Perpetuating gender hierarchy in Indonesia through language: A deconstructive study on the online Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Gender relations in Indonesian social practices tend to marginalize women, as manifested in various methods and instruments. One of them is the use of language in *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (online KBBI), an Indonesian dictionary compiled by the Indonesian government. The dictionary is the primary standard and official reference for lemmas, meanings, and examples of sentences. This study aims to analyze the unequal relations between men and women reflected in linguistic units in the online KBBI and uncover their hidden meanings. Data was collected by searching, reading, and recording (documenting) the gender-related lemmas (words), definitions of lemmas, and examples of their use in sentences in the online KBBI from 7 May to 5 June 2022, and applying Derrida's deconstruction approach to the words and their related features, with its main principles including (1) determining the meanings that are not determined (undecidable), (2) dismantling the ideology of the text (binary logic), (3) reversing the metaphysical hierarchy and neutralize it, and (4) disseminating the meaning. This study found a metaphysical hierarchy between women and men in binary concepts, including domestic-public hierarchy, passive object-active subject hierarchy, and negative-positive hierarchy for women and men regarding lemmas, meanings, and examples of sentences in the online KBBI. These findings suggest that KBBI perpetuates unequal metaphysical hierarchies between women and men in Indonesia. This article is expected to contribute to language awareness and attitudes in Indonesia and improve the online KBBI in terms of its language use.

Keywords: Deconstruction; gender relations; Indonesian language; online KBBI; metaphysical hierarchy

INTRODUCTION

Gender relations between men and women are socially constructed differently. In the Indonesian context, although women in Indonesia have opportunities to work in the public sphere and have political rights, violence against women continues to occur, such as that resorted by husbands to their wives during their pregnancy (Laksono, 2022), or insults, pressures, and humiliations experienced by women from their husband in front of others (Fitrianingsih, & Saki, 2022). Women National Committee or *Komite Nasional Perempuan* (2020) reported that regulations are the main obstacle to women's equality in Indonesia. For example, as reported by the *Komite Nasional Perempuan*, in a case of sexual violence against children at the South Jakarta District Court, the victim could not apply for

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restitution due to population-administrative problems. Moreover, most violence occurs in private spaces, and working women are the most frequent objects of violence. Women who work in front-of-the-line (critical) fields, such as journalists, are often criticized. Meanwhile, women who work in the service sector are often prone to receiving treatment in the form of ridicule (catcalling).

In Indonesia, the injustice experienced by women due to gender bias occurs in various aspects of social life (Ayuniyyah et al., 2022; Munthe & Sudarwati, 2020; Nisak & Sugiharti, 2020; Purwanti et al., 2023; Sridadi & Prihantono, 2018). In domestic life, for example, many women are traditionally responsible for various house chores, from preparing food to caring for children and husbands (Dewi & Primasti, 2022). In the education sector, women in rural areas are often hampered from accessing higher education, as is often the case in remote areas in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, some due to their husband's refusal to allow them to do so (Nursaptini et al., 2019). In political life, women are often ridiculed or face regulations that hinder them from, for example, becoming the head of the region (Nasrulloh & Utami, 2022). Women experience many more injustices due to gender bias in society—apart from some affirmative-action policies regarding women—such as the policy of 30 percent representation of women in nominating legislative candidates under the mandate of Law Number 12 of 2003 concerning Elections for the House of Representatives members (DPR, DPD, and DPRD), Article 65 verse 1.

Discrimination against women is not only manifested in social practices (such as that in the education sector or violence by partners) but also in language practices, e.g., newspaper language and sexist statements (Evianda et al., 2019; Mardikantoro et al., 2022; Risdaneva, 2018; Suriadi et al., 2020). The use of this gender-biased vocabulary does not physically abuse women, but it may contain symbolic violence. Symbolic violence, according to Bouriou (2020), refers to the process when power and domination are maintained or strengthened through symbols, ideas, or norms implemented in society. Regarding gender relations, women have been constructed in such a way through language that it is difficult for them to reconstruct the communication patterns that have already been accepted as the standard in society, particularly in vocabulary choices (Dashiell, 2023; Dwipayana et al., 2023; MacKenzie et al., 2022; Nuryana & Purwasito, 2021; Revita et al., 2020; Sengupta et al., 2022; Wang & Dovchin, 2022). In Indonesian high school textbooks, for example, the word *diboyong* (be "brought") in the sentence *Habibie menikah dengan Hasri Ainun Habibie yang kemudian diboyongnya ke Jerman* 'Habibie married Hasri Ainun Habibie whom he then brought to Germany' shows gender bias because Habibie's wife is described as a woman who seems to be powerless to her husband (Ulfah et al., 2019). That example maintains the notion that language is a medium for forming reality through language (Thompson, 1983). This also aligns with the views of critical thinkers such as van Dijk (2000), who states that language is a means of (re)production of ideology.

As words, which constitute languages, may not be value-free, dictionaries may serve as an "ideology storage", including ones promoting gender inequality (Bertulessi, 2018; Hu et al., 2019; Jourdan, 2020). *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (KBBI) is the dictionary compiled by Badan Bahasa, Indonesia's national directorate whose focus is to standardize Indonesian vocabulary or lemmas. In addition to providing meanings to words used by Indonesians, it provides language references constructed with specific sentence structures and examples. Therefore, it may serve as a reference for Indonesian users to look for the meaning of particular vocabulary in specific and limited examples of sentences. In this regard, the authors examined the metaphysical hierarchy of gender relations in the online KBBI. In this sense, metaphysical hierarchy refers to the concept of binary logic in the philosophy of logocentrism, which Derrida criticized (Fitz, 1988). In binary logic, there is an awareness that in mutual relations, one is superior and the other is inferior, as in the word pairs male/female, top/bottom, and similar. Moreover, the online KBBI is easily accessible to stakeholders, such as journalists, legal practitioners or academics.

So far, many studies related to gender bias in the Indonesian language have been carried out by researchers in the Indonesian context. Previous research has been dominated by studies on gender bias in textbooks, such as that conducted by Sujinah et al. (2023) and Hajir (2020). Research related to gender bias in language has also been carried out by Suharnanik and Mahayani (2015). In this study, they focused on the use of the words *geladak* 'deck', *jahat* 'bad', *jalan* 'street', *jalang* 'bitch', *jangak* 'lewd', *lacur* 'prostitute', *lecah* 'bad', *nakal* 'naughty' which are associated to women, as is the vocabulary found in the printed KBBI. Using the words as a basis, Suharmanik and Mahayani attempted to elicit responses from women as their respondents to the use of the words. Their study found that 100% of the respondents stated that they disagreed with the use of negative words in defining women; 66.7% of respondents who became respondents disagreed about the depiction of women who were identified by the functions of their sexual organs; 76.4% of respondents stated that they did not agree with the view that women are objects of men's proprietary as wives or partners. Although this research uses an interpretive approach and applies a critical paradigm, this research has yet to

reveal how the relationship between men and women is described in the KBBI. Examples of words or sentences that are expressed are also minimal.

Research investigating the meaning of words in the KBBI includes those of Ramadan and Mulyati (2020), Handayani (2010), and Spriyanti (2012). While Ramadan and Mulyati focused on the misuse of words in Indonesian, which are indicated to be inconsistent with the KBBI, those of Handayani and, later, Supriyanti (2012) specifically investigated gender relations in the KBBI. While Handayani put emphasis more on the semantic study of the meaning field related to words or lemmas related to gender, Supriyanti zeroed in on the influence of stereotypes in preparing gender-oriented pronoun lemmas in KBBI edition IV and looked at the gender markers in it. Notably, Supriyanti's research has shown that some definitions outlined in KBBI IV reinforce the stereotypes of women and men. Women are depicted as passive figures, play a role in the domestic sphere, are valued by their appearance, and are made sex objects for men. For instance, the phrase *babu masak* 'chef' is not associated with women; however, the word *babu* 'waiter' or 'maid' is defined as *perempuan yang bekerja sebagai pembantu (pelayan)* a woman who works as a waiter (maid)'. Meanwhile, men are described as playing a role in the public sphere, active, and judged by sexuality. For example, the phrase *bujang sekolah* is not explicitly defined as male; however, the word *bujang* is defined as *anak laki-laki dewasa* 'an adult male'.

Supriyanti's research is similar to the current study, but her research focuses more on pronouns and does not show other forms of lemmas, such as verb lemmas. In addition, the study is mainly lemma-oriented, not much looking at using the lemmas in the definition and examples of sentences. Instead, in the dictionary, definitions of words and examples of their use in sentences are also important in creating gender relations. In addition, because the study did not use a deconstruction approach, the researcher did succeed in "uncovering" the hidden meaning behind the text but did not attempt to reverse the binary logic associated with the metaphysical hierarchy, such as by presenting new facts in the reality of everyday life and or by pointing out other possibilities that can neutralize the hierarchy. This study aims to address this gap by examining the metaphysical hierarchy hidden in the binary logic of language use related to gender relations in KBBI, particularly the online version, using Derrida's deconstruction approach.

Based on the review of several previous studies, it can be said that there has never been a previous study that has applied the deconstruction method to dismantle the metaphysical hierarchy of gender relations in the online KBBI. Moreover, the data taken in this study is not only the use of vocabulary or entries but also the meaning and examples of its use in the online KBBI. This is the gap that previous researchers have yet to study. This research aims to analyze the unequal relations between men and women reflected in using linguistic units in the online KBBI and uncover their hidden meanings by applying Derrida's deconstruction principle. Thus, this research is expected to provide a different perspective than previous studies and can contribute to building language awareness and attitudes in Indonesia. Apart from that, this article can be considered for improving the online KBBI.

METHOD
This study used a qualitative approach. In particular, the researchers described and interpreted gender bias discourse or language using Jacques Derrida's deconstruction method to reveal metaphysical hierarchy in gender relations. Derrida (1998) often critiques what he calls "metaphysics", a term he uses broadly to refer to the dominant philosophical and linguistic traditions that have shaped Western thought. Certain concepts or terms have been elevated to a privileged status within these traditions, while others have been marginalized or excluded. For example, in traditional Western metaphysics, concepts like "being", "presence", and "truth" have been considered more fundamental and valuable than their opposites, such as "nothingness", "absence", or "error." In this sense, these unbalanced concepts are seen as metaphysical hierarchies. Through the principle of deconstruction, these concepts can be dismantled. The main principle of deconstruction is to reveal meanings that are marginalized, ignored, or hidden (Haryatmoko, 2016). In this study, the deconstruction process uncovered the metaphysical hierarchy between men and women in the online KBBI. This is because the metaphysical relations are hidden in language texts on online KBBI, in the form of lemmas, the meaning of lemmas, or examples of sentences.

It is first necessary to understand Derrida's concept related to *différance* in understanding further the concept of deconstruction in language. In this case, Derrida's concept of *différance* (delay, reversal) is needed to challenge these meanings. In general, Derrida's concept of *différance* can be interpreted as a delay or instability of meaning, or what Haryatmoko describes (2016, p. 135-137) as "the principle of destruction embedded in every written text." This is understandable because Derrida rejects logocentrism in the tradition of Western thought. As explained by Haryatmoko (2016), the French word *différance* (delay, reversal) in French uses the ending *-ence* but is changed to -*ance* to indicate the fusion of the two meanings of the word (verb) *différer,* which means 'to differ' or

'to delay' as a form of instability in speech, which structural linguists metaphysically describe as an entity that is superior to writing. In other words, Derrida's notion of *différance* emphasizes that meaning is never stable and is always deferred or postponed. Like a palimpsest (see Svivak, 2016 p. xxv), where new text layers defer and obscure the original, language continually defers meaning, making it elusive and open to multiple interpretations.

In Indonesian, the principle of *différance* above can be explained by making minimal pairs in certain words, especially words with the same sound but different meanings, called homophones. In the minimal pairs between *massa* 'mass' and *masa* 'time', *bang* 'brother' and *bank* 'bank', *rok* 'skirt' and *rock* 'rock (music)', *sangsi* 'doubt' and *sanksi* 'sanction', and so on, it can be explained that each of these words awaits their meaning in contrast to one another. This is because each form in the minimal pairs contributes to a concept "not yet complete." In this unstable meaning, another meaning is ready to penetrate the language (signifier) through the traces of the language itself. This causes the meaning of the text to become vulnerable while also preparing the entrance for possible new meanings.

Based on the concept of *différance*, Derrida made a significant contribution to dismantling the metaphysical hierarchy. According to Haryatmoko (2016, p. 138), the metaphysical hierarchy is "thickly attached to language", especially in concepts known as a binary opposition. In language, binary opposition is a certain pair of words in which one is superior, and the other is inferior. In binary pairs, as explained by Haryatmoko (2016) in words *physical*/*spiritual*, *good*/*bad*, *day*/*night*, there is a belief in our subconscious which assumes that the words *physical*, *good*, and *day* have a better position or hierarchy or superior compared to the words *spiritual*, *bad*, and *night* (p. 138). The same applies to the pairs of *men*/*women* and all linguistic concepts attached to this relationship.

Indeed, Derrida does not show definite methods and refuses to speak of deconstruction as a method. However, there is some academic discussion on demonstrating deconstruction. Spivak, as the translator of Derrida's texts, conveys three things, namely: (1) locating the text concerning power relations by indicating which ones are marginal; (2) revealing meanings that cannot be determined (undecidable) by exposing multiple meanings; (3) reversing the power hierarchy so that it can then be dismantled again (Spivak, 2016, in the translator's notes Of Grammatology Derrida 1998). Meanwhile, Haryatmoko (2016) shows four working principles, namely (1) determine the meanings that are not determined (undecidable), (2) dismantle the ideology of the text (binary logic), (3) reverse the metaphysical hierarchy and neutralize it,

(4) disseminate the meaning. To apply the deconstruction method, the data analysis was combined with intralingual and extralingual matching methods (Mahsun, 2017). Intralingually, linguistic units related to men will be found to be equivalent to linguistic units related to women, both in terms of lemmas, meanings, and examples in sentences. Extralingually, the forms and meanings will be matched to the cultural context of Indonesian society to find similarities and differences; from these, an interpretation will then be carried out according to Wodak's (2000) interpretive model.

Furthermore, the data in this study were taken from words, meanings, and examples of their use in sentences written in the online KBBI (web version) relating to men and women or those suspected of having gender-biased meanings, where metaphysical relations operate in the form of binary concepts (logics) between men and women. Data is collected by searching, reading, and recording (documenting) the gender-related lemmas (words), definitions of lemmas, and examples of their use in sentences in the online KBB, which was carried out for approximately one month, from 7 May to 5 June 2022. Even though there is no significant difference between printed KBBI and online KBBI, we took data from the online KBBI with several considerations. First, in the digital era, there is a tendency for people to search for the meaning of words in a dictionary through digital dictionaries that are available on the internet. Second, we chose online KBBI for practical reasons because it was more accessible in the data collection and made it easier to find relationships between data using triangulation techniques. This is because the online KBBI has a search query that makes it easier to search for data using keywords and makes it easier to connect related keywords. The online KBBI referred to here is the official online KBBI issued by the Language Development Agency (*Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa*) of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia with network number 3.10.2.1-20230102204913 on the website https://kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id. Based on the information provided on the official website, the online KBBI is the Fifth Edition of the (printed) KBBI, which became available to the public on October 28, 2016, to coincide with the 88th anniversary of the Youth Pledge.

Overall, the research procedure involved several steps, namely (1) the researchers collected lemmas in KBBI related to gender, then looked for the meaning and examples of their use in sentences; (2) placing the (possible) meanings that are not determined (undecidable); (3) reveal the ideology of the lemmas by paying attention to its binary logic; (4) reversing the metaphysical hierarchy in the form of binary logic; and (5) disseminate the meaning. For more detail, look at Figure 1.

Figure 1
The scheme of research methods (procedures), starting from steps, processes, and results
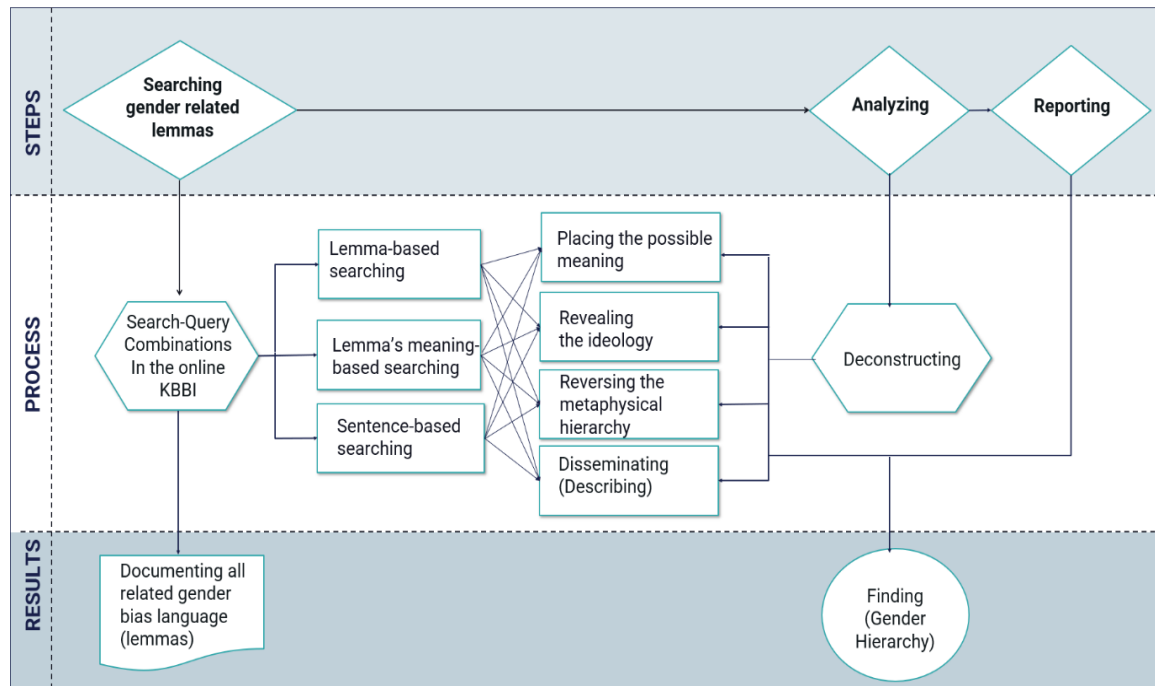
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section will describe several essential findings in the research for further discussion. These findings will be presented based on the existing categories of results, namely (1) the existence of a metaphysical hierarchy in the form of differences in roles between men and women as depicted in the online KBBI, namely the domestic role for women and the public role for men; (2) there is a presumption of behavior between men and women, that women have a passive nature while men have an active nature, especially in marital or romantic relationships; (3) there is a wrong portrayal of women and approving (or neutral) attitudes towards men in similar actions, for example concerning prostitution. These results and discussion will be explained more clearly as follows.

Domestic-Public Hierarchy

The gender hierarchy in the online KBBI concerning the roles of men and women in social life shows women's domestic roles and men's public roles. This role is seen in the use of vocabulary forms, both in the lemma and the meaning of the lemma, and examples of their use in sentences, as shown in Table 1.

In Table 1, it is clear that the image of women, identical to domestic work, is constantly objectified. With this division of roles, women are positioned as people who stay at home with all household matters. For this reason, in the online KBBI, there are entries for *ibu rumah tangga* 'housewives,' defined as 'a woman who manages the implementation of various kinds of household chores, a wife (mother) who only takes care of various jobs.' This reinforces the image of women who are only responsible for taking care of the cooking in the kitchen. The work in the kitchen could be done by other than the mother. Meanwhile, the vocabulary of *bapak rumah tangga* 'househusband' was not found. In line with this domestic work, in the online KBBI, there are examples of sentences that continue to perpetuate women's position as confined objects, such as in the example of the sentence 'the girl managed to escape from seclusion' for lemma *pingitan* 'seclusion.' In contrast, The online KBBI does not provide examples of the opposite, such as 'the man managed to escape from seclusion' because men are not seen as objects of seclusion. This shows that the online KBBI supports women's domestic roles.

In addition, in the example above, women are more than carrying out domestic roles but are also domesticated as victims with the phrase *gadis taruhan* 'betted girl', which is given the meaning of 'girl who is secluded' and 'seclusion.' The word *gadis taruhan* 'betted girl', of course, presupposes that all this time a girl seems to be often or commonly used as a bet in a bet made by men or maybe by their parents so that during the betting period she is secluded in a specific place before the bet won or before the girl is handed over to the winner of the bet. The belief that women have been shackled in the house as objects of seclusion is reinforced in the sentences exemplified in the online KBBI *zaman modern seperti sekarang ini bukan zamannya lagi memingit anak dara* 'modern times

like today are not the time to seclude girls' and *karena malu ia berpingit saja di kamar* 'because of shame he just sits in his room'. Although the second example sentence does not explicitly state that women are embarrassed to be secluded, the relationship between the lemmas, meanings, and example sentences in the online KBBI in Table (1) shows that those who are secluded are women and not men.

Indeed, there are phrases or compound words *wanita karier* 'career women' in online KBBI, which indicates that there are also women who work outside the home (non-domestic). However, this entry does not necessarily mean the existence of women's freedom in determining their choice of work as *wanita karier* 'career women'. This emphasizes that the word career is synonymous with an acquisition in men's work so that when a woman has a career, the term *wanita karier* 'career woman' is made. This is analogous to the word *polisi wanita* 'policewoman' for women, but no term *polisi laki-laki* 'policeman' or 'male police.' This fact indicates that it is already in the collective consciousness of the Indonesian people that if it is a male police officer, then that is normal. On the other hand, if it

is a woman who becomes a police officer, then that is something that attracts attention (unusual) so that the word *polisi wanita* 'policewoman' is given a gender marker.

Concerning work outside the home, in the online KBBI, there is the word *bidan* 'midwife', which means a woman who can help and care for people giving birth and their babies'. If we look at the meaning of the word *bidan* 'midwife', it can be seen that only women are considered worthy of having jobs related to giving birth and caring for children. Meanwhile, men are seen as inappropriate to work as midwives. That is why the meaning of *bid* 'midwife' is associated with the women's work in the online KBBI. In fact, in everyday life, this task can be carried out by men, although only men who become doctors are deemed worthy of doing the work. In addition, the types of work are both helping the process of giving birth to women. So far, it can be seen that childbirth-related work is seen as domestic, a space connected to women's work in the home. In connection with the concept of deconstruction, the meaning of the word *bidan* 'midwife' can be replaced with a new meaning not associated with a particular gender.

Table 1
Examples of lemmas, meanings, and sentences/phrases related to the domestic (female)-public (male) hierarchy in the online KBBI

Example of Lemmas in the Online KBBI	Meaning of Lemmas in the Online KBBI	Example Sentences/Phrases in the Online KBBI
ibu rumah tangga 'housewife'	*wanita yang mengatur penyelenggaraan berbagai macam pekerjaan rumah tangga, istri (ibu) yang hanya mengurusi berbagai pekerjaan* 'a woman who manages the implementation of various kinds of household chores, a wife (mother) who only takes care of various jobs'	no example
pingitan 'seclusion/ isolation'	*yang dipingit* 'who are secluded or isolated'	*gadis pingit; gadis itu berhasil melepaskan diri dari pingitan* 'secluded girl; the girl managed to escape from the seclusion'
berpingit 'secluded'	*berkurung di dalam rumah dan sebagainya* 'locked in the house and so on'	*karena malu ia berpingit saja di kamar* 'because she was embarrassed, she just sat in the room'
memingit 'secluded'	*mengurung dalam rumah (kandang, sangkar)* 'confine in the house (cage)'	*zaman modern seperti sekarang ini bukan zamannya lagi memingit anak dara* 'modern times like today are not the time to seduce virgins'
gadis taruhan 'betted girl'	*gadis yang dipingit; pingitan* 'secluded or isolated girl; seclusion/isolation'	no example
wanita karier	*wanita yang berkecimpung dalam kegiatan profesi (usaha, perkantoran, dan sebagainya)* women who are engaged in professional activities (business, office, etc.)	no example
bidan 'midwife'	*wanita yang mempunyai kepandaian menolong dan merawat orang melahirkan dan bayinya* 'women who have the ability to help and care for people giving birth and their babies'	no example
ibu negara 'first Lady'	*istri kepala negara; istri presiden* 'wife of the head of state (First Lady); president's wife'	*ibu negara baru-baru ini mendampingi Presiden ke luar negeri* 'The First Lady recently accompanied the President abroad'

Passive Object – Active Subject Hierarchy

In this case, the relation or hierarchy of (active) subject and (passive) object is only portrayed in reality related to love, marriage, and biological desire. In this regard, it appears that in the realm of life related to love, marriage, and biological desire, online KBBI shows gender relations, as shown in Appendix 1.

The metaphysical hierarchy between men and women in the form of male opposition as active subjects and women as passive objects is also visible in the online KBBI, as shown in Appendix 1 above. The depiction of the two partners (male and female), as shown in Appendix 1, is done by using active forms to exemplify the actions taken by men. On the other hand, women are demonstrated in sentences that contain passive verbs.

The words *memacari* 'dating/courting', *meminang* 'proposing', *melamar* 'proposing', *mengawini* 'marrying', *menikahi* 'marrying', and *beristrikan* 'marrying', presuppose an unequal relationship between men and women in matters of love and marriage. In this case, actions related to courtship and marriage affairs reflect the active behavior of men and passive (accepting) behavior on the part of women. This construction continues to position women as "waiting" for men to be courted, proposed to, or married. Indeed, in everyday life, the decision to accept being made a girlfriend, accept a proposal, accept marriage, and accept as a wife, is on the woman's side. However, this does not show that women are free to choose; women only choose what comes to them, not what they want.

The equal relationship between men and women, as shown in Appendix 1, only appears in the word relationship between *mempertistri* 'marrying women' and *mempersuami* 'marrying man', and the relationship between the marrying. The word *memperistri* means 'to take as a wife' and 'make a wife'; and the word *mempersuami* is given the meaning of 'make a husband'. However, when given an example sentence, there appears to be a difference in emphasis. For example, in the sentence (1) *dia memperistri teman sekantornya* 'he married his workmate' as an example for men; meanwhile in the sentence (2) *bolehkan aku mempersuami orang yang sudah* [dianggap] *menjadi saudara?* 'may I marry someone who is already considered a brother?' Sentence (1) shows that men have no problems marrying their workmates. At the same time, women seem to have problems when they ask themselves whether it is permissible to marry someone (considered) already a relative/brother by using an interrogative sentence. Thus, from the example sentences made in the online KBBI, between men and women still shows an unbalanced hierarchy.

Women as objects sought by men are also seen in the compound words *bunga desa* and *kembang desa* 'beautiful women living in a village.' The question is, why is there no term *bunga kota* 'beautiful woman living in the city'? In this case, the beauty of women is only owned by urban women, while women in rural areas are seen as not having beauty. Beautiful women also exist in the village. Still, their beauty is, again, domesticated, confined to the "village space" for urban men because it is difficult to imagine that the terms *bunga desa* and *kembang desa* originally came from village men because they both live in the village. On the other hand, these terms appear more as a reaction to the "shock" of urban men that there are beautiful women in the village.

It does not stop there. The imbalanced relationship between men and women, as described in the online KBBI, also extends to matters of biological desire. In this case, the online KBBI uses the word *menggagahi*, which means 'rape' in the example sentence 'he is punished for raping a girl'. Meanwhile, the word *memerkosa* 'rape' is given meanings 'subdue by force', 'force by force', and 'rape'. So, in this case, the negative impression of the act of rape committed by men on women becomes subtle. The action has a positive connotation because the word *memerkosa* 'rape' is given a meaning of *menggahahi*; the lemma *menggagahi* comes from the root {gagah} 'strong; powerful' + affix {meN-/i}. Therefore, the actions related to rape cause men to seem to be brave or strong actors or perpetrators of rape, while women are positioned as weak objects for the courage and strength of men.

The social implications of the active-passive relationship perpetuate the position of women who are always passive and consistently marginalized. At the same time, it ignores the reality of women who can also express their feelings (actively) to men, both in terms of starting a relationship or deciding when to start a marriage, even when to begin ending the relationship or marriage. This imbalance can also put psychological pressure on women, making them afraid of facing men, going out at night, etc. Moreover, Indonesian society has a stigma that women who go out at night are seen as bad women. Even in 2012, a 16-year-old teenager hanged himself, traumatized by reports in local media regarding accusations that she was a prostitute. Before she died, she wrote to her father that she was not a prostitute (Tempo. Co. 2012, September 17).

Negative – Positive Hierarchy

Still, concerning the biological relationship between men and women, especially those related to relationships outside of marriage, in the online KBBI, the position of women is described with vocabulary that shows that bad things only happen to them socially. In contrast, men are not described as perpetrators who do evil deeds, as shown to women (See Appendix 2).

The negative construction of women in the online KBBI is inversely proportional to the positive construction of men. Concerning the "dark world" or the "world of the night", women, in this case, are described with various kinds of lemma or vocabulary that show women as dirty, despicable, and related to that. At least there are 10 vocabularies used that relate to the spectacle of these women, for example, *perempuan gladak* 'deck women', *perempuan jahat* 'bad women', *perempuan jalan* 'street women', *perempuan jalang* 'bitch', *perempuan jangak* 'lewd women', *perempuan lacur* 'prostitute', *perempuan lecah* 'bad women', *perempuan nakal* 'naughty women', *wanita tuna susila* 'prostitutes', and *lonte* 'whore'.

If we pay attention, the meaning of each of these words refers to each other and is circular, which leads to *perempuan-pelacur* 'prostitute-women'. For example, the words *perempuan gladak, perempuan jalan, perempuan jalang, perempuan lacur, perempuan lecah*, *wanita tuna susila,* and *lonte* is defined as *pelacur* 'prostitutes'. The word *pelacur* 'prostitute' itself is defined *perempuan yang*

melacur, *wanita tunasusila*, and *sundal* 'prostitute'; the word *sundal* 'prostitute' is defined as *buruk kelakuan*, *lacur*, *jalang*, *perempuan jalang*, and *pelacur* meaning 'prostitute', 'bitch', or 'whore'. So, these lemmas are in a field of meaning almost similar to each other, which essentially discredits women. In other words, women have many vices related to the "dark world" or prostitution. This is strengthened by the existence of the word *pelacuran* 'prostitution', which is given the meaning of 'selling oneself as a prostitute' and 'prostitution' and the word *melacurkan* 'prostitute', which is given the meaning of 'selling oneself'. In fact, in the world of prostitution, men are also involved. However, there are no examples of words or sentences in the online KBBI related to the definition or meaning of *pelacuran* 'prostitution'. If traced further into the KBBI thesaurus, it is seen that the word *pleacur* 'whore' has numerous related meanings associated with *perempuan* 'women', namely *that* 'bad', *kecurangan* 'fraud' or 'deception', and *pelacuran* 'prostitution' as shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2
The figure of the thematic thesaurus, which is part of the KBBI, shows that the word prostitute is related to the words women, bad, deception, and prostitution. (Figure adapted from online Treasure of Indonesian Language, 2022)
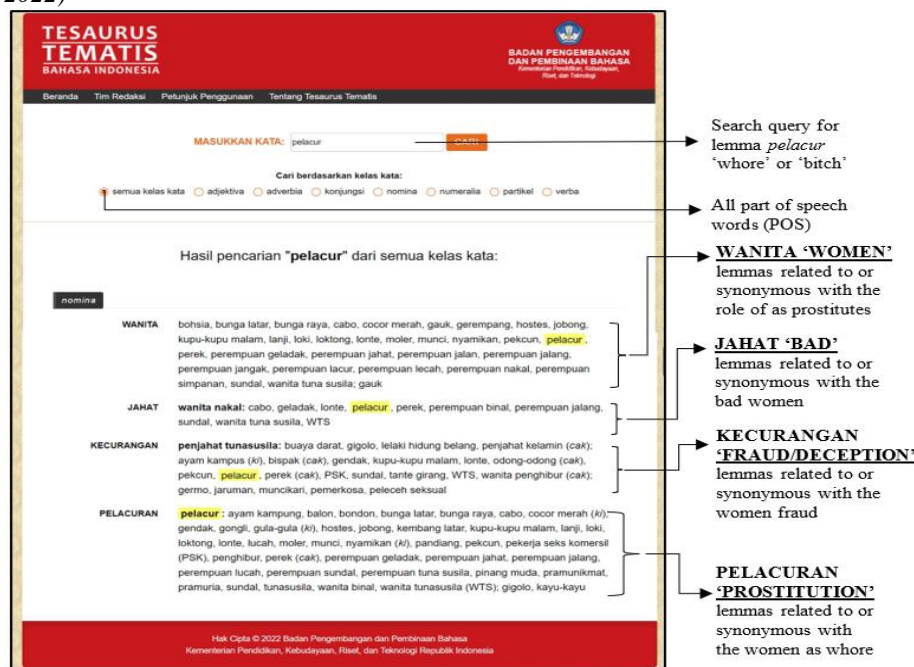
In the practice of prostitution in the real world, some parties act as intermediaries called *germo* 'pimps', *muncikari* 'pimps', and *alku* 'pimps'. The word *germo* 'pimp', in the online KBBI, is defined as 'landlady for prostitutes' and 'pimps'; while the word *muncikari* 'pimp' is defined as 'landlady of a prostitute' and 'pimp'; and the word *alku* 'pimp' is defined as 'landlady of prostitute', 'needle', and 'pimp'. Thus, not only do prostitutes have the

meaning of circling women, but also the meaning of 'pimp'.

Interestingly, all these words (*germo* 'pimp', *muncikari* 'pimp', and *alku* 'pimp') contain elements of the meaning of landlady for women who are seen as prostitutes. In this case, women are considered a group of people or goods ready to be sold to men; only women (*germo*) are seen as carrying out sales transactions. In such a sense, it

does not consider the existence of "human trafficking" practices, which causes prostitution not necessarily because of women's initiatives but also because they become victims of (human) trafficking. In the online Oxford Learner's Dictionary (2023), *human trafficking* is defined as 'the crime of transporting or controlling people and forcing them to work in the sex trade or other forms of forced labour'. In the online KBBI, the lemma *perdagangan orang* 'human trafficking', is given the meaning 'acts of recruitment, transportation, harboring, delivery and transfer accompanied by threats of violence, use of violence, kidnapping, confinement, forgery, fraud, abuse of power or vulnerable position, and debt bondage'. However, there is no concept of "sex trade" in the definition of lemma *perdagangan orang* in the online KBBI, as found in the Oxford Learner's Dictionary. In fact, in human trafficking, the criminal perpetrator can be male or female. In that case, the image of the landlady, which is identical to the female sex, can be neutralized by the presence of male perpetrators.

The bad image of women continues to be strengthened by the word *wanita jahat* 'bad woman'. The online KBBI presupposes that the word *wanita jahat* is a particular word that (linguistically) is parallel to the *perempuan jalang* 'bitch' as a compound word. Linguistically, compound words are seen as words with a single meaning and one feature that is not inserted. If the *wanita jahat* 'bad woman' is seen as a compound word with a single meaning and not inserted, the form is seen as a stable form. This can be proven by the absence of *lelaki jahat, laki-laki jahat*, or *pria jahat* 'bad man/guy' in the KBBI. This shows that the word *wanita jahat* in the KBBI seems to be highlighted in the dictionary as part of women's behavior. Meanwhile, bad deeds are "impulsive" behavior, which cannot be attached to a particular gender.

Furthermore, still related to the "dark world" earlier, something related to men only exists in the lemma *hidung belang* 'playboy', which means 'man who likes playing women'. Even though men can sell themselves to make a profit daily, the expression to say that is not found in the online KBBI. Thus, it is still the women who are blamed in this case. The phrase *gemar mempermainkan perempuan* 'fond of playing women' is also a form of euphemism for other forms that are more than just playing games. Thus, the bad behavior in these men does not appear prominent with the use of the word *mempermainkan* 'playing'. In stark contrast to the word *perempuan jahat* 'bad woman' or *perempuan jalang,* 'bitch' is used to describe women.

This negative image causes women to be the object of discussion or news in every case related to infidelity, even those related to rape. The public,

especially the media, prefers to report on female perpetrators (who are seen as prostitutes) compared to male actors who take advantage of these women. This, for example, can be seen in cases of prostitution by celebrities in Indonesia. Women are overexposed, while the media rarely cover men, for instance, in the case of Vanessa Angel (late) and the case involving Gisella. Even though the men involved in prostitution were later identified, excessive exposure was still given to the women. In both cases, the exposure to the two celebrities was massive, while there was little or no news about the male perpetrators. Thus, metaphysical relations (hierarchy) between men and women, on the one hand, continue to perpetuate the negative image of women, on the other hand, hiding the negative image of men.

Apart from that, several examples in the online KBBI show gender neutrality. For example, the lemma *pekerja seks komersial* 'commercial sex worker' is defined as *orang yang mencari nafkah dengan cara menjual diri* 'person who makes a living by selling themselves' on the online KBBI. Even though, socially, the word *pekerja seks komersial* 'commercial sex worker' is often associated with women, using examples like this can reduce the burden of blame on certain genders—terms related to prostitution are unfair if they are only associated with women. Another example, the lemma *laki-laki* 'men' is given an example sentence *baik laki-laki maupun perempuan berhak dicalonkan menjadi anggota DPR* 'both men and women have the right to be nominated as members of the DPR'. This shows that several examples in the online KKBI are gender sensitive—examples like this need to be increased so that unequal gender relations can be reduced. These examples show that the meaning of words in language cannot be considered fixed and final. This fact also shows how to open up the possibility of new meanings that can be attached to each word following the principle of deconstruction.

CONCLUSION
In general, this research shows that there is an unequal metaphysical hierarchy between men and women in the online KBBI, namely (1) a hierarchy of domestic roles for women and the public role for men, (2) a hierarchy of the passive nature of women and active nature of man, and (3) a hierarchy of bad portrayal of women and positive (or neutral) portrayal of man. This hierarchy is found in the lemmas, the meaning of the lemmas, and the examples of sentences. These findings show that the team formulating the online KKBI seems less sensitive towards gender and tends to maintain unequal relations between men and women in Indonesia. Therefore, it is imperative to conduct a more comprehensive study of the online KBBI

regarding lemmas, definitions, and sentences relating to gender to reduce inequality. That way, online KBBI can contribute to using better language in society. Although there are still many shortcomings, this article has tried to build language awareness and attitudes in Indonesia. This article can also open the door to improving the online KBBI.

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APPENDICES
Appendix 1
Examples of Lemmas, Meanings, and Sentences/Phrases Related to Hierarchy of passive objects (female)-active subject (male) in online KBBI

Example of Lemmas in the Online KBBI	Meaning of Lemmas in the Online KBBI	Example Sentences/Phrases in the Online KBBI
memacari 'make as a girlfriend/courting'	*menjadikan sebagai pacar; mengencani* 'make as a girlfriend; dating'	*sudah lama ia memacari gadis itu* 'he's been dating that girl for a long time'
meminang 'propose/woo'	*meminta seorang perempuan (untuk dijadikan istri); melamar* 'ask a woman (to be a wife)'; *propose* [women]	*tidak ada yang berani meminang anak jutawan itu* 'no one dared to propose to the millionaire's daughter'
melamar 'propose/woo'	*meminta wanita untuk dijadikan istri (bagi diri sendiri atau orang lain); meminang* 'ask a woman to be a wife (to yourself or someone else)'; *propose* [women]	*melamar anak perawan* 'propose to a girl'
mengawini 'marry'	*mengambil sebagai istri; memperistri* 'take as wife; marry'	*perkawinan ganda meruwetkan hubungan dua keluarga karena dua orang bersaudara telah mengawini seorang ibu dan anaknya secara serentak* 'double marriage complicates the relationship between two families because two brothers have married a mother and her child simultaneously'
menikahi 'married or marry'	*mengambil sebagai istri; mengawini* 'take as wife; marry'	*aku mau menikahinya* 'I want to marry her'
memperistri 'marry'	*mengambil sebagai istri; menjadikan istri; menjadikan istri* 'take as wife'	*dia memperistri teman sekantornya* 'he married his office mate'
memperistrikan 'marry'	*mengawinkan (anak laki-laki)* 'marry (his son)'	*ia memperistrikan anaknya dengan gadis tetangganya* 'he married his son to a neighbor's girl'
beristrikan 'married'	*beristri akan; mempunyai istri* 'married with; have a wife'	*ia beristrikan gadis tetangganya* 'he married his neighbor's girl'
mempersuami 'marry'	*menjadikan suami* 'make husband'	*bolehkah aku mempersuami orang yang sudah menjadi saudara?* 'can I marry someone who has [I consider] to be a brother?'
mempersuamikan 'marry'	*mengawinkan (anak perempuan); menjadikan seseorang sebagai suami* 'marry (daughter); make someone a husband'	*beliau hendak mempersuamikan putrinya yang bungsu* 'he wants to marry his youngest daughter'
meniduri 'mating/ having sex'	*bersetubuh dengan* 'having sex with/ making love with'	*seorang pemuda ditangkap karena disangka meniduri istri orang* 'a young man was arrested for allegedly having sex with someone's wife'
menggagahi 'rape'	*menguasai dengan kekerasan; memaksa* 'dominate by force; force'	*kau jangan menggagai orang lain untuk melakukan kehendakmu; ia dihukum karena menggagahi seorang gadis* 'You must not rape others to do your will'; 'he was punished for raping a girl'
menggauli 'mating/ having sex'	*mencampuri; menyetubuhi* 'mating/ having sex'	*suami harus menggauli istrinya dengan baik* 'husband must have good sex with his wife'
bercintakan 'love'	*kasih sayang kepada; berahi kepada* 'affection for; lust for'	*karena banyaknya lelaki yang bercintakan dia, dia menjadi sombong* 'because of the many men who affection for her, she becomes arrogant'
memerkosa 'rape'	*menundukkan dengan kekerasan; memaksa dengan kekerasan; menggagahi; merogol* 'subdue by force; force by force; rape; rape	no example
bunga desa 'beautiful girl (living in village)'	*perawan (pemudi) yang disenangi pemuda karena kecantikannya di desa tempat tinggalnya* 'a virgin (girl) who is liked by youth because of her beauty in the village where she lives'	no example
kembang desa 'beautuful girl (living in village)'	*gadis yang dianggap paling cantik di sebuah desa* 'the girl who is considered the most beautiful in a village'	no example

Appendix 2
Examples of Lemmas, Meanings, and Sentences/Phrases Related to the negative (female)-positive (male) hierarchy in the online KBBI

Example of Lemmas in the Online KBBI	Meaning of Lemmas in the Online KBBI	Example Sentences/Phrases in the Online KBBI
perempuan geladak 'deck girl/whore'	*pelacur* 'whore'	no example
perempuan jahat 'bad girl'	*perempuan nakal* 'naughty girl'	no example
perempuan jalanan 'street women'	*pelacur* 'whore'	no example
perempuan jalang 'bitch'	*perempuan yang nakal dan liar yang suka melacurkan diri; pelacur; wanita tuna susila* 'a naughty and wild woman who likes to prostitute herself; prostitute; prostitutes'	no example
perempuan jangak 'lewd girl'	*perempuan cabul (buruk kelakuannya)* 'lewd girl (bad manners)'	no example
perempuan lacur 'whore'	*pelacur; wanita tuna susila* 'whore; prostitute'	no example
perempuan lecah 'whore'	*pelacur perempuan* 'whore women'	no example
perempuan nakal 'naughty girl'	*perempuan (wanita) tuna susila; pelacur; sundal* 'prostitutes (women); whore; bitch'	no example
wanita tunasusila 'whore'	*pelacur* 'whore'	no example
lonte 'whore'	*perempuan jalang; wanita tunasusila; pelacur; sundal; jobang; cabo; munci* 'bitch; prostitutes; whore; bitch	no example
Cabo	*'wanita tunasusila; perempuan lacur; pelacur; sundal'* prostitutes; bitch	
Gundik	*isteri tidak resmi; perempuan piaraan (bini gelap)* 'illegitimate wife; domestic woman (illegal wife)	
pelacur 'whore'	*orang yang melacur* 'prostitute'	no example
sundal 'bitch'	*buruk kelakuan (tentang perempuan); lacur; jalang; perempuan jalang; pelacur* 'bad behavior (about women); whore; wild; bitch; whore'	no example
jalang 'wild'	*nakal (tentang perbuatan yang melanggar susila)* 'naughty (about acts that violate decency/morality)'	no example
keperempuanan 'girly'	*perihal perempuan; kehormatan sebagai perempuan* 'regarding women; honor as a woman'	*tak ada yang berhak melanggar keperempuanan seseorang dengan alasan apa pun* 'no one has the right to violate someone's womanhood for any reason'
pelacuran 'prostitution'	*perihal menjual diri sebagai pelacur; persundalan* 'about selling oneself as a prostitute; fornication'	no example
persundalan 'prostitution'	*perihal bersundal (menyundal); pelacuran* 'about prostitution (harlot); prostitution'	no example
melacurkan 'prostitute'	*membuat jadi pelacur* 'make [you] a prostitute'	*melacurkan diri* 'prostitute yourself'
gadis tua 'old girl'	*gadis yang telah berumur lebih dari 35 tahun, tetapi belum kawin; perawan tua* 'girls who are more than 35 years old, but not yet married; spinster'	no example
perempuan idaman 'ideal girl'	*perempuan yang diidamkan* 'coveted girl'	no example
pekerja seks komersial 'prostitute' or 'commercial sex worker'	*orang yang mencari nafkah dengan cara menjual diri* 'people who make a living by selling themselves'	*baik laki-laki maupun perempuan berhak dicalonkan menjadi anggota DPR* 'both men and women have the right to be nominated as members of the DPR'
laki-laki 'man'	*orang (manusia) yang mempunyai zakar, kalau dewasa mempunyai jakun dan adakalanya berkumis; orang yang mempunyai keberanian; pemberani* 'a person (human) who has testicles, when he is an adult, he	

	has an Adam's apple and sometimes a mustache; a person who has courage; brave'	
kelaki-lakian 'manly'	*keberanian; kegagahan* 'courage; valor'	no example
hidung belang 'playboy'	*laki-laki yang gemar mempermainkan perempuan* 'a boy who likes to playing girls'	no example
buaya darat 'playboy'	*penggemar perempuan* '[a boy who] likes to playing girls'	no example
jantan 'male/gentle[man]'	*gagah dan berani* 'brave'	*siapa yang jantan turunlah* 'who's the male come down'
pria idaman 'ideal man'	*laki-laki dewasa yang dijadikan dambaan (yang sangat diinginkan) oleh wanita* 'an adult male who is made a yearning (which is very desired) by women'	no example