

INDONESIAN GENDER-SPECIFIC NEOLOGISMS

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Abstract

This paper aims at analyzing how gender-specific neologisms in Indonesian are formed and how they conceptualize gender in the community. In this study, neologisms containing gender marked features from online media are extracted. They are classified based on the forms and the word-formation processes. The researchers conduct a careful examination of how the semantic components in the neologisms conceptualize gender in society. The researchers categorized the word-formation processes of gender marked neologisms, consisting of 92 data samples, into seven word-formation processes, starting from the least up to the most frequent processes, namely metaphor, reverse, acronym, diminutive, initialism, borrowing, and blend/clipping compound. The results showed that blends or clipping compounds were formed from English, Indonesian and local languages, such as Javanese, as in the English-Indonesian *bohay* ('body' and *aduhay* 'sexy') to refer to a 'sexy female body'. These new words semantically ground on social dimensions carrying several attributes, namely emotional, financial, physical, and sexual. Instead of serving as an act of empowerment, some neologisms, as argued in the findings, reflect negative stigma to females, males, and LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer).

Keywords: gender, neologism, slang, stereotype

Abstrak

Makalah ini menganalisis bagaimana gender spesifik neologism dalam bahasa Indonesia terbentuk dan bagaimana kata-kata baru tersebut mengonseptualisasikan gender. Objek penelitian ini adalah neologisme yang mengandung fitur gender yang dikumpulkan dari media online. Kata-kata hasil neologisme, atau pembentukan kata baru, diklasifikasikan berdasarkan bentuk dan proses pembentukan katanya. Data dari media online dianalisis dari proses pembentukan katanya dan fitur semantiknya. Data yang terdiri dari 92 sampel diklasifikasikan menjadi tujuh proses pembentukan kata, yaitu metafora, pembalikan, akronim, diminutif, inisialisme, pinjaman, dan campuran/kliping senyawa. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa campuran atau kliping senyawa dibentuk dari bahasa Inggris, bahasa Indonesia, dan bahasa lokal, seperti bahasa Jawa. Contohnya adalah *bohay* (dari *body* 'tubuh' dan *aduhay* 'seksi') untuk merujuk pada 'tubuh wanita seksi'. Kata-kata baru ini dikategorikan secara semantik berdasarkan dimensi sosial yang dengan berbagai jenis atribut, yaitu emosional, finansial, fisik, dan seksual. Alih-alih sebagai alat untuk pemberdayaan, beberapa kata dari proses neologisme dalam temuan kami mencerminkan stigma negatif pada wanita, pria, dan LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer).

Kata kunci: gender, neologisme, slang, stereotip

INTRODUCTION

Language constantly evolves to better conceptualize social reality or its conception. It dynamically grows by adding new words, which are called neologisms (Min-Chang, 2013). This phenomenon is found in almost all languages, including Indonesian. The use of recent neologisms is widely influenced by mass media. One well-known Indonesian online Instagram account (@lambeturah) is famous for its catchy new words, such as *pelakor*, an acronym for *perebut lelaki orang* or ‘man stealer’. Neologisms can be catchy and widely used because it follows certain morphological processes (Fansuri, 2006; Mustofa, 2009; Meehan, 2013). It is noteworthy to observe how the emergence of these words using different language varieties reflects the rich social context of the community.

Indonesians, who are known as heavy users of online social media, are creative in producing new words on an online platform. Indonesia is a country with the fourth largest number of Facebook users in the world, with over 50 million users (Social Bakers, 2012 as cited in Syuhada, & Gambetta, 2013, p. 447) and the sixth largest number of Twitter users with nearly 30 million users (Bennett, 2012 as cited in Syuhada, & Gambetta, 2013, p. 447). Indonesians are also known as Internet3 users mostly for social networking purposes (Melissa, Hamidati, Saraswati, & Flor, 2015, p. 206).

Research on Indonesian neologisms has mainly focused on word-formation processes (Fansuri, 2006; Mustofa, 2009 & Wijana, 2012). Fansuri (2006) used *Cosmopolitan Magazine* as the source of data and found that the most common word-formations used in the magazine were conversion and affixation. Mustofa (2009) further elaborated on how technology influenced neologisms from morphology, syntax, and semantic perspectives. Wijana (2012) conducted a study on Indonesian slangs focusing on word formation, linguistic processes, and meaning. One example mentioned in Wijana’s (2012) study is the acronym *BMW*, which stands for *body mengalahkan wajah* ‘body defeats face’. He points out how linguistically rich and creative human language is. Although sizable research has problematized neologism from a linguistic point of view, only a few exclusively consider the link between neologisms and gender. It is then crucial not only to analyze the morphological processes of creating these words but also the social-cultural dimension of creating these words.

A great deal of research has shown that the relationship between gender and language is not a direct one (Folse & Vitanova, 2006; Holmes, 2008), meaning that male and female users do not use language differently because of any biological reasons. However, some studies mention that society constructs gender in different ways which are shown through language and the development of language. Language is believed to be strongly linked to the power of discourse which represents, preserves, or reconstructs social identities as well as practices (Tannen, 1994; Mikic, Mrcela, & Golob, 2018; Min-Chang, 2013). Language creates power relations between social groups, including gender (Tannen, 1994; Mikic, Mrcela, & Golob, 2018). A study by Pasaribu & Effendi (2016) about language use in humor shows that language use tends to carry stereotypes in accord with the expected roles of men and women. The relationship between gender and language is further argued by Martin (2018), who mentions that language use can resist hegemonic power or serve as an act of empowerment.

In this paper we argue that the creation of new words may be influenced by gender. An example is given by Martin (2018) in online media. She mentions that the word *pelakor* is sexist. It is creatively derived from the phrase *perebut lelaki orang* or ‘man stealer’. However, it positions

a woman as the one who is guilty, although in an affair it takes two to tango. It conceals information about people's socio-cultural conceptualization. It is important to highlight that the data do not only refer to the binary classification of gender. Some neologisms also acknowledge the existence of the homosexual community. Homosexuality is considered a “deviant” practice by many Indonesians (Martin, 2018). Yet several neologisms reflect the existence of the community and the users’ attitude towards the community, which will be discussed in the analysis section. On these notes, we aim at finding out how other neologisms are formed and how they conceptualize gender in the community. With these goals in mind, the data from some Indonesian websites were analyzed using (1) the linguistic theory of word-formation processes and (2) the attribute of the neologisms attached to a gender-specific group.

Neologisms

Neologisms can be considered as a part of slang as they are often defined in a general sense as an informal style of language. Slangs that emerge through neologisms are formed by combining “old words into new meaning” (Fromkin, et al., 2003, p. 473) such as *baper* which stands for *bawa perasaan*. It is used to describe someone who is being sensitive. Some neologisms are totally new words, such as *minceu* which means ‘an administrator’. Fromkin, et al. (2003) also mention that slang also gives new meaning to old words. For example, the word *galau* has gained a new meaning of ‘sad’. This word has been used quite a lot by Indonesian youngsters to express sadness or anxiety. The appearance of neologisms is evident that human beings are creative in introducing and producing new utterances. Some neologisms are evolved from social media to conceptualize cultural development.

Newmark (1988, p. 140) defines neologisms as "newly coined lexical units or existing lexical units that acquire a new sense". Neologisms are useful in identifying new cultural concepts in the development of society. There are several types of neologisms based on the word-formation processes (Yule, 2010, p. 64), namely: coinage, borrowing, compounding, blending, clipping, backformation, conversion, acronym, and derivation. Below are brief elaborations of the word-formation processes in Table 1.

Table 1. Word-formation processes

Word-formation Process	Definition	Example
Coinage	Coinage is the formation of totally new words.	<i>Pepsi</i> is a brand of soda drink. However, it gains new meaning in the Indonesian context—it means to urinate. It gains new words because it shares some similar sounds with the word “pipis” (to urinate).
Borrowing	Borrowing is the process of using words from other languages.	There are many slangy expressions taken from English (Wijana, 2012), such as <i>kiyut</i> which is from an English word ‘cut’ or ‘sowot’ which is originally from the phrase ‘so what’.
Compounding	Compounding is the process of attaching two entirely different words into one word.	A famous example is the combination of <i>wall</i> and <i>paper</i> into <i>wallpaper</i> .

Blending	As the name suggests, blending is a word-formation process where two or more separate forms are produced to create a single new word.	Blending is a process accomplished by taking some parts of the old words to create a new word, such as <i>baper</i> . In this case, we reduce the word <i>bawa</i> (bring) into “ba” as well as <i>perasaan</i> (feelings) into “per”. These two reduced parts are then combined into the word <i>baper</i> (moody).
Clipping	Clipping occurs when a word consisting of more than one syllable is reduced to one shorter form.	The word <i>kenapa</i> ‘why’ is clipped into the word <i>napa</i> ; the word <i>tidak</i> is clipped into the word <i>gak</i> .
Backformation	Back-formation is a type of word formation which reduces one form into a different word.	Some examples are <i>televise</i> from <i>television</i> , <i>donate</i> from <i>donation</i> , and <i>hankie</i> from <i>handkerchief</i> .
Conversion	Conversion is a change in the function of the word.	The word <i>wasap</i> (to send messages through Whatsapp) is taken from a social media brand Whatsapp. However, because of its huge impact on communication, it is often used as a verb in conversation which means “to send a text through Whatsapp”.
Initialisms	Initialisms are formed from the initial letters of several words.	There are many slangs which are formed through this word formation, such as LOL (laugh out loud), GWS (get well soon), and CMIW (Correct Me If I’m Wrong).

Most neologisms are produced based on the formation of lexical building blocks, which might fall into these patterns. The words are the reflection of society. Some examples above show that the new words are tied to social and technical concepts tied in a particular era. With the advent of technology in the 21st century, Indonesian words have the potential to grow even more significantly.

The discourse of gender

Language is shaped by the speech community and also shapes social relations among the users. Sizable research suggests how language is responsible for constructing social identities and practices. The use of language in a speech community is likely influenced by meanings that create power relations among users (Tannen, 1994; Mikic et.al, 2018). The linguistic phenomenon should not be investigated solely from its linguistic feature, but also through its use within social variables, including gender. Researchers noted that the relationship between language and gender is not direct (Pasaribu, 2017). Male and female users do not use language differently because of any biological reasons. Instead, research mentions that society constructs gender in different ways which are shown through language and the development of language.

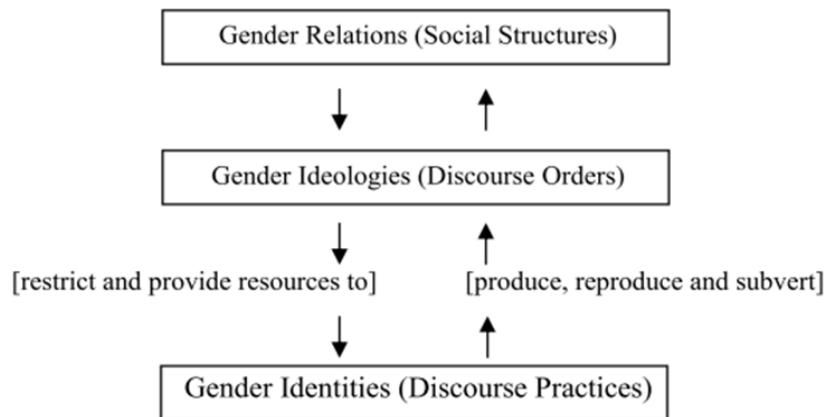


Figure 1. Gender types

Nakamura (2002) shows relations between gender, ideology, and social structures through this graph. Social structures are constructed by language and vice versa. He also further mentions that discourse practice, discourse orders, and social structures are influencing each other. In other words, language has a powerful influence on social change (Litosseliti, 2006). Therefore stereotypes are present in language and changing. Pasaribu (2016) shows how language can be used to preserve the status quo or even supports inequalities, while Martin (2018) elaborates how the use of code-switching challenges government domination or grand narratives of majority.

This research is then concerned with applying, not only linguistic analysis but also users' social concept of gender to investigate gender-marked neologisms. Some words are semantically gender specific which carries gender markers in their features. It is crucial to highlight that the gender markers represented in Indonesian neologisms do not only refer to the gender binary, but some terms refer to homosexuality. Studies suggested that men are representing the cultural norm and women were given the status of *liyan* or the other. Homosexuals are even more marginalized as it is considered a deviant practice contradicting local values (Martin, 2019). Martin further mentions how a linguistic phenomenon manifesting in code-switching "expand monolithic definitions of Indonesianess". The findings of the data argue how some new words referring to gender, including LGBTQ community, carry both nonjudgemental and also negative connotations reflecting the current cultural norms.

RESEARCH METHOD

Data Source

The data were collected from a number of Indonesian social media, blogs, and books related to Indonesian neologisms from May 2018 until October 2018. We scrutinized 92 data qualitatively through verbal means. The figures and numbers in the discussion were presented to support the interpretation of the researchers.

Data Analysis

This qualitative research aims at answering the following two questions. First, what word-formation processes are found in gender-specific neologisms? Second, what social domains are

attached to these neologisms? With these goals in mind, content analysis was used. A linguistic theory of word-formation processes was used in analyzing the gender marked neologisms. Furthermore, to analyze the conceptualization of gender and the attribute attached to a gender-specific group, this study interpreted the relationship between the new-formed words and the society based on arguments that words are always understood with respect to domains of experience.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Word formation of neologism

In this section, the researchers resolved the first research question, namely, how the Indonesian online neologisms were formed. Based on the 92 samples collected, the researchers classified them into seven word-formation processes, as presented in Figure 2 below.

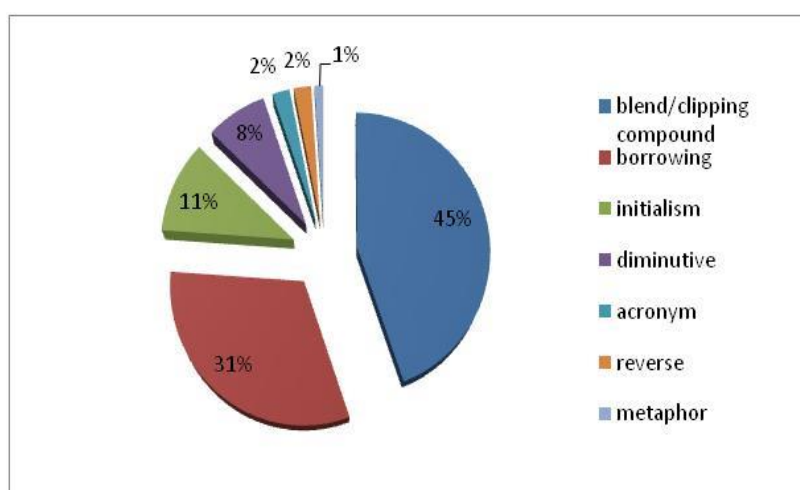


Figure 2. Word formation process frequency

The least productive word-formation process was the so-called metaphor, appearing once only (1%), through the word *jambu (air)* or ‘water apple’, to refer to ‘a beautiful girl’. Metaphorically speaking, the word *jambu (air)* or ‘water apple’ can be used to describe the qualities of a girl who is beautiful and fresh. Based on the data, the researchers identified two examples of acronyms (2%), namely *ceil*, standing for *cewek idaman lain* or ‘the other girl’ and *coil*, standing for *cowok idaman lain* or ‘the other boy/young man’. Interestingly, two examples of the word-formation process ‘reverse’ (2%) were identified, namely the word *kera*, meaning ‘man’ and *kewec*, meaning *cewek* or ‘girl’. The third least frequent word-formation process was diminutive, occurring 7 times (8%). The examples of diminutive, implying smallness or cuteness, included the words *kontil* ‘penis’, *konty* ‘penis’, *memang* ‘vagina’, *memek* ‘vagina’, *memy* ‘vagina’, *toket* ‘woman’s breast/boob’, and *unyu* ‘cute’.

The top three word-formation processes identified in the data analysis were subsequently blend/clipping compound (41 occurrences, 45%), borrowing (29 examples, 31%), and initialism (10 occurrences, 11%). Note that the term *initialism*, as explained previously, refers to words which are formed from the initial letters of several words.

To display the entire data of the study, the researchers listed alphabetically all of the 92 neologisms collected online in Table 2 below. For the purpose of this paper, only neologisms and their word-formation processes were provided here because the meanings of the neologisms and their relevant explanations will be presented in the following section.

Table 2. Neologisms and word-formation processes

No.	Neologism	Word Formation Process
1	3G	Initialism
2	50 (manol)	Blend/clipping compound
3	ABCDEFGF	Initialism
4	ACDC	Initialism
5	AC/DC	Initialism
6	Ag	Initialism
7	Anjelo	Blend/clipping compound
8	Bacil	Blend/clipping compound
9	Bandit	Blend/clipping compound
10	Bantet	Borrowing
11	Benong	Borrowing
12	Berondong	Borrowing
13	Biatch	Borrowing
14	Bispak	Blend/clipping compound
15	Bisyar	Blend/clipping compound
16	Bohay	Blend/clipping compound
17	BRB!	Initialism
18	Bumil	Blend/clipping compound
19	Cang benong	Borrowing
20	Ceil	Acronym
21	Cengil use	Blend/clipping compound
22	Cepet	Borrowing
23	Cewok	Blend/clipping compound
24	Cibai	Borrowing
25	Cinere	Borrowing
26	CocaCola	Blend/clipping compound
27	Coil	Acronym
28	Coker	Blend/clipping compound
29	Cokiber	Blend/clipping compound
30	Coli	Blend/clipping compound
31	Dalijo	Blend/clipping compound
32	Djarum	Initialism
33	Don juan	Borrowing
34	Duren	Blend/clipping compound

No.	Neologism	Word Formation Process
35	Duren super	Blend/clipping compound
36	Eboy	Blend/clipping compound
37	Frank	Borrowing
38	Gatheli	Borrowing
39	GM (ji-em)	Initialism
40	Gondes	Blend/clipping compound
41	Handoko	Blend/clipping compound
42	Henen	Borrowing
43	Himaho	Blend/clipping compound
44	Hode	Borrowing
45	Ipet	Borrowing
46	Jablay	Blend/clipping compound
47	Jabrik	Blend/clipping compound
48	Jambu	Metaphor
49	Jamu	Blend/clipping compound
50	Jamu super	Blend/clipping compound
51	Jancuk	Borrowing
52	Jens	Borrowing
53	Jomblowati	Blend/clipping compound
54	Kencot	Borrowing
55	Keple	Blend/clipping compound
56	Kera	Reverse
57	Kewec	Reverse
58	Kongat	Borrowing
59	Kontil	Diminutive
60	Konty	Diminutive
61	Lapendos	Blend/clipping compound
62	Lonte	Borrowing
63	Maho	Blend/clipping compound
64	Mahox	Borrowing
65	Malaga	Blend/clipping compound
66	Manak	Blend/clipping compound
67	Manol	Blend/clipping
68	Memang	Diminutive
69	Memek	Diminutive
70	Memy	Diminutive
71	Menel	Blend/clipping compound
72	Mokondo	Blend/clipping compound
73	Ngaceng	Borrowing

No.	Neologism	Word Formation Process
74	Ngentit	Borrowing
75	Ngentot	Borrowing
76	Pembalap	Blend/clipping compound
77	Playboy	Borrowing – English
78	Purel	Blend/clipping compound
79	Putol	Blend/clipping compound
80	Sa`aduni	Borrowing
81	Semlohe	Borrowing
82	Senggama	Borrowing
83	Soteng	Blend/clipping compound
84	Suzuki	Blend/clipping compound
85	STW	Initialism
86	Tilangdarat	Blend/clipping compound
87	Toket	Diminutive+infixation
88	Tora sudiro	Blend/clipping compound
89	Tukmis	Borrowing (Exists in KBBI)
90	Unyuu	Diminutive
91	Vankoy	Borrowing
92	Wp	Initialism

As displayed in Table 2 above, 41 neologisms were categorized as blends or clipping compounds. Next, to examine the 41 blends or clipping compounds, representing 45% of the 92 collected neologism samples, the researchers compiled a separate inventory, including the origins and the meanings or referents of the 41 blends or clipping compounds.

Table 3. Blend/clipping compound

No.	Neologism	Blend/Clipping Compound	Meaning in English
1	50 (manol)	lima nol	five nil (nasty girl)
2	Anjelo	antar jemput lonte	fetch female prostitutes
3	Bacil	bayur cilik	teenage girl
4	Bandit	banci genit	flirty transvestite
5	Bispak	bisa pakai	female prostitute
6	Bisyar	bisa bayar	female prostitute
7	Bohay	body aduhay	sexy body
8	Bumil	ibu hamil	pregnant mother
9	Cengil use	cewek tengil udiknya selangit	very girl
10	Cewok	cewek berbentuk cowok	tomboy
11	Coca Cola	cowok cakep cowok idola	handsome, favourite boyfriend
12	Coker	cowok keren	cool boyfriend
13	Cokiber	cowok kita Bersama	our common boyfriend

No.	Neologism	Blend/Clipping Compound	Meaning in English
14	Coli	kocok peli	masturbate
15	Dalijo	dasar peli bejo	simply lucky penis
16	Duren	duda keren	cool widower
17	Duren super	duda keren suka perawan	cool widower fond of a virgin
18	Eboy	(electronic)boy	Playboy
19	Gondes	gondrong ndeso	male villager with long hair
20	Handoko	hanya bermodal kontol	only with a penis
21	Himaho	himpunan mahasiswa homo	homosexual (male) student association
22	Jablay	jarang dibelai	female who lacks affection
23	Jabrik	jarak dibelai karena burik	elderly prostitute
24	Jamu	janda muda	young widow
25	Jamu super	janda muda suka perjaka	young widow fond of a single man
26	Jomblowati	jomblo -wati (suffix)	single female
27	Keple	kupu-kupu malam, perek, lonte	female prostitute
28	Lapendos	laki-laki penuh dosa	sinful man
29	Maho	manusia homo	homo person
30	Malaga	mabuk lantaran gadis	madly in love with a girl
31	Manak	manusia nakal	naughty person
32	Manol	lima nol	five-nil (nasty girl)
33	Menel	'memek' gatel	horny girl
34	Mokondo	modal kontol doang	merely with a penis
35	Pembalap	pemuda berbadan gelap	dark-skin man
36	Purel	public relation	female prostitute
37	Putol	pucuk kontol	penis tip
38	Soteng	sok ganteng	pretentious handsome
39	Suzuki	sejati-zungguh lelaki	real man
40	Tilangdarat	tinggi langsing dada rata	tall, slim, flat-boobed female
41	Tora sudiro	toket rata susah dirogoh	tough-to-touch flat boob

Interestingly, some of the blends or clipping compounds are derived from English, such as *purel* (public relation) to refer to a 'female prostitute'. Some are a mixture of languages (Indonesian-English or Indonesian-local language), as in *gondes* (*gondrong* or 'long hair' and *ndeso* 'of a village'), to refer to *a male villager with long hair*.

The domains of words

This section presents the answer to the second research question: What social domains are attached to these neologisms? Neologisms found in the virtual world are outcomes of human creativity. It is noteworthy to understand that the new creation of words does not only come from the linguistic perspective but also from a social one. Evans & Green (2006) highlighted this by

saying that words are interpreted “with respect to frames or domains of experience” (2006, p. 211). The social understanding of the words helps us to understand the connotations or the association evoked by the word. Some literature has noted how English words are not neutral. Some examples are *chairman*, *fireman*, *foreman*, *workman*, and *spokesman*, which have a masculine bias (Sunderland, 2016, p. 36). As the masculine roles are now changing, non-gender-specific alternatives are given, such as *chair*, *firefighter*, *supervisor*, *workers*, and *spokesperson*. The change in social outlook and roles demands a new label.

The data show how some gender-specific words can be associated with different associations: emotional (characteristic, personal traits), physical (appearance), sexual (relation to another gender), or financial (related to money) domains. Research has extensively argued that attributes in language can influence judgment and behavior towards groups of people (Banaji et al., 2001). The data show that the neologisms semantically refer not only to men or women, but also to LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) community. There are 35 new words which semantically refer to man [+adult, +male], 31 of which carry some social attributes. Four words related to the sexual act and body parts are created to avoid the use of literal words which are considered taboo.

Table 4. Neologism referring to men

No	Neologism	Meaning in English
1	3G	strong, handsome, and friendly
2	Ag	I am handsome
3	Berondong	young men
4	Bokap	father
5	Cinere	Chinese men
6	Cocacola	handsome men with fans
7	Coil	the other lover (male)
8	Coker	cool men
9	Cokiber	our common boyfriend
10	Coli	masturbate
11	Dalijo	simply lucky penis
12	Don juan	playboy
13	Duren	cool widower
14	Duren super	cool widower fond of a virgin
15	Eboy	playboy
16	Frank	weird boy
17	GM (ji-em)	boy fond of the vagina
18	Gondes	male villager with long hair
19	Handoko	only with a penis
20	Jens	common boy
21	Kera	men
22	Kongat	the climax of orgasm in men
23	Lapendos	sinful man
24	Lekong	men
25	Manak	naughty person
26	Mokondo	merely with a penis
27	Ngaceng	erection
28	Pembalap	dark-skin man

29	Playboy	playboy
30	Rangga	men
31	Soteng	pretentious handsome
32	Tukmis	men who love seducing others' wives
33	Vankoy	shabby men
34	Kontil	Penis
35	Konty	Penis

These words are used in a wide range of contexts with their connotative meanings. Connotative meanings depend on some social factors such as ideology, beliefs, sex, and gender (Chandler, 1995). The meanings of these words carry associations ranging from positive to negative ones. Table 5 shows how these words are associated with positive and negative attributes in different domains, namely: emotional, physical, sexual, and financial attributes.

Table 5. Classification of social attributes

Attribute	Positive	Example	Negative	Example
Emotional	0	-	2	<i>Frank</i>
Physical	9	3G	4	<i>Vankoy</i>
Sexual	0	-	11	<i>Tukmis</i>
Financial	0	-	2	<i>Handoko</i>

Two words are associated with negative emotional domains. For example, the word *frank* is defined as *diambil dari nama pria Jerman yang artinya aneh* 'weird man'. The word *lapendos* is defined as *laki-laki penuh dosa* 'a man full of sins'. Some words containing physical attributes are 3G which introduces the concept of *Gagah Ganteng Gaul* 'strong, handsome, and friendly' and *Vankoy* which is defined as *abang item jelek, kumuh* 'black shabby ugly guy'. It is interesting to note that in terms of physical attributes for males, there are more positive connotations than the negative ones. Examples containing sexual attributes are *manak* which means *manusia nakal untuk orang-orang yang nakal, suka grepe-grepe cewenya*, meaning 'a bad man who likes to grope his woman', and *tukmis* which means *orang yang suka ngeganggu istri orang* or 'a man who loves to seduce someone else's wife'. Negative images are portrayed in all neologisms with sexual references. These neologisms are in line with the stereotypes that men are prone to sin and seduction (Brannon, 2011; Cendra, 2006). Lastly, there are words which contain financial attributes, such as *mokondo* which refers to *istilah yang dipakai orang-orang (pria) yang maunya/bisanya gratisan aja atau cuma modal 'barang' doank* or 'guys who love getting stuff for free' and *Handoko* meaning *orang yang tidak bermodalkan apa-apa dan hanya bermodal alat kelamin* or 'people who only depend on their genitals'. As men are normally expected to be independent, agentic and goal-oriented (Cuddy et. al, 2010, p. 3), this term is considered degrading to the reference of these words as the society expects men to be financially wealthy.

Table 6 shows 37 neologisms referring to women. Similar to the previous block of words, neologisms referring to women can be further associated with different domains containing positive and negative connotations.

Table 6. Neologism referring to women

No	Neologism	Meaning in English
1	50 (manol)	five nil (nasty girl)
2	bacil	teenage girl
3	bantet	sexy
4	biatch	bitch
5	brb!	be ready bitch!
6	bumil	pregnant mother
7	ceil	the other female lover
8	cengil use	very girl
9	cepet	vagina
10	cewok	tomboy
11	cibai	vagina
12	hamdan att	pregnant women
13	henen	female breast
14	ipet	vagina
15	jablay	female who lacks affection
16	jambu	lovely girlfriend
17	jamu	young widow
18	jamu super	young widow fond of a single man
19	jomblowati	single female
20	keple	female prostitute
21	kewec	women
22	lonte	female prostitute
23	lontonk	males**
24	malaga	madly in love with a girl
25	manol	furious women
26	memang	vagina
27	memek	vagina
28	memy	vagina
29	menel	horny girl
30	purel	female prostitute
31	semlohe	sexy girl
32	stw	old (middle-aged) woman
33	tilangdarat	tall, slim, flat-boobed female
34	toket	breast
35	tora sudiro	tough-to-touch flat boob
36	unyu	cute girl
37	wp	female prostitute

These new words are produced creatively through several word-formation processes. However, most gender-specific neologisms have more negative connotations than the positive ones as seen in Table 7.

Table 7. Social attributes of the neologisms

Attribute	Positive	Example	Negative	Example
Emotional	0	-	6	jablay
Physical	7	Jambu	6	STW
Sexual	0	-	7	purel
Financial	0	-	0	-

Table 3 demonstrates that seven words for females contain negative sexual attributes. An example of neologisms containing sexual attributes is the word *lonte* which means *pelacur wanita* ‘prostitute’. There are four words which are linked to prostitution, such as *purel*, *lonte*, *wp*, and *keple*. These words suggest that some stereotypes that women are sexual objects remain perceived in society (Royo, et. al 2001; Shifman & Lemishm, 2009). In terms of physical attributes, there are words containing positive and negative attributes. The word *jambu* delivers a positive connotation because it means *cewe cakep/cantik* or a beautiful girl. On the other hand, the word *tilangdarat* contain negative connotation because it stands for *Tinggi Langsing Dada Rata* or a woman who is tall and slim but having small breasts. Next, some words convey emotional attributes. These new words link six words with a negative connotation. Some examples are *bacil* which means *bayur cilik*, *jablay cilik* or ‘sassy girl’ and *jablay* which means *jarang dibelai* or ‘rarely touched or cuddled’. Unlike neologisms for men, it is interesting to see that there are no words negatively or positively linked to financial attributes.

The creation and meaning of neologisms evolve and change throughout time reflecting the social condition. The emergence of the LGBT community also triggers the creation of new labels. These neologisms correspond not only to male or female, but they also define “other” gender or the LGBTQ community as seen in Table 8.

Table 8. Neologisms for LGBTQ community

No	Neologism	Meaning in English
1	ACDC	transgender
2	AC/DC	transgender
3	bandit	sassy transgender
4	benong	transgender
5	cang benong	transgender
6	HIMAHO	homosexual students association
7	hode	transgender
8	maho	homosexual
9	mahox	homosexual

Table 8 presents nine words corresponding to transgenders and homosexuals. Bieschke et.al. (2007) mention that transgenders are people who express their gender differently from their biological sex, while homosexuals are people who are attracted to the same sex. Homosexuality in Indonesia was considered a part of the society in different regions in Indonesia until Western or Islamic influence (Oetomo, 2001). Boelstroff (2005) documented that homosexuality has emerged for at least a thousand years. The practice can be traced back to local rituals and traditions. The existence of Bissu in South Sulawesi, Warog in Reog Ponorogo, and Rateb Sadati in Aceh are related to homosexuality (Boelstroff, 2005; Adihartono, 2013). This social reality can be extended to the use of language. The words ACDC and AC/DC are metaphorically taken from

electric current are synonymous with *bencong* or transgender. *Himaho*, *maho* and *mahox* refer to gays. Neologisms referring to LGBT are not expanded further to emotional, sexual, and physical domains as the use of these words in reference to particular groups straightforwardly evokes negative stigma in the society. These terms show how the existence of LGBT is still challenged in the Indonesian context.

CONCLUSION

This study categorized the word-formation processes of gender marked neologisms, consisting of 92 data samples, into seven word-formation processes, starting from the least up to the most frequent processes, namely metaphor, reverse, acronym, diminutive, initialism, borrowing and blend/clipping compound. The results also showed that blends or clipping compounds were formed from English, Indonesian, and local languages, as in the English-Indonesian *bohay* ('body' and *aduhay* 'sexy') to refer to a 'sexy female body'. These new words are semantically associated with different social domains: emotional, financial, physical, sexual, and financial ones. The most dominant domain attached to both male-specific and female-specific neologisms is the physical domain, mostly positive. Meanwhile, neologisms which are related to sexual domains are used in negative connotation for both males and females. Interestingly, neologisms referring to LGBT are not expanded further to emotional, sexual, and physical domains as the use of these words in reference to particular groups straightforwardly evokes negative stigma in the society. Although this study has its limitations, it argues that although some words are used to empower particular gender, many words are used to expand sexual stereotypes. Instead of serving as an act of empowerment, some neologisms reflect negative stigma to males, females and LGBTQ.

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