

***Gender-Biased Words Marked by Indonesian Suffixes Wan, Wati, and Man:
A Socio-Morphological Study***

Rinta Alvionita, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

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Abstract

Bahasa Indonesia is not included into sexist language, such as Arabic, French, and Germany. Some words, however, are viewed in non-neutral usage related to gender perspectives. It motivates the writer to conduct a study concerning gender-biased words found in Bahasa Indonesia. The current study aims to describe the forms of gender biased words found in Bahasa Indonesia and the social aspects underlying such bias in society. It was analyzed using descriptive-qualitative method in triangulation among data, method, and technique. The data were obtained from Indonesian words containing suffixes *-wan*, *-wati*, and *-man* by using observational method from *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (Fifth Edition 2016)* and categorizing the words based on the three suffixes. Name and Process Model was used to analyze the data in words of morphological approach and elaborate them to get the social aspects in words of Sociolinguistics approach. The result confirmed that there are gender-biased words found in Bahasa Indonesia which can be classified into two categories: masculine and feminine words as shown by the three suffixes. The masculine words are commonly used by both women and men (neutral), while feminine words are only used by women (exclusive). It shows the tendency which places masculine words in superior position, while feminine words are placed in inferior position. Therefore, patriarchal cultures existing in Indonesian society from New Order to Reformation has generated the primary power of male in roles of Indonesian language structure.

Keywords: Gender bias, Bahasa Indonesia, Name and Process Model, Masculine words, Feminine words.

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Introduction

Language is varied to the place where the language is used and it also depends on how language is used by native speakers in certain society either in written or spoken form. One of the differences that can be observed is gender, which appears to be the label of certain language. The contemporary reality of the presence of gender discourse among society does not meet the peak of agreement until now. According to Corbett (1991: 1, cited in Chonzett, 2010) “gender is the most puzzling of the grammatical categories”. Gender are classes of nouns reflected in the behavior of associated words (Hockett, 1958: 231 in Corbett 1991). In modern language, however, gender is most often seen as nothing more than an abstract inherent classificatory feature of nouns that triggers agreement in associated words. Given this perspective of gender as a redundant category, the question arises of why it is reflected in some words of Bahasa Indonesia. Women are fewer stigmatized and non-standard variants than do men of the same social group in the same circumstances (Chambers, 1995 & Holmes, 2008). Considering the use of language related to gender, Bahasa Indonesia does not have any distinction on gender (sexist language) unlike Arabic, French, and Germany. The term gender does not refer to the speaker’s sex of language in certain society, but how man (masculine) and woman (feminine) identities are manifested in words that have affixes, especially suffixes. Chaer (2008, p. 12) defines suffix as an affix followed after the stem of a word. It has an orientation indicating words category that refers to gender, such as *-wan*, *-wati*, and *-man*. Those suffixes are the affixes derived from Sanskrit that were used as a noun former or marker. That phenomenon gives the writer’s interest to observe gender bias in some of Bahasa Indonesia words to find out the forms of gender biased words and social aspects that underlie it, so the usage of the words can be traced.

Both of these identities can be analyzed using word formation process through morphological process. According to Chaer (2015, p. 25) morphological process is basically word formation process of the basic form by attaching affixes (in affixation process), repetition (in reduplication process), merging (in compilation process), shortening (in acronym process), and status changing (in conversion process). Then Bybee (1985, p. 5) said that morphological approach takes place as a linguistic unit with meaning elements and an assessment of the relationship between them. Word and morpheme (root or affixes) as an object of the study of morphology has function in the word formation process in which they have some meaning through techniques of morphological analysis, one of them is *Name and Process Model*. Any complex form in Name and Process Model happens due to a process that involves two components, which are base and process (Chaer, 2015, p. 10). Base can be a basic word, and process can be affixation (prefixation, infixation, suffixation, and confixation). The writer uses Name and Process Model analysis on morphological approach because the different process of meaning construction of every word can be understood, such as morpheme or affix that form a word. In addition, the process raises the inflected form showing gender category.

First, the meaning of the process is the grammatical meaning, a meaning that reflects its basic form (or of which the form is unloaded). Then every word that

undergoes basic formation process through affixation components can have a different meaning to each other. This is in line with the opinion of Kridalaksana (in Chaer 2015, p. 12) that the components of the meaning of each word formation can be different from each other that is owned by its basic form after processing (affixation). Therefore, the significance or meaning of a word can be seen through the affixation process that is highly dependent on the basic and constituent process as well as linguistic signs, including affixes which also have significance.

The current study uses descriptive qualitative method in the process of data collection and data analysis. The data are obtained from *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Fifth Edition, 2016) or Great Dictionary of Bahasa Indonesia in the form of words which have the word-forming elements, namely the basic words of noun attached by suffixes *-wan*, *-wati*, and *-man*. The data are the most dominant words in terms of gender and can be analyzed using socio-morphological approach. The study instrument is the analysis of Name and Process Model suggested by Chaer (2015: 10) by applying the process of affixation on morphological approach and elaborating the data to assess social aspects underlying the gender bias in Sociolinguistics approach. The data were then analyzed by inserting the word formation into the table of data, and analyzed them by using Name and Process Model in terms of word formation of nouns. Morphological approach is used as intrinsic elements of the analysis at the level of words to support the sociolinguistic aspects. Thus, this study can explain the existence of gender bias that allows people of Indonesia in the use of some terms in Indonesian where the marker of language, especially affixes elements have an orientation that puts the male gender in a superior position (neutral).

Philipp Conzett's study (2010) entitled *The Role of Grammatical Gender in Noun-Formation* is used to strengthen the focus on morphological process and gender tendency of the current study. It used descriptive qualitative approach, which highlighted the issue from a bidirectional perspective, while the second one focused on the morphological process of correct and incorrect forms found in the descriptive text. The results confirmed that the patterns of word formation can function as a base of assigning gender to nouns Also assignment and that gender plays an active role in the formation of novel nouns. Those are indicated resources by the functions of deriving gender specific referents (e.g., masculine and feminine pairs of agentive nouns), and of marking semantic differences of same surface forms, i.e., to dissociate instances of lexical homonymy.

Discussion

The presence of suffixes *-wan*, *-wati*, and *-man* in some of Indonesian words have its own functions. Based on the observation conducted by the writer, the functions of Indonesian suffixes *-wan*, *-wati*, and *-man* were forming nouns (KBBI 5th Edition, 2016) are as follow: 1) to state gender, e.g., *karyawan-karyawati* (employees), *wisudawan-wisudawati* (graduates), *wartawan-wartawati* (journalists), *peragawan-peragawati* (fashion models), etc; 2) to state that people have certain properties, such as *dermawan* (generous), *budiman* (benevolent), etc; 3) to state someone who is expert in

particular field, such as *ilmuwan* (scientists), *sejarawan* (historians), *biarawan* (monks), *agamawan* (clergies), *olahragawan* (athletes), *seniman* (artists), etc; 4) to state people who work in particular field, such as *wartawan-wartawati* (journalists), *karyawan-karyawati* (employees), *peragawan-peragawati* (fashion models), etc., 5) to declare the person who is pursuing particular field, such as *santriwan-santriwati* (Muslim students), *wisudawan-wisudawati* (graduates), etc., and 6) to state ownership of something, such as *hartawan* (wealthy), *usahawan* (entrepreneurs), etc.

The formation of noun word from the basic forms followed by suffixes has its grammatical meaning (Chaer, 2015: 159). In this case, there were morphological process namely *Name and Process Model* can be used to analyze the process of forming words followed by *-wan*, *-wati*, dan *-man* suffixes. Also, this model can be used to determine grammatical meaning of each word of the formation as well as masculine, feminine, or neutral inherent in it. The writer found twenty one words attached by suffix *-wan*, and seven of them has the word pairs attached by suffix *-wati* (vice versa). The remaining words attached by suffix *-wan*, on the other hand, do not have any word pairs. Also, three words followed by suffix *-man* do not have any word pairs. The writer then makes limitation of the number of data used for analysis in which the following words are considered as the representative data.

Table 1. Morphological Process on Name and Process Model Analysis of Gender-biased Words in Bahasa Indonesia

No	Basic Word	Suffixes	Name and Process Model (Basic words + suffixes)	Formed Words	Word Categories (Masculine (M), Feminine (F), and Neutral (N))	Meanings	Paired Masculine /Feminine Word (Yes/No)
1.	<i>Wisuda</i> (graduate)	<i>-wan</i>	<i>wisuda</i> + (<i>-wan</i>)	<i>wisudawan</i> (graduate)	M	n. <i>sarjana laki-laki yang diwisuda</i> 1 a male scholar who has graduated. 2a person who has a university degree; or who has completed their school studies.	yes
2.	<i>Wisuda</i> (graduate)	<i>-wati</i>	<i>wisuda</i> + (<i>-wati</i>)	<i>wisudawati</i> (graduate)	F	n. <i>sarjana wanita yang diwisuda</i> 1 a female scholar who has graduated 2a person who has a university degree; or who has completed their school studies.	yes
3.	<i>Seni</i> (art)	<i>-man</i>	<i>seni</i> + (<i>-man</i>)	<i>seniman</i> (artist)	M	n. <i>orang yang mempunyai bakat seni dan berhasil menciptakan dan menggelarkan karya seni (pelukis, penyair, penyanyi,</i>	yes

						<p><i>dan sebagainya).</i> 1a person who is expert in creating words and successfully exhibit his works (painter, singer, etc) 2a person who creates works of art, especially paintings or drawings</p>		
4.	<i>Seni</i> (art)	<i>-wati</i>	<i>seni</i> (<i>-wati</i>)	+	<i>seniwati</i> (artist)	F	<p>n. <i>wanita yang ahli menciptakan seni; seniman wanita.</i> 1a woman who is expert in creating words; female artist. 2a person who creates works of art, especially paintings or drawings.</p>	yes
5.	<i>Wisata</i> (tour)	<i>-wan</i>	<i>wisata</i> (<i>-wan</i>)	+	<i>wisatawan</i> (tourist)	N	<p>n. <i>orang yang berwisata, palancong, atau turis</i> 1a person who travels, traveller or tourist. 2a person who is travelling or visiting a place for pleasure.</p>	no
6.	<i>Info</i> (info)	<i>-man</i>	<i>info</i> (<i>-man</i>)	+	<i>informan</i> (informant)	N	<p>n. <i>orang yang memberi informasi; orang yang menjadi sumber data dalam penelitian; narasumber.</i> 1a person who gives information; becomes data source in a research; informant. 2a person who gives secret information about somebody/something to the police or a newspaper; a person who gives somebody information about something, for example to help them with their</p>	no

						research.	
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However, not all words have their paired masculine or feminine words (or opposition) in the form of suffix *-wati* for women, such as *cendekiawan*, *dermawan*, *ilmuwan*, *usahawan*, and *jutawati* which does not have their pairs like *cendekiawati* and *jutawati* and other words. It means that the opposite words suffixed by *-wati* are not found since there were no specific use for women in certain profession, so it does not need to have its pair. Therefore, the words suffixed by *-wan* and *-wati* are only used for general use.

The word *wisudawan* (graduate), for example, is formed from the basic word of noun *wisuda* (graduate) and is followed by suffix *-wan* and the meaning is 'male scholar who has graduated' (KBBI 5th Edition & Oxford Learner's Dictionary 2016). If it is traced from suffix *-wan* that specifies to men in their use, then the word *wisudawan* (graduate) belongs to the category of masculine word and exclusive word, which is only used to refer to male gender. In addition, it says that the word *wisudawan* has a pair of feminine word, the basic noun *wisudawati* is followed by suffix *-wati* and the meaning is 'female scholar who has graduated' (KBBI 5th Edition & Oxford Learner's Dictionary 2016). Based on these meanings, the word *wisudawati* is also exclusive word since it is only used to refer to female gender. The examples of paired words usage e.g. 'The master of ceremony invited the college graduates (*wisudawan-wisudawati*) to gather and take pictures' (KBBI 5th Edition & Oxford Learner's Dictionary 2016). But in some cases, a term also has masculine and feminine word pair, such as *wartawan* >< *wartawati*, (male journalist >< female journalist), the generalization use of the pair word is placed only in masculine word e.g., 'There are many questions to be asked by journalists (*wartawan*) relating to current political situation ahead of the rally "Anti Ahok" which is scheduled in November 4th, after Friday prayers at Istiqlal mosque' (detik.com, 2016). In addition, the word *seniman* (male artist) has the basic word of noun *seni* (art) followed by suffix *-man* though artist has feminine word pair, that is *seniwati* (female artist). These words showed the properties of irregularity reference to the type of word formation that is not always followed by masculine suffix *-man*.

Then the word *wisatawan* (male tourist), for example, is derived from the basic word of noun *wisata* (tour) followed by suffix *-wan* and the meaning is 'people who is travelling or visiting place for pleasure' (KBBI 5th Edition & Oxford Learner's Dictionary 2016). The term can be used in the example sentence 'The government attempts to attract more foreign tourists (*wisatawan*) by introducing beautiful and interesting places (KBBI 5th Edition & Oxford Learner's Dictionary 2016). Thus, the suffix functions to form a noun which does not have feminine word pair, so it is neutral and can be used to refer to both male and female. Whereas the word *wisatawati* did not exist in Indonesian vocabulary. It can also be seen from the word *informan* which is formed from the basic word of noun *info* (info) followed by suffix *-man* and the meaning is 'a person who gives secret information about somebody/something' (KBBI 5th Edition & Oxford Learner's Dictionary 2016). Thus, it serves suffix forming noun that does not have feminine word pair and can be used for both male and female (neutral).

Based on the analysis of Name and Process Model and the meanings that accompany each of the mentioned words, it can be seen that the emergence of suffixes *-wan*, *-wati*, and *-man* does not only function to form the noun words, but also to be the markers that give a label for categories of words, *masculine*, *feminine* and *neutral*. Then suffixes *-wan* and *-man* emerged as markers that are commonly used for both men and women (neutral). In contrast, suffix *-wati* appears as to be the marker that tends to be exclusive for women and cannot be used neutrally. Moreover, in some cases suffix *-wan/-wati* in the word pairs e.g. *santriwan* >< *santriwati*, *wisudawan* >< *wisudawati*, dan *peragawan* >< *peragawati* are still used in accordance with their gender category e.g., *santriwan* for male students and *santriwati* for female students. Both words are then considered as exclusive word.

Given the phenomenon explained above, the writer sees the presence of bias-gendered words found in Bahasa Indonesia has the markers showing its tendency to a specific gender (exclusive), but the markers are also used neutrally (male or female). Such phenomenon is considered as a bias thing to be concerned where the Indonesian government as the policy maker puts the category of male (masculine) in a position that is more common and superior than women. Moreover, this bias is obviously influenced by the social and cultural values existing in Indonesian society.

Conclusions

The use of various intrinsic elements, especially in the form of suffixes *-wan*, *-wati*, and *-man* attached in some Indonesian words does not have a neutral preference for issues related to gender. The phenomenon of gender-biased words that has markers, especially the affixes have feminine and masculine suffixes and it is inseparable from the role of the society that uses Bahasa Indonesia. The morphological process of affixation has caused the inflective form showing the gender bias in certain words of Bahasa Indonesia. The uncertainty in using masculine and feminine words make some stereotypes in society because Indonesian people prefer not to use the feminine words such as *karyawati*, *wartawati*, and *seniwati*, but use the masculine words such as *karyawan*, *wartawan* and *seniman* for both genders. Thus, they consider masculine words more neutral and general and placing male gender in a superior position. On the other hand, the masculine words are more exclusive and only refer to male which place women in inferior position. The Indonesian government and the society that bring social and cultural values also contribute to the presence of gender biased phenomenon in some words found in Bahasa Indonesia. Therefore, the research concerning gender-biased words found in Bahasa Indonesia should be studied further.

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Appendices

A. Words Attached by Suffix *-wan* and their Meanings

No	Words	Meanings	Paired Masculine/Feminine Word (Yes/No)
		n. orang yang bekerja pada suatu lembaga (kantor, perusahaan, dan sebagainya)	

1.	<i>Karyawan</i> (employee)	<i>dengan mendapat gaji (upah); pegawai; pekerja</i> a person who works at an institution (office, company, etc) to be paid; employee; worker ² a person who is paid to work for somebody ³	Yes
2.	<i>Wisudawan</i> (graduate)	n. (<i>sarjana muda, sarjana</i>) laki-laki yang diwisuda ¹ a male scholar who has graduated ² a person who has a university degree; or who has completed their school studies ³	Yes
3.	<i>Santriwan</i> (Muslim student)	n. <i>orang laki-laki yang mendalami agama Islam; orang yang beribadat dengan sungguh-sungguh; orang yang saleh</i> ¹ a man who learns Islam in depth ² a person who learns Islam; people who do prayers earnestly; religious man ³	Yes
4.	<i>Wartawan</i> (journalist)	n. <i>orang yang pekerjaannya mencari dan menyusun berita untuk dimuat dalam surat kabar, majalah, radio, dan televisi; juru warta; jurnalis</i> ¹ a person whose job is to look for and write news stories to be published in newspapers, magazines, radio or television ² a person whose job is to collect and write news stories for newspapers, magazines, radio or television ³	Yes
5.	<i>Peragawan</i> (fashion model)	n. <i>pria yang memperagakan busana dari berbagai mode</i> ² a man who exhibits clothes from various modes ² a person whose job is to wear and show new styles of clothes and be photographed wearing them ³	Yes
6.	<i>Biarawan</i> (monk)	n. <i>laki-laki yang hidup di dalam biara</i> ¹ a man who lives in a monastery ² a member of a religious group who often live apart from other people in a monastery and who do not marry or have personal possessions ³	Yes
7.	<i>Binaragawan</i> (bodybuilder)	n. <i>orang yang melakukan olahraga binaraga; olahragawan binaraga</i> ¹ a person who does bodybuilding exercises; bodybuilder ² a person who does regular sports or exercises in order to make their muscles bigger and stronger ³	Yes
8.	<i>Sejarawan</i> (historian)	n. <i>ahli sejarah; penulis sejarah</i> ¹ a historian; historic writer ² a person who studies or writes about history; an expert in history ³	Yes
		n. <i>orang yang suka berolahraga (yang banyak melakukan atau mengambil bagian</i>	

¹ Original Indonesian meaning of the terms based on *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (Fifth Edition, 2016)*.

² The terms and words are translated manually by the writer herself based on the Indonesian Meanings based on *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (Fifth Edition, 2016)*.

³ The terms and words are translated using Oxford Learner's Dictionary (2016). based on *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (Fifth Edition, 2016)*.

9.	<i>Olahragawan</i> (sportsman)	<i>dalam olahraga</i> 1 a person who likes doing exercises (who takes part in sports)2 a person who plays a lot of sport, especially as a professional person3	No
10.	<i>Budayawan</i> (cultural observer)	n. <i>orang yang berkecimpung dalam kebudayaan; ahli budaya</i> 1 a person who studies culture; culturalist2 a person who studies or writes about culture; an expert in culture3	No
11.	<i>Cendekiawan</i> (pundit)	n. <i>orang cerdas pandai; orang intelek; orang yang memiliki sikap hidup yang terus-menerus meningkatkan kemampuan berpikirnya untuk dapat mengetahui atau memahami sesuatu</i> 1 a person who is very smart; intelligent2 a person who knows a lot about a particular subject and who often talks about it in public3	No
12.	<i>Bahasawan</i> (linguist)	n. <i>orang yang memiliki atau menguasai secara penuh suatu bahasa; penutur bahasa; pemakai bahasa; ahli bahasa</i> 1 a person who has or fully masters language(s); language speaker; language user; linguist2 a person who studies languages or linguistics3	No
13.	<i>Bendaharawan</i> (treasurer)	n. <i>pegawai yang tugasnya mengurus keuangan kantor</i> 1 a person whose job is responsible for financial matters2 a person who is responsible for the money and accounts of a club or an organization3	No
14.	<i>Bangsawan</i> (nobleman)	n. <i>keturunan orang mulia (terutama raja dan kerabatnya); ningrat; orang berbangsa</i> 1 high social inherited person (especially king and his relatives); rich person; noble man2 a person from a family of high social rank; a member of the nobility3	No
15.	<i>Beritawan</i> (news anchor)	n. <i>orang yang menyiarkan berita; pemberita</i> 1 a person who reports news; news anchor2 person who delivers news; news anchor3	No
16.	<i>Dermawan</i> (generous man)	n. <i>pemurah hati; orang yang suka berderma (beramal, bersedekah)</i> 1 a person who is kind, generous (fond of giving something) 2 generous (with something); person who likes to give something3	No
17.	<i>Sastrawan</i> (letter of man)	n. <i>ahli sastra; pujangga; pengarang prosa dan puisi</i> 1 an expert in literature; prose writer; poet2 a person of, or expert in literature; poet; prose writer3	No
18.	<i>Geologiwan</i> (geologist)	n. <i>ahli geologi</i> 1 geologist2 a scientist who studies geology2	No
19.	<i>Pustakawan</i> (librarian)	n. <i>orang yang bekerja dalam bidang perpustakaan; ahli perpustakaan</i> 1 a person who works in a library; expert in library2 a person who is in charge of or works in a	No

		library ³	
20.	<i>Usahawan</i> (entrepreneur)	n. <i>orang yang menjalankan bagian usaha (memimpin) perusahaan; pengusaha</i> ² a person who runs business (leads a company); business man ² a person or company that pays people to work for them ³	No
21	<i>Wisatawan</i> (tourist)	n. <i>orang yang berwisata, palancong, atau turis</i> ¹ a person who travels, traveller or tourist ² a person who is travelling or visiting a place for pleasure ³	No

B. Words Attached by Suffix *-wati* and their Meanings

No	Words	Meanings	Paired Masculine/Feminine Word (Yes/No)
1.	<i>Karyawati</i> (employee)	n. <i>karyawan wanita; pegawai wanita; pekerja wanita</i> ¹ a female employee; female worker ² a person who is paid to work for somebody ³	Yes
2.	<i>Wisudawati</i> (graduate)	n. <i>(sarjana muda, sarjana) wanita yang diwisuda</i> ¹ a female scholar who has graduated ² a person who has a university degree; or who has completed their school studies ³	Yes
3.	<i>Wartawati</i> (journalist)	n. <i>wartawan wanita</i> ¹ a female journalist ² a person whose job is to collect and write news stories for newspapers, magazines, radio or television ³	Yes
4.	<i>Peragawati</i> (fashion model)	n. <i>wanita yang memperagakan busana dari berbagai mode</i> ¹ a woman who exhibits clothes from various modes ² a person whose job is to wear and show new styles of clothes and be photographed wearing them ³	Yes
5.	<i>Biarawati</i> (monk)	n. <i>perempuan yang hidup di dalam biara</i> ¹ a woman who lives in a monastery ² a member of a religious group who often live apart from other people in a monastery and who do not marry or have personal possessions ³	Yes
6.	<i>Binaragawati</i> (bodybuilder)	n. <i>wanita yang melakukan olahraga binaraga; olahragawan binaraga</i> ¹ a women who does bodybuilding exercises; bodybuilder ² a person who does regular sports or exercises in order to make their muscles bigger and stronger ³	Yes
7.	<i>Seniwati</i> (artist)	n. <i>wanita yang ahli menciptakan seni; seniman wanita</i> ¹ a woman who is expert in creating works; female artist ² a person who creates works of art, especially paintings or drawings ³	Yes

C. Words Attached by Suffix *-man* and their Meanings

No	Words	Meanings	Paired Masculine/Feminine Word (Yes/No)
1.	<i>Budiman</i> (wise man)	n. <i>orang yang berbudi, pintar, dan bijaksana</i> ¹ a person who is kind, smart, and wise ² a person who is able to make sensible decisions and give good advice because of the experience and knowledge that you have ³	No
2.	<i>Informan</i> (informant)	n. <i>orang yang memberi informasi; orang yang menjadi sumber data dalam penelitian; narasumber</i> ¹ a person who gives information; becomes data source in a research; informant ² a person who gives secret information about somebody/something to the police or a newspaper; a person who gives somebody information about something, for example to help them with their research ³	No
3.	<i>Seniman</i> (artist)	n. <i>orang yang mempunyai bakat seni dan berhasil menciptakan dan menggelarkan karya seni (pelukis, penyair, penyanyi, dan sebagainya)</i> ¹ a person who is expert in creating works; female artist ² a person who creates works of art, especially paintings or drawings ³	Yes