อยตัวเองอ้วน ไม่ดูแลตัวเอง .....ไม่รักตัวเองเลย (Thai sample post # 3)

*You are such a smart woman, how'd you let yourself get this big.*

*(English sample post # 11)*

These utterances have the superficial form of constructive warnings but their illocutionary force reveals the speakers' intention to target control over women's behavior, with no mention of the fact that men are often the main instigators of sexual crimes.

Meanwhile, satirical posts are found to convey misogyny both implicitly and explicitly, depending on the context of the statement. Some misogynistic satire was conveyed through a superficially positive wish, such as “แต่งตัวนุ่งสั้น เที่ยวกลางคืน กินเหล้าเมา คงได้เจอแต่สิ่งดี ๆ” (Wearing a provocative dress. Going out at night drunk. You must get all good things.) – Thai sample post #6, Table 1. The overall context of this statement does not lead to the belief that such behavior will bring a woman her good things. Quite the contrary, they imply a satire in the way that this kind of women's behavior deserves insults, abuse, harassment and/or rape. This is considered 'slut shaming' and could lead to victim blaming as well, as it criticizes women who violate Thai traditional norms and expectations, and if the girl becomes a victim of sexual assault, she may be blamed for her own behavior (Ayuningtyas & Kariko, 2019).

Another more direct satire is “...สวยอย่างเดียวไม่ได้ ต้องมีสมองด้วย เมียโง่งทำให้ผู้ชาย” (...apart from looking good, women must have a brain too. A dumb wife brings bad luck to her husband.) – Thai Sample post #14, Table 1. When a man has a bad luck, a woman is liable to be a causality. As Wongsuppan (2013) mentioned, women are always viewed as associated with wickedness.

Similar to the Thai quotes in terms of their illocutionary force, some potentially normal-appearing utterances in English, such as “*What did they expect going out dressed like that?*” (Sample English post #16, Table 2), can look like a merely information-oriented question but on interpretation based on the context (commenting on a case of rape victims), the illocutionary force of the statement connotes a negatively satirical intention. English satires are not different from Thai ones; they have similarly implicit and explicit characteristics, as in “*Ahahaha You have TINY NIPPLES!!*” (Sample English post #6, Table 2), which is considered an instance of body shaming.

Such posts reflect way in which the contrast between a neutral-seeming utterance and its abusing illocutionary force can empower the often-deceptive aspect of language features used to express misogyny. And this disjunction need not always stem from deliberate deceit. In fact, ill-informed language users may not be aware that they are insulting or blaming women, or making unfair expectations and demands of them, while similar utterances directed towards men are less commonly found in the society. As MacArthur, Cundiff and Mehl (2019) stated in the implications of their work, sexism can be so normalized that it goes unnoticed, and as a result it may even be worsened. The implicitly misogynistic illocutionary force of utterances coded in the language forms mentioned above may require more strategically explicit ways to deter it because forms of speech that do not contain bad words or overtly harsh intentions may not appear violent. In that case, naïve users might genuinely fail to perceive their hostile and intimidating impact on women.

In short, the illocutionary force of these language features can include insulting, victim blaming, slut shaming, body shaming and stereotyping. It was found that people posting online surprisingly often take pleasure in using sarcasm, which is a common way to irritate others' minds, or to ridicule or bash others. In such cases, their utterances have a misogynistic impact with the capacity to provoke physical and psychological health problems. Some quotes were found in the form of jokes, which superficially suggested that the utterances were less serious when in fact they carried an abusive illocutionary force. The quotes in Thai and English are shown in Table 1 and Table 2.

Table 1 Misogynistic quotes in Thai posts/comments on online social media

HFCSS	Illocutionary Forces	Misogynistic Quotes
Patronizing Statement	Victim blaming	1. ผู้หญิงไม่ระวังตัวเองเลย เทียวได้ก็ดูแลตัวเองด้วยกรณีแบบนี้ก็มีมาเยอะยังไม่ระวังตัวอีกรู้หน้าไม่รู้ใจครับผู้ชายแบบนี้ก็มีเยอะครับกฎหมายมันช่วยมันก็เลยกล้าทำ ดังนั้นต้องระวังตัวเองให้ดีครับ (ความคิดเห็นต่อกรณีผู้หญิงถูกผู้ชายที่รู้จักกันในสถานบันเทิงกลางคืน ล้อลวง)

HFCSs	Illocutionary Forces	Misogynistic Quotes
		<p>The girl didn't take care of herself. If you love to have fun, you should know how to be safe. Guy like this is everywhere. Law is useless; hence, these guys dare to challenge law. (A post about a woman being assaulted by a random man met at a nightclub.)</p> <p>2. คิดจะเที่ยว จะกิน จะดื่ม ก็ต้องรู้จักดูแลตัวเองด้วยนะหวังให้ใครมาดูแลเราตอนเที่ยวมันไม่มีหรอกเด้อ ผากไว้ให้คิด</p> <p>If you enjoy going out having fun, drinking, you must know how to take care of yourself. You can't hope that someone will do that for you. No one will do. Just something to think about.</p> <p>3. ปล่อยตัวเองอ้วน ไม่ดูแลตัวเองจนผู้ชายเบื่อหน่ายอยากมีคนใหม่ แล้วค่อยคิดจะทำสวยบางทีมันก็สายเกินไปผู้หญิงนี่ความคิดคือถ้ามีผัวแล้วชอบปล่อยตัวเป็นนิสัยไม่รู้คิดได้ไงไม่รักตัวเองเลย</p> <p>When a man cheats, it's, in fact, a woman's fault because the woman doesn't make herself charming enough for him to stay with her. Women usually ignore herself after marriage and that's why men get bored and cheat finally.</p>
Proverb** and Slut shaming		<p>4. เป็นผู้หญิงก็ต้องรักษานวลสงวนตัว** สมควรแล้วกับพวกชอบเที่ยว อย่านไปโทษใครเค้า โทษตัวเองเถอะ</p> <p>(A post about a woman being assaulted by a random man met at a nightclub.)</p>

HFCSS	Illocutionary Forces	Misogynistic Quotes
		Women should be reserved. For those who love to go out and have fun, you deserve it! Don't blame others. It's all your fault.
Idiom		5. นึกถึงคำสอนโบราณครั้งปู่ย่าตายาย ลูกผู้หญิงควรอยู่กับเหย้าเฝ้าเรือน ขอให้ปลอดภัยนะคะ (comment on a post to give moral support to a rape victim) According to what our grandparents taught us, women should be always at home. I wish you safe.
Satire	Slut shaming	6. แต่งตัวนุ่งสั้น เที้ยวกลางคืน กินเหล้าเมา คงเจอแต่สิ่งดีๆ Going out at night in a provocative dress, drunk. You must have all good things.
Slang		7. สวยนะแต่ไม่ซิง Beautiful but not a virgin
Pronoun and Noun reference in naming	Body shaming	8. หาตัวในไทยไม่ได้ เป็นอี้อ้วนตกรวด beauty standard ก็ไปหาหลอกฝรั่งเกียจฉนนไทย ภูเขา แล้วหลอกตัวเองว่าอ้วนดำเนี่ยสเปคฝรั่ง ผู้ชายยังพยายามสร้างตัวให้รวยเพื่อหาเมียสวยแล้วพวกอี้อ้วนมึงเคยพยายามไบบ้าง You can't find a Thai husband because you are fat, failing Thai beauty standard. So, you look for a retired old foreigner and fool yourself that you meet foreign standard. While men work hard to find good women and settle their life with, what do girls like you do?
Slangs, swear words	Insulting/Devaluing	9. ทำไมผู้ชายอย่างเราต้องจ่ายเงินค่าสินสอดให้ฝ่ายหญิงวะ เพื่ออะไร? ซิงก็ไม่ได้เปิด ตัวเก่าที่ผ่านมาก็ได้-ดฟรี บางคนไม่ได้เป็นแฟนกันก็ไปให้เขาฟรีซะงั้น บางคนแม่งไป

HFCSs	Illocutionary Forces	Misogynistic Quotes
		<p>สวังกึ่งกัน บางคนเที่ยวจับ เหล้าแก้วเดียวก็เจียนแล้ว ไปเด็ดกับคนที่เพิ่งรู้จักวันเดียว พออยากมีผัวเป็นตัวเป็นตน เจอคนที่ใช้รักจริง เสือกอยากแต่งงานเรียกค่าสินสอดเป็นแสนเป็นล้าน ทำตัวไร้ค่า ยังจะเรียกราคาแพงอีก <u>อีด-ก</u></p> <p>Why do men like us have to pay dowry for girls we marry to? These girls are not virgin. They have lots of experiences with many men. They got them for free. Some just paid for drink. But when these girls want to get serious with the right guys, they ask for expensive dowry. They act cheap but they want a high price, bitch!</p>
Metaphor		<p>10. <u>อีนี่ก็เป็นแค่ดอกไม้ริมทางเท่านั้นแหละ</u> You are just a street-side flower.</p> <p>11. <u>มีลูกผู้หญิงเหมือนมีส้วมอยู่หน้าบ้าน</u> Having a daughter is like having a toilet in front of your house.</p>
Pronoun, Noun reference in naming and swear word		<p>12. <u>อีนี่ช.หน้าตัวเมียแบบนี้โคตรขยะสังคม เอากะไปรงกูไปใส่มัย <u>เอ-ดแม่</u></u> You'd better wear my skirt, mother f-cker! That son of a bitch is like garbage of the society</p>
Satire		<p>13. <u>นิทานเรื่องนี้สอนให้รู้ว่า สวยอย่างเดียวไม่ได้ ต้องมีสมองด้วย <u>เมียโง่ทำให้ผัวชวย</u></u> This lesson tells you that girl can't just need to be beautiful. She should have a brain too. Stupid wife brings bad luck to husband.</p>

HFCSS	Illocutionary Forces	Misogynistic Quotes
		14. ไม่มีเครื่องสำอาง ไม่มีศัลยกรรม ไม่มีแอป จะมีผัวกันไหม ตามจริง No makeup. No surgery. No photo applications. Are you able to find a husband?
Idiom		15. ผู้หญิงก็ควรมีเสน่ห์ปลายจวักปะ จะหาผัวทั้งที่ไม่มีอะไรดีเลย Women should have a good cooking skill otherwise you have nothing to attract your husband to be.

\*Note that some words are not fully presented due to the profanity reason.

\*\*This is a partial phrase of a full Thai proverb.

Table 2 Misogynistic Quotes in English

HFCSS	Illocutionary Forces	Misogynistic Quotes
Noun reference/Naming	Insulting/Devaluing	1. Some <u>bitches</u> tried to hide that hate but that shit still showed
		2. She's everything you dumb <u>son of a bitch</u>
		3. I'm a smart and cute <u>slut</u> .
Metaphor		4. <u>Women are like dogs</u> . We don't deserve them
slang		5. Yeah because you sell your <u>pussy</u> free of charge
Satire	Body Shaming	6. Ahahaha You have <u>TINY NIPPLES!!</u>
Metaphor		7. At least you don't have <u>nipples like dinner plates</u>
		8. i wish i had big boobs): <u>I'm flat like a mousepad</u>
Noun reference/Naming		9. Fat ass! Loose some fucking weight <u>whore</u>

HFCSS	Illocutionary Forces	Misogynistic Quotes
Vulgar, noun reference		10. Fuck u <u>slut</u> Fuck u idiot <u>KAREN!</u>
Patronizing language		11. You're such a <u>smart woman</u> , <u>how'd you let yourself get this big</u>
Noun reference/ Naming, Slang	Slut shaming	12. Da <u>bitch</u> just got new <u>sugar daddy</u>
Joke	Humiliation	13. Women have two sides, Left side and Another left side because they have no rights.
No specific language feature	Gender Stereotype	14. When i was young, i really liked pink but then i tried to dislike it. i feel ashamed and i hated myself for being <i>too</i> ' <u>girly</u> ' at that time so i change my fav color into black. and now, black is still my fav color
Satire	Victim Blaming	15. What did they expect going out dressed like that?

To answer the Research Question 1, the findings and the analysis point out that superficial language features cannot by themselves be solely used as indicators of misogynistic communication. There are no particular utterances that can uniquely be used to identify misogyny. It is the function of an utterances that indicates a speaker's misogynistic perspective as conveyed by the illocutionary force. This is the reason why consciously misogynistic speakers may nonetheless think they can avoid being criticized because they do not express utterances with explicitly misogynistic features. Additionally, it is also why naïve language users often unintentionally express misogyny without self-awareness.

## 2. Cultural implications underlying Thai and English misogynistic language on social media

Despite both being categorized as relatively genderless languages, the cultural implications of misogynistic language in each of Thai and English reveal unequal social expectations between males and females in three main aspects. First, it was found from both the Thai and the English language posts that women were disproportionately devalued and their value was far too often susceptible to men's satisfaction. It is noticeable that in a situation when a man was the wrong-doer of a serious crime such as a rape, or was irresponsible in his unhappy marriage, the quotes show how often women were still expected to share causality, as in:

“ปล่อยตัวเองอ้วน ไม่ดูแลตัวเองจนผู้ชายเบื่อหน่ายอยากมีคนอื่นใหม่ แล้วค่อยคิดจะทำสวยบางทีมันก็สายเกินไป ผู้หญิงนี่ความคิดคือถ้ามีผัวแล้วชอบปล่อยตัวเป็นนิสัย ไม่รู้คิดได้ไงไม่รักตัวเองเลย”

*(When a man cheats, it's, in fact, a woman's fault because she doesn't make herself charming enough for him to stay with her. Women usually ignore themselves after marriage and that is why men get bored and cheat finally.) –Thai Sample Post #3, Table 1*

This suggests that in both cultures women tend to be held responsible for the well-being of the family. As mentioned in the Christian Bible, "...wives should submit to their husbands in everything" (St. Paul's Letter to the Ephesians 5:21-22 cited in BBC, 2022). Although the above Thai post is consistent with a Christian belief, it is also a social expectation of Thai culture that wives should take a main responsibility for home-making, skillful cooking, being reserved, and acting as the 'hind legs of the elephant' while the husband is the front legs (Khuankaew, 2015). These preferred qualities of Thai femininity can also be observed in other posts: ผู้หญิงควรมีสเน่ห์ปลายจวัก (women should have cooking skills) and รักรนวลสงวนตัว (being reserved).

Secondly, misogynistic language also indicates Thai and English cultural values with regard to beauty standards. Despite some campaigns about beauty intended to encourage the view that every woman is beautiful just as they are, with no defects in their beauty, we observed many social media comments about body shaming in keeping with retrograde social expectations. For example, utterances like “ปล่อยตัวเองอ้วนไม่ดูแลตัวเองจนผู้ชายเบื่อ” (Letting yourself get that big and no longer



attractive) -- Thai sample post # 3, Table 1 display the illocutionary force of narrowing down women's choices of for how to be beautiful because people still value male-dominated beauty standards. It is noticeable that this cultural value is found a lot on social media, as evident in English quotes related to female body shaming with respect to their body imperfection. In fact, more posts regarding this beauty standard were found in English than in Thai (English posts # 6, 7, 8, 9 and 11, Table 2). In Thai, the posts indicate that women need to do everything to attract men are shown in Thai posts # 9, 15, 16, in contrast to just post # 12 in English. Thai women may have to pay a dowry to get married to a man; they have to make themselves look good and they need to be talented at cooking. In English, a woman gets a 'sugar daddy' so as to thrive to a higher social status and have a comfortable life. All such evidence suggests that women cannot earn status on their own and have to depend on men to have a good life.

Another similar cultural reflection in both Thai and English findings indicates certain specific cultural beliefs. For example, 'Son of a b\*tch' is a slang word in English for insulting a man but actually, it is insulting his mother because people believe that it is a woman's responsibility to look after her children, which means if the man is bad, it is because of his mother. Comparatively in Thai, the word 'เีดแม่' is used with a relatively equivalent meaning to 'f—k your mother' in English. As Somjitranukit (กรรกฤษ สมจิตรานุกิจ, 2013) mentioned, Thai people believe that a แม่ (mother) is venerated and reverent, which can be seen in many words that begin with แม่ in Thai such as แม่ทัพ (commander-in-chief) or แม่ธรณี (mother of earth). Thereby, many people use the word 'เีดแม่' (f—k your mother) which is a swear word to devalue others because they believe that they will prevail over others, even their mother.

Additionally, in both the Thai and the English language posts, there is a tendency for people to value women who are proper, not hanging out at night or not wearing a provocative dress. This thought leads to victim blaming on social media when people blame a rape victim by claiming it is her own behavior or dress that has brought on such a crime, as in "What did they expect going out dressed like that?" or 'สมควรแล้วกับพวกชอบเที่ยว อย่าไปโทษใครเค้า โทษตัวเองเถอะ' Besides, according to Thai values, a good woman should be a virgin; hence, we see a statement like 'สวยงามะแต่ไม่ซิง' (beautiful, unfortunately not a virgin). Also, Thai women who are experienced in sexual relationships without marriage will be spotlighted violently as 'กะหรี' (whore) or 'อีตอกทอง' (slut),

which are considered instances of slut shaming. Meanwhile, there is no comment about men engaging in such behavior.

It is noticeable a Thai word ‘-ดก’ /**dok**/ (which is masked as obscene) has become into quite common use to designate intimate female friends without no intended misogynistic meaning despite the word’s etymology and its original meaning. However, it was found that male-dominant norms may influence women to devalue themselves, such as when a woman calls herself a ‘slut’ as in “I’m a smart and cute slut” (Sample English post #3), and another may hate herself for being too ‘girly’ (Sample English post #14). Although these utterances could initially be intended to have no deliberately misogynistic illocutionary force, gender norms and gender stereotypes can lead to their unconscious internalization as self-directed misogyny. (Cherry, 2018)

Interestingly, some posts apparently intended to berate males used words that typically refer to females, as ‘อี’/i:/ (a Thai colloquial title used to degrade a person) and “หน้าตัวเมีย” /**na tua mia**/ (comparing to having a bitch face) as in “อีช.หน้าตัวเมียแบบนั้นโคตรขยะสังคม” (Those bitch-face guys are dregs of society). This illustrates how misogyny not only can use female body parts or words referring to females, but also can employ those expressions to insult males as well. In the Thai language, the phrases “หน้าตัวเมีย (having a bitch face)” and “ไปเอากระโปรงแม่มาใส่ (Go put on your mother’s skirt)” are used to describe men with bad behavior. By using female-related references, such utterances reflect an association between women and wickedness (Wongsuppan, 2013).

On another dimension, misogynistic language found on social media can also reflect different Thai and English cultural norms and social practices regarding the concept of ‘good women’, which seems to be more critical in Thai than in English culture. There is a different expectation of Thai women regarding their role as housewives, as expressed in a Thai idiom that was regularly referred to in Thai social media posts and in general expressions in Thai, while no equivalent utterance was found in English language posts. For example, ‘ผู้หญิงที่ดีต้องมีเสน่ห์ปลายจวัก’ shows the Thai cultural norm that a good woman or a good wife should have good cooking skills. This implies that Thai culture expects a clear division of males’ and females’ roles. As Tun-aturuj (2020) put it, this reflects conservative values, when women belong in the kitchen at home while men are supposed to go out to work. In addition, some Thai misogynistic utterances on social media demonstrate a dowry custom as expressed in ‘ทำไมผู้ชายอย่างเราต้องเสียเงินค่าสินสอดให้ฝ่ายหญิงวะ เพื่ออะไร? ซิงก็ไม่ได้เปิด ผู้ชายที่

ผ่านๆมาก็ได้ฟรี พอเจอคนที่รักจริงดันเรียกสินสอดค่าสินสอดเป็นแสนเป็นล้าน' (*Why a man has to give an expensive dowry for his bride who loses her virginity*). According to Thammapiranon (พลอย ธรรมมาภิรานนท์ 2018), the Thai dowry is thought to be offered by the groom to the bride's family as compensation for their daughter's misfortune. This ensures the joint family that the groom is financially capable of supporting and caring for their daughter, and it is highly expected in Thai culture. The dowry is a long-standing tradition in Thailand, and it is widely accepted that everyone should follow this social practice when they get married. One interpretation is that the daughter is treated as a treasure of the family but, at the same time, it reflects the unequal social status of Thai men and women. On the contrary, there is no social practice about paying a bride price or dowry in Western cultures in the present time, which could imply more equality in the role and status of men and women in English culture.

Besides, another cultural difference can be found in the Thai and English quotes. Some Thai posts very clearly revealed Thai cultural values and social expectations of females regarding the aspects of virginity and marriage, while this kind of post did not appear in English.

*“สวยนะแต่ไม่ซิง” (beautiful but unfortunately, not a virgin)*

The quote that reflects a man's objection to the Thai wedding dowry custom shows an insult of Thai women who do not meet social expectations in terms of preservation of virginity. It is ironic that although Thai culture, like other cultures, has been influenced by Western culture in terms of some values and freedoms in relationships, the society still finds it hard to accept when women have freedom to enter into relationships with many men.

This study also confirms the finding of Goblet and Glowacz (2021) with respect to women's submission to gender stereotypes, as shown in Post #14, *“When i was young, i really liked pink but then i tried to dislike it. i feel ashamed and i hated myself for being too 'girly' at that time so i change my fav color into black. and now, black is still my fav color”*. This post reveals a stereotype with regard to color connotations. Pink is seen as a girls' color while blue is for boys (Frassanito & Pettorini, 2008), which is a kind of sexism in color. This post reflects what Cherry (2018) remarked as internalized misogyny, which is when women feel ashamed of themselves for being too 'girly'.

To summarize, there are similarities between Thai and English posts in the illocutionary forces of misogynistic utterances reflecting certain cultural patterns and cultural dimensions, such as the beliefs that women are worthless, that they are only good for having sex, that they must conform to beauty standards, and that they must display socially endorsed appropriateness. However, there are also differences between Thai and English social practice about the cultural norm that every woman should take care of their children and their husband, dowry-giving, and the value of virginity.

As mentioned earlier, since misogynistic utterances have no explicit form, their frequency is usually underestimated and overlooked as a form of violence. To reduce misogynistic phenomena, previous studies have attempted to address this point by developing a model to detect online misogynistic language: e.g. in Latin American Spanish (Aldana-Bobadilla et al., 2021), Also, a data set for automatic detection of online misogynistic speech in English was compiled from the Urban Dictionary (Lynn et al., 2019). The present study hopes to contribute a different data sample in English, and to add a new data sample of misogynistic language in Thai to research in this area.

## Conclusion

Extremely coarse misogynous posts or comments were commonly found among online social media posts for a number of reasons, and users seemed to ignore the violent illocutionary force of such utterances. Given that misogyny appears to defeat femininity, we may intuit that all misogynistic language represents the norm of a male worldview (Wongsuppakarn, 2013). The findings showed us characteristics of misogynistic language (both utterances and their illocutionary forces) and the different cultural representations of gender roles and expectations in Thai and English culture. Social expectations, cultural norms and values about gender are frequently found in Thai posts or comments because, in Thailand, cultural standards and ideology regarding females seem to be comparatively rigid. In English culture, although social expectations of females may not seem to be as high as in Thai culture, value impositions on women are still serious issues that have been found in social media posts. Still, we can infer that in English culture, females quite often are for their outlook and socio-economic status. Thus, to some extent they are expected to be responsible for themselves and for not taking advantage of men who are higher in status. Nevertheless, issues about body shaming and

insults on the basis of physical or social inferiority still appeared quite frequently among the social media posts we reported in English. A major implication of this study is that gender inequality and sexist biases exist subconsciously in both cultures, with females as social victims. Therefore, misogynistic language must be considered an issue of concern that deserves attention from society. Previous studies offer suggestions for language reform, and there have been attempts to enact lexical and grammatical changes to avoid using sexist language, but if such changes operate chiefly on the letter of utterances rather than illocutionary forces – there the greatest risk of damage occurs – we likely cannot expect them to have a significant impact on social and cultural attitudes toward misogyny. The findings of this study echo previous studies about existence of sexist language and call for action focusing on a combination of utterances and illocutionary forces so as to prompt a better-informed campaign to alter social behaviors and attitudes, above all so as to prevent sexist language from being normalized.

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