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 pembentukannya. 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, diminatif, initialisme, 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, stereotype
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, Mrcele, & Golob, 2018; Min-Chang, 2013). Language creates power relations between social groups, including gender (Tannen, 1994; Mikic, Mrcele, & 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.

| Word-formation Process | Definition | Example |
|------------------------|------------|---------|
| Coinage | Coinage is the formation of totally new words. | *Pepsi* 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 *kiyut* 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 *wall* and *paper* into *wallpaper*. |
**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 *baper*. In this case, we reduce the word *bawa* (bring) into “ba” as well as *perasaan* (feelings) into “per”. These two reduced parts are then combined into the word *baper* (moody).

**Clipping**

Clipping occurs when a word consisting of more than one syllable is reduced to one shorter form.

The word *kenapa* ‘why’ is clipped into the word *napa*; the word *tidak* is clipped into the word *gak*.

**Backformation**

Back-formation is a type of word formation which reduces one form into a different word.

Some examples are *televise* from *television*, *donate* from *donation*, and *hankie* from *handkerchief*.

**Conversion**

Conversion is a change in the function of the word.

The word *wasap* (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 *CMIIW* (Correct Me If I’m Wrong).

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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](image)

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   | ABCDEFG   | 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  | Jubrik        | 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                   |
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      | kokok 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| jombo -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 nil                 | 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    | sungguh-zungguh lelaki   | real man                      |
| 40  | Tilangdarat| tinggi langsing dada rata| tall, slim, flat-boobed female|
| 41  | Tora sudiro| toket rata susah dirogh   | 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.

| 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                        |
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        | Frank   |
| Physical  | 9        | 3G      | 4        | Vankoy  |
| Sexual    | 0        | -       | 11       | Tukmis  |
| Financial | 0        | -       | 2        | Handoko |

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 & Lemish, 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 cekep/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 Pnorogo, 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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