The Use of Insect Lexicons in Traditional Selling and Buying in Banyumas Regency

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Abstract

This study investigates the use of insect lexicons in traditional selling and buying conversations in Banyumas, focusing on their pragmatic functions and ecological meanings in *Penginyongan*. Drawing on an ecopragmatic perspective and the concept of pragmeme, this study examines how insect lexicons operate beyond their literal referential meanings in interactions. The data comprise naturally occurring conversations between sellers and buyers in markets, analyzed qualitatively through contextual interpretation, interactional sequences, and shared cultural knowledge. The findings show that insect lexicons serve several functions, including requesting information, evaluating commodity quality, rejecting offers, expressing complaints, conveying market information, and managing interpersonal relationships. Expressions involving *ketinggi*, *kecoro*, *tengu*, *lemud*, and *tomket*, among others, demonstrate how ecological knowledge becomes a resource for indirect communication, humor, and economic negotiation. In particular, insect comparisons allow buyers to express dissatisfaction or criticism without necessarily producing direct confrontational statements, while sellers' responses sustain the informal and familiar character of market interaction. The analysis shows that insect lexicons facilitate pragmatic inference through shared knowledge of local environments and cultural practices. These findings highlight the mobility of ecological meanings across environmental and economic domains, demonstrating that insect lexicons function as references to living organisms and as culturally embedded communicative resources.

Keywords: insect; ecopragmatics; pragmeme; traditional market; *Penginyongan*

I. INTRODUCTION

Traditional markets are social spaces that function not only as places for economic exchange but also as arenas for cultural interaction and local language practices (Ikram & Nur, 2012). In buying and selling interactions, sellers and buyers often use metaphoric expressions, humor, irony, or sayings rooted in everyday life experiences (Givón, 2005). One interesting source of metaphor is the insect lexicon, which appears in various forms of speech to convey evaluation, persuasion, or negotiation indirectly. In agrarian communities like Banyumas (Pangestika, 2023), insects are an important part of the living environment. People's experiences with insects in farming, household activities, and daily life are then reflected in the language they use. Linguistic studies show that language often preserves ecological knowledge and the cultural experiences of its speakers. From an ecolinguistic perspective, language is part of an ecosystem that connects humans with other organisms and their physical environment (Bortoluzzi, 2026).

In addition, the ethnolinguistic approach emphasizes that language reflects how a society classifies and understands the world around it. The naming and use of certain terms, including fauna terms like insects, show how communities construct cultural meanings and ecological experiences in everyday communication. Although research on fauna metaphors and environmental lexicons is growing, studies specifically addressing the strategic function of

insect lexicons in economic interactions at traditional markets remain limited. Previous research has focused more on the role of insect lexicons in oral traditions like *parikan* or in certain cultural expressions (Hadiati et al., 2025). In fact, communication practices in traditional markets are a rich context for understanding how language functions as a social strategy in price negotiations, building closeness, and even delivering criticism subtly. Thus, this research is important to uncover the relationship between language, culture, and ecology in the economic communication practices of the Banyumas community.

II. METHOD

Research on the use of insect lexicons in conversational strategies at traditional markets has formulated the research problems and objectives. To achieve the research goals, the research methods were designed more comprehensively (Creswell, 2017; Sarwono, 2006). The theoretical framework was developed by emphasizing three main theoretical frameworks: ecolinguistics, pragmatics, and ethnolinguistics (Chen, 2016). These three branches of linguistics will be used to answer research questions about the insect lexicons used, their pragmatic functions, and the ecological reflections of these lexicons. Data collection was carried out at five traditional markets, namely Wage Market, Cerme Market, Manis Market, Pon Market, Banyumas Market, Ajibarang Market, Purbalingga Market, Sokaraja Market, Purwareja Market, and Pakunden Market. Researchers collected data through interviews using free conversation or interaction techniques. Researchers can passively listen to buying and selling conversations happening in traditional markets or guide other conversation participants to bring up insect-related vocabulary. Conversation data containing insect vocabulary will be transcribed with the surrounding context included. This context is important for further analysis. Data analysis links utterances to pragmatic functions based on the types of speech acts used, the cultural background, and the insect vocabulary used. The research results are presented as research reports and publications. Together, these elements provide a complete picture of a pragmeme in a social context (Capone, 2021).

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

A. Result

In interactions between sellers and buyers, vocabulary doesn't just name items, state prices, or convey transaction information; it also serves as a linguistic tool to form judgments, share experiences, manage relationships, and keep economic activities running smoothly. Specific word choices can frame a product as good or bad, present a price as cheap or expensive, explain whether an item is still available, describe market conditions, and provide information about service times. Thus, the lexicon in buying and selling conversations should be understood as a language element with a pragmatic function because its meaning gains relevance through the context of interaction, the relationship between the speaker and the listener, and the ongoing communication goal (Searle, 1979). In the Banyumas community context, this function becomes even more interesting because market conversations take place in a relatively egalitarian and communicative social environment, with a tendency to use straightforward, spontaneous, and contextual language.

In traditional buying and selling conversations in Banyumas, the insect lexicon is used to ask about prices, complain about the quality of goods, reject offers, praise prices, give

information about the availability of goods, inform about service times, report on the market situation, offer encouragement, and praise the quality of goods, as it is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. The Use of insect lexicon in traditional selling and buying in Banyumas.

No	Function	Utterance	English Version
1	To ask about prices	*Pira kiye bu sega sekepel dirubung ketinggi? Gedhe gedhe koh*	How much is this, ma'am, a lump of rice surrounded by lice? They are all big.
2	To complain about the quality of goods	*Brambange cilik-cilik temen kaya tengu*	The shallots are tiny, like lice
3	To reject offers	*Melong kaya kecoro tapi mambu [tertawa]*	It shines like a cockroach but smells
4	To praise price	*Iya kiye, regane gurih banget kaya jangkrik goreng*	Yeah, the price feels savory like fried crickets
5	To inform the availability of the goods	*Semut ratu gedhe awake, gula semut akeh setoke*	The queen ant is big-bodied, the ant sugar is well-stocked'
6	To inform about service times	*Ana lemud nyokot sapi. Arep kukud uwis sepi.*	There's a mosquito biting the cow; want to close, it's already quiet
7	To report on the market situation	*Ana tomket nyokot pipi. Ana copet gawe rugi*	There is a tomcat biting cheeks; there's a pickpocket causing loss
8	To offer encouragement	*Ana toko mlebu pasar, jaga toko kudu sabar*	There is a lice entering the market; the shopkeeper has to be patient
9	To praise the quality of goods	*Anu salak asli ora diobat ya dadi dirubung ureng-ureng.*	This is *salak*, the real one, so it's not treated with chemicals and gets swarmed by insects.

B. Discussion

The insect lexicon in traditional buying and selling conversations in Banyumas is used to ask about prices, to complain about product quality, to reject offers, to praise prices, to provide information about product availability, to inform the service times, to report market conditions, to encourage others, and to compliment product quality. The lexicon used by sellers and buyers to praise product quality, for example, not only provides information about the condition of the goods but can also be a strategy to attract buyers' attention and increase an item's value during bargaining. On the other hand, the lexicon used to complain about product quality can serve as both an evaluation tool and a negotiation strategy to get a lower price. In terms of price, expressions that praise the price of goods can strengthen the perception that a commodity has profitable economic value, while evaluations of prices considered too high can give buyers room to bargain.

1. to ask about prices

An excerpt of conversation between a buyer and a seller shows the use of high-register insect-related vocabulary in riddles to ask about the price of *salak* (snake fruit)

Buyer:	*Pira kiye bu sega sekepel dirubung ketinggi? Gedhe gedhe koh*	How much is this, ma'am, a lump of rice surrounded by lice? They are all big.

Seller:	[Laugh] *Ya mesti lah, kualitase super*	Yes, of course, it is super quality.

A buyer asks about the price of the goods, and he expresses it in the utterance *Pira kiye bu sega sekepel dirubung ketinggi? Gedhe gedhe koh,* which is considered *cangkriman.* This Javanese poetic line adds an important pragmatic dimension because buyers convey references indirectly. This discontinuity doesn't hinder communication because the market context provides additional information that aids interpretation. Sellers know the items being offered, while buyers identify them through hints about physical characteristics. In this situation, height becomes part of the inference mechanism that allows conversational partners to identify the referent without direct mention. This shows that *Penginyongan* speakers' pragmatic competence includes the ability to use and understand wordplay in certain contexts. The seller's response, [laughs] 'Of course, must be super quality,' shows that the seller understands the buyer's intention while also picking up on the utterance's evaluative value.

The relationship between price and quality is an important aspect in this data. In market transactions, buyers usually don't ask for price information in isolation. Buyers can assess prices based on the goods' characteristics. Phrases like *'Gedhe-gedhe koh'* show large size as an indicator of quality, while the response *'kualitase super'* confirms the link between size and quality. In this way, phrases that mention height serve as an entry point for the economic evaluation process. Buyers seem to be saying that because the *salak* is big, they want to know its price. That price question also shows there's an interest in buying. The interpersonal function is also evident in that chat. Price questions can be asked directly, but the buyer opts for a creative approach. This choice creates a more relaxed conversational atmosphere and lets the buyer interact with the seller in a friendly way. The seller's laughter shows that this strategy successfully generates a positive response. Thus, the height (or tone) contributes to building interpersonal closeness, not just to identifying commodities. In traditional markets, this communication pattern allows economic activity to occur alongside the formation of social relationships.

In the framework of pragmeme, the utterance *Pira kiye bu sega sekepel dirubung ketinggi?* can be understood as the realization of a pragmatic pattern for asking price information through indirection. Its pragmatic function arises from the combination of the interrogative form *pira*, the indirect construction, the buying-and-selling context, and shared knowledge about the commodity in question. The realized pragmeme is not just 'asking the price,' but 'asking the price of a commodity that has been positively evaluated through indirect description.' Thus, the price question carries both evaluative and interpersonal dimensions. From an ecopragmatic perspective, the use of *ketinggi* shows that knowledge about the local environment can be a linguistic resource for identifying, evaluating, and negotiating the value of commodities (Appadurai, 1988). In this way, the insect lexicon in Banyumas market conversations reflects a close connection between ecological knowledge, wordplay, quality assessment, and economic actions.

2. To complain about product quality

A buyer complained about the quality of the goods, saying they didn't meet the standards. The seller responded by giving a reasonable explanation. The following snippet of the conversation gives a pretty clear picture.

Buyer:	*Brambange cilik-cilik temen kaya tengu*	The shallots are tiny, like lice
Seller:	*Cilik-cilik be larang koh, anu MBG labuh maning*	Even small ones are expensive; MBG is starting again

The use of the *tengu* insect lexicon in *Brambange cilik-cilik temen kaya tengu* 'The shallots are tiny, just like *tengu*' shows how local ecological knowledge can be used as a pragmatic resource in traditional Banyumas market conversations. In that expression, *tengu* lexically refers to a small type of insect. However, in a market transaction, tengu's function extends beyond its referential role as the name of a biological entity. The lexicon is used in the comparison

construction kaya *tengu* 'like *tengu*' to highlight the shallots' size, which is considered very small. In this way, buyers use the insect's physical characteristics as a point of comparison to evaluate commodity quality. Using *tengu* creates a concrete and easily recognizable image for the conversation partner, making complaints about the size of items more expressive than just saying *bramgange cilik* 'the shallots are small'.

Pragmatically, the buyer's utterance contains an evaluative action directed at the goods' quality. The element *'cilik-cilik temen'* ('really tiny') explicitly expresses a negative assessment of the shallot size. At the same time, *'kaya tengu'* reinforces this judgment by comparing it to an entity associated with small size. The intensifier '*temen'* ('really') amplifies the utterance's evaluative force. Together, these three elements form a fairly strong complaint strategy: the buyer is not just providing information about the shallot size but is expressing dissatisfaction with the characteristics of the goods offered. Thus, the lexicon *'tengu'* functions as a negative evaluation amplifier because it gives a sharper visual representation of the commodity's condition.

The seller's response, 'Even the small ones are expensive, MBG is starting again,' shows that the seller picks up on the buyer's evaluation and responds by shifting the focus from the goods' physical quality to price conditions and the economic situation. The use of *'koh*' emphasizes that the item is still expensive despite its small size. This response can be understood as accepting the buyer's observation while also reframing the cause of the situation. The seller doesn't deny that the shallots are small. Instead, he acknowledges it and links it to rising prices. Mentioning MBG then moves the conversation from the characteristics of the goods to a broader socio-economic context.

Overall, the use of *tengu* in *Bramgange cilik-cilik temen kaya tengu* shows that the insect lexicon in Banyumas market conversations has a complex pragmatic function. This lexicon activates ecological knowledge about insect sizes to reinforce negative evaluations of shallot sizes. At the same time, this construction functions as a strategy for complaining, creating humor, and managing interpersonal relationships. From a pragmeme perspective, the use of *tengu* realizes a pragmatic pattern of negative evaluation of commodity quality through ecological comparison. From an ecopragmatic perspective, the data show how knowledge of the local environment becomes a communicative resource in economic activities. Thus, the insect lexicon is not a peripheral element in market conversations, but part of a linguistic repertoire that allows *Penginyongan* speakers to connect ecological experience, quantity assessment, and economic interaction simultaneously.

3. To reject offers

When the seller offers their merchandise, the buyer indirectly rejects it by making jokes about the item. This complaint is conveyed humorously, marked by the buyer's laughter.

Seller:	*Jengkol bu, kiye melong-melong pisan*	Jengkol Mam, these are very shiny.
Buyer:	*Melong kaya coro tapi mambu [tertawa]*	Shiny like a cockroach but smelly [laugh]

The seller starts the interaction with the phrase *'Jengkol bu, kiye melong-melong pisan'* ('This jengkol, ma'am, is really shiny'). *Jengkol*, or *Archidendron pauciflorum*, is best known for its tastiness. This statement positively evaluates the commodity's physical characteristics. The seller highlights the jengkol's visual quality using the reduplication *'melong-melong'* ('shiny') and the intensifier *'pisan'* ('really/very'). Pragmatically, this statement not only describes the jengkol's condition but also serves as a promotional strategy to build a positive perception of the product. The buyer then responds with *'Melong kaya coro tapi mambu'* ('Shiny like a cockroach but smelly'), accompanied by laughter. Literally, this response acknowledges that the *jengkol* is indeed shiny but also adds a negative characteristic: the smell. In a buying-and-selling context, this construction can be understood as a form of rejection of the seller's offer.

The word '*coro*' becomes an important element in that reframing process. Literally, *'coro'* means cockroach. However, in buyers' speech, the word isn't used to point to the actual presence of cockroaches. Instead, it serves as a point of comparison for evaluating *jengkol*'s appearance. The phrase *'melong kaya coro'* shifts how buyers interpret *jengkol's* shine. If seller positions *'melong-melong pisan'* as a positive quality, buyers link it to something that doesn't automatically have positive value. In this way, buyers turn the visual characteristics sellers promote into a basis for more critical evaluation.

In the pragmeme framework, *'Melong kaya coro tapi mambu'* can be understood as a realization of a pragmatic pattern of rejecting an offer through a negative evaluation based on ecological comparison. This pragmeme depends not only on the meaning of *'coro*,' but on the configuration of the seller's claim, the buyer's response, the item's characteristics, shared knowledge, and the interaction's goals. The buyer doesn't have to explicitly state refusal because the negative evaluation can lead to the inference that the item isn't attractive enough to buy. So, this pragmeme shows how economic actions can be carried out through indirect linguistic strategies.

Overall, the use of *'coro'* in the speech like *'coro tapi mambu'* shows that insect-related vocabulary can serve as a pragmatic tool to reject offers indirectly. The buyer acknowledges the seller's claim about the shiny *jengkol* but reframes it by comparing it to cockroaches and adding a negative evaluation regarding the smell. The structure with *'tapi'* (but) highlights the contrast between visual quality and aroma, while laughter helps ease the tension that comes with rejection. In the pragmemic framework, this construction enacts a pattern of rejecting offers through a negative evaluation based on ecological entities. From an ecopragmatic perspective, *'coro'* shows how local ecological experiences can shape economic judgments and social actions.

4. to praise prices

A seller praises rising prices and increasing profits. The seller conveys this to the buyer indirectly, as in the following snippet of conversation.

Buyer:	*Gula lagi mundak ya Bu?*	The price of sugar is going up, right, Ma'am?'
Seller	*Iya kiye, regane gurih banget kaya jangkrik goreng*	Yeah, the price feels savory like fried crickets.

A snippet of conversation between a buyer and a seller shows the insect lexicon 'cricket' in the construction *'regane gurih banget kaya jangkrik goreng'* ('the price is really savory like fried crickets'). This utterance appears as the seller's response to the buyer's question *'Gula lagi mundak ya Bu?'* ('The price of sugar is going up, right, Ma'am?'). Contextually, the buyer draws attention to the rising sugar price, while the seller responds with a metaphorical expression that links price to the taste of savory fried crickets. The use of 'cricket' in this utterance shows that insect lexicons can expand from biological reference to a pragmatic resource for evaluating a commodity's economic value. The seller does not convey the price increase neutrally; instead, they frame it through a humorous, friendly, and positively valued expression.

Lexically, a cricket refers to an insect familiar in everyday life. However, in the phrase 'crispy fried crickets,' that reference shifts from an ecological entity to a culinary object. What matters is not the cricket's biological characteristics, but the sensory and cultural experience associated with crickets as food. The word 'fried' activates the culinary domain, while 'crispy' gives a positive evaluation of the taste. This combination is then used to describe 'price.' Conceptually, this maps the experience of food taste onto the economic experience of price. A 'crispy' price isn't a price that literally has taste, but a price perceived as attractive, profitable, or valuable. Therefore, the use of crickets becomes part of a metaphorical construction that allows an abstract concept like price to be understood through the concrete experience of food taste.

From a pragmatic perspective, that utterance can be understood as an evaluative act with a dual function. On the informative level, the seller confirms that the price of sugar has indeed increased. On the evaluative level, the seller assesses the increase through the word *'gurih'*. On the interpersonal level, the expression creates a humorous and friendly atmosphere. The seller doesn't answer rigidly by saying 'Yes, the price has gone up.' Instead, they use wordplay that conveys economic information more engagingly. In this way, the lexicon of '*jangkrik*' becomes part of a communication strategy that combines informative, evaluative, and interpersonal functions.

Within the framework of a pragmeme, the expression 'the price is as tasty as fried crickets' can be understood as a realization of a pragmatic pattern that makes a positive evaluation of price through a metaphor based on ecological entities and culinary experience. Its pragmatic function doesn't come from the word 'cricket' alone, but from the relationship between cricket, fried, tasty, and the context of a sugar price increase. Sellers use this configuration to frame rising prices as "appealing" or "valuable." The pragmeme that emerges here shows that price evaluation isn't always done through words like cheap, expensive, neat, or high. Speakers can use lexicon from other domains to produce a more expressive evaluation.

In the eco-pragmatic framework, the use of crickets shows that knowledge about organisms and their use as food can become a linguistic resource in economic communication. This data shows that the insect lexicon in Banyumas market conversations has a productive function in building evaluation, humor, and solidarity while also managing information about price changes.

5. To provide information about product availability

A seller informs the buyer about product availability by using *parikan* as an indirect way of speaking. This *parikan* uses the lexicon of ants, as in the following snippet of conversation.

Buyer:	*Bu, gula semut ana ora?*	'Ma'am, do you have ant sugar?'
Seller:	*Semut ratu gedhe awake, gula semut akeh setoke*	The queen ant is big-bodied; the ant sugar is well-stocked'

A snippet of conversation between a buyer and a seller shows the use of *'semut'* (ant) lexicon in rhymed form to convey information about product availability. The buyer asks directly, *'Bu, gula semut ana ora?'* ('Ma'am, do you have ant sugar?'). This question clearly shows the buyer's need for a particular commodity: ant sugar. The seller then responds, *'Semut ratu gedhe awake, gula semut akeh setoke'* ('The queen ant is big-bodied, the ant sugar is well-stocked'). The seller's speech is pragmatically interesting because it conveys product availability not through a simple answer like 'ana' ('yes, it's available') or 'akeh' ('plenty'), but in rhymed form. The ant lexicon bridges playful language elements and actual information about the product.

Structurally, the utterance *'Semut ratu gedhe awake, gula semut akeh setoke'* follows a two-part pattern resembling *parikan*: an opening part that functions as a preamble and a following part that conveys the main content. The part *'semut ratu gedhe awake'* ('the queen ant is big-bodied') presents an image of the ant, while *'gula semut akeh setoke'* ('there's a lot of ant sugar in stock') delivers the main information relevant to the buyer's needs. The two parts are linked through the repetition of the lexicon *semut*. This repetition is not just redundancy; it acts as a cohesive device linking the preamble and the content. The same lexicon shifts from a biological reference in the first part to a commodity reference in the second. This shift creates a linguistic play that lets the seller convey factual information expressively.

In this context, ants have two different referential statuses. In the part about the queen ant, ants refer to biological organisms, whereas in 'ant sugar,' ants are part of a product name. This difference creates lexical ambiguity that becomes a pragmatic resource. Sellers exploit

the formal similarity to create wordplay. Lexical similarity allows listeners to connect the two domains, namely the world of insects and the world of commodities. Thus, the wordplay not only creates an aesthetic or humorous effect but also organizes information through the relationship between form and meaning.

From a pragmeme perspective, the utterance *'Semut ratu gedhe awake, gula semut akeh setoke'* can be understood as a realization of a pragmatic pattern that provides information about the availability of goods through a rhyming form. Its pragmatic function emerges from the relationship between the context of the buyer's question, the rhyming form, the wordplay with *'semut,'* and the information *'akeh setoke.'* The seller understands that the buyer needs an answer regarding the availability of ant sugar. However, instead of giving a literal answer, the seller chooses a more creative form. The pragmeme in this data can be formulated as a pattern of using rhyming wordplay to convey transactional information expressively. Thus, the aesthetic form does not replace the informative function but becomes a medium for delivering it. The ecopragmatic perspective provides a broader interpretation of the use of *'semut.'* In the first part of the rhyme, *'semut'* refers to an organism in the community's biological environment.

The seller uses knowledge about ants as a resource to create a slogan. In the second part, the same form appears in the product name for ant sugar. Here, you can see the connection between the environment, local knowledge, economic products, and language. Ants appear not only as biological entities but also in the linguistic representation of a commodity. This shift in function shows that humans can express their relationships with the environment through the creation and use of vocabulary in economic activities.

The repetition of the word 'ant' builds cohesion between the introduction and the content while also creating lexical play, a hallmark of the expressive style of *parikan* (traditional rhymes). Pragmatically, this structure mainly indicates that ant sugar is available in large quantities. From a pragmeme perspective, the *parikan* form becomes a strategy for conveying transactional information in a creative, interpersonal way. From an ecopragmatic viewpoint, the use of 'ant' shows how environmental knowledge can integrate with economic and language practices. This data shows that insect vocabulary in market conversations not only represents the ecological world but can also convey information, build familiarity, and organize trade activities.

6. To inform the service time

A buyer asked a seller who seemed to be getting ready to close up their stall, as in the following snippet of conversation.

Buyer:	*Deneng wis kukud Yu?*	Why are you about to close the stall, Sis?
Seller	*Ana lemud nyokot sapi. Arep kukud uwis sepi.*	There's a mosquito biting the cow; want to close, it's already quiet.

A snippet of conversation between a buyer and a seller shows the use of the *lemud* insect lexicon in the form of *parikan* to convey information about service hours at the Banyumas traditional market. The buyer asks, *Deneng wis kukud Yu?* 'Why are you about to close the stall, Sis?' This question shows that the buyer perceives the seller is about to finish selling soon. The seller then replies, *Ana lemud nyokot sapi. Arep kukud uwis sepi* 'There's a mosquito biting the cow. About to close, it's already quiet.' This utterance has two parts that resemble a *parikan* structure. The part *Ana lemud nyokot sapi* 'There's a mosquito biting the cow' functions as the *sampiran*, while *Arep kukud uwis sepi* 'About to close, it's already quiet' functions as the *isi*. The *lemud* lexicon becomes the main element that connects the two parts through sound play and *parikan* structure.

From a pragmeme perspective, *Ana lemud nyokot sapi. Arep kukud uwis sepi* can be understood as a pragmatic pattern of providing information about service hours through parikan (a traditional Javanese poetic form). This pragmeme emerges because the linguistic form is used in a specific context to achieve a certain goal. The buyer asks why the seller is going to close the stall, while the seller responds with a *parikan* that contains temporal information. The pragmatic function doesn't come just from the word *lemud,* but from the whole configuration of the opening line, the content, the market context, and the communication goal. This pattern shows that practical information can be packaged through indirect language forms without losing its informativeness.

The concept of discontinuity becomes important in this data. The seller could actually give a straightforward answer, for example, *Arep kukud merga wis sepi* 'Closing because it's quiet'. However, the seller chooses the form *Ana lemud nyokot sapi* as a preamble. The buyer needs to understand that the first part opens the *parikan* and that the relevant information is in the second part. The buyer's ability to immediately understand this structure shows pragmatic competence and shared cultural knowledge. In other words, understanding parikan is part of the Penginyongan speaker community's communication competence.

The ecopragmatic perspective adds an extra dimension to the analysis. *Lemud* is an ecological entity present in people's living environment. In *parikan,* people use experiences with these insects as a source for language creation. Sellers bring elements of the environment into economic communication and use them to build forms that have social functions. In this way, the environment is not just a backdrop for interactions, but also a source of symbolic resources for speech production. The lexis of lemud shows that people's ecological experiences can become part of communication practices that regulate daily economic activities.

The relationship between *'lemud'* and the market context also shows that ecological lexicon has functional mobility. At the referential level, *'lemud'* refers to an insect. At the discourse level, *'lemud'* becomes part of small talk. At the pragmatic level, using it helps shape a more expressive response to a buyer's question. Meanwhile, at the ecopragmatic level, '*lemud*' shows how ecological experiences enter economic communication practices. So, one lexicon can operate on several levels at once.

7. To report on the market situation

A seller asked a buyer about the crowd happening on the other side of his stall. The buyer provided information about a pickpocket by indirectly hinting through a riddle, as in the following snippet of conversation.

Seller:	*Ana apa kae rame-rame?*	What's all that commotion?
Buyer	*Ana tomket nyokot pipi. Ana copet gawe rugi*	There is a tomcat biting cheek; there's a pickpocket causing loss

A snippet of conversation between a seller and a buyer uses the insect *tomket* lexicon in rhyming verses to describe market conditions disrupted by pickpockets. The lexicon *'tomket'* in the part *'Ana tomket nyokot pipi'* literally refers to an insect known for its ability to cause pain or irritation when it comes into contact with humans. In that statement, *'tomket'* is used figuratively to create an ecological image: an insect biting the cheek. This part literally has nothing to do with pickpocketing. However, as a *parikan* embellishment, its main function is not to convey the main information, but to create a linguistic form that leads the listener to the core message. The part *'Ana copet gawe rugi'* then conveys the actual message about market conditions. Thus, '*tomket*' gains a pragmatic function through its position in the parikan structure.

The *parikan* form also allows buyers to convey sensitive information about pickpocketing without using a style that's too formal or serious. Using *'Ana tomket nyokot pipi'*

as a lead-in adds a touch of humor or wordplay before delivering information about the pickpocket. This strategy doesn't mean the buyer finds pickpocketing funny. Instead, the wordplay serves as a communicative tool that fits the informal nature of market interactions. After the lead-in, the buyer quickly delivers the serious part: the presence of the pickpocket and the losses caused. The contrast between the light-hearted lead-in and the serious content creates an interesting pragmatic effect.

In the pragmeme framework, *Ana Tomket nyokot pipi* can be understood as the realization of a pragmatic pattern to provide information about the market situation through *parikan*. Its pragmatic function emerges from the relationship between the seller's questions, the crowded context, the form of *parikan*, and shared knowledge about the pickpocketing event. The buyer chooses the form of *parikan* not just to create pleasant sounds, but to package social information relevant to the interlocutor. The pragmeme realized in that utterance can be understood as a pattern of providing information about disruptions or the market situation through lexical play and *parikan* structure.

The ecopragmatic perspective adds an extra dimension because *tomket* comes from an ecological domain. Sellers and buyers share knowledge about the insect so that buyers can use it as supplementary material. Ecological knowledge then enters communication about the market's social environment. This shows that communication ecology isn't just made up of humans and economic activities, but also includes representations of organisms living in that environment. *Tomket* becomes a symbolic resource that lets buyers create language to describe the social conditions around them.

8. to encourage others

   The quiet market made the sellers feel unenthusiastic. In situations like that, some sellers still stay enthusiastic, as in the conversation excerpt below.

Seller 1	*Sepi temen ya pasare*	The market is really quiet, isn't it?
Seller 2	*Ana toko mlebu pasar, jaga toko kudu sabar*	'There's a *toko* coming into the market; you have to be patient keeping your shop'

A snippet of conversation between two sellers shows shop-related vocabulary used in the form of parikan as a pragmatic strategy to encourage each other when the market is slow. Seller 1 opens the conversation with the utterance *'Sepi temen ya pasare'* ('The market is really quiet, isn't it?'). This utterance evaluates market conditions and indicates low trading activity. A quiet market can potentially cause concern because fewer buyers mean fewer transaction opportunities. Seller 2 then responds with *'Ana toko mlebu pasar, jaga toko kudu sabar'* ('There's a *toko* coming into the market, you have to be patient keeping your shop'). This utterance is packaged as a parikan, using the shop element as the opener and the message 'you have to be patient keeping your shop' as the content.

The *parikan* form makes the response feel lighter compared to a direct statement like *Aja kuwatir, sabar bae* 'Don't worry, just be patient'. Seller 2 uses wordplay to turn complaints about market conditions into a more expressive phrase. The opening line *Ana toko mlebu pasar* adds an introductory element that creates rhythm, while *jaga toko kudu sabar* carries a message relevant to the seller's situation. This structure allows the seller to offer encouragement without sounding preachy. In this way, *parikan* works as an interpersonal tool that helps manage emotions in less favorable economic situations.

In the framework of pragmemes, when Ana enters the market, 'store owners need to be patient' can be understood as the realization of a pragmatic pattern to encourage *parikan* (a type of playful rhyme) in an unprofitable trading situation. This pragmeme can't be interpreted from the literal meanings of each word alone. The encouraging function comes

from the interaction between Seller 1's complaints, the quiet market context, the traders' relationship, and the choice of *parikan* form. Seller 2 knows that their conversation partner is facing a potentially discouraging situation. They then use a creative form of language to guide the response toward patience. In this way, the *parikan* serves as a medium for social action by providing support.

The ecopragmatic perspective can show how lexicon related to the economic environment and daily life contributes to the formation of social meaning. A shop represents a space of economic activity, while a market represents the social environment where interactions take place. When these two elements are used in *parikan* (traditional rhymes), language captures the relationship between humans, trading spaces, and economic conditions. In this context, ecopragmatics is not only about the natural environment, but also about the social environment that serves as a living space and interaction space for speakers. The lexicon sellers use reflects how people make sense of everyday experiences through the linguistic resources available in the community.

The data also shows that *parikan* can function as a relational work mechanism. Seller 2 doesn't position themselves as someone who knows more or handles market situations better. They use a collective, friendly tone to show that the situation can be faced together. The sentence 'jaga toko kudu sabar' can be understood as advice, but because it's delivered through *parikan,* its directive force becomes softer. Seller 2 encourages patience without giving strict orders. This allows solidarity to be built without creating a hierarchical relationship.

Besides that, the form of *parikan* (traditional Javanese joke or rhyme) provides a light humorous effect that helps ease the emotional burden caused by a quiet market. Humor doesn't erase the reality of the problem, but it changes the way participants deal with it. Seller 1 starts the conversation with a complaint, while Seller 2 responds with wordplay. This shift shows that language can be used for emotional reframing, which changes how a situation is perceived. The market is still quiet, but the situation is no longer seen solely as disappointing. Sellers are encouraged to view it as a situation that requires patience.

In the pragmeme framework, this construction realizes a pattern of offering support through rhymes in less favorable economic situations. From an ecopragmatic perspective, shops and markets represent the socio-economic environment where speakers create meaning and relationships. This data shows that the vocabulary that appears in market conversations doesn't just mark objects or activities, but can also serve as a resource for managing emotions, building solidarity, giving advice, and maintaining interpersonal relationships among traders.

9. To praise the quality of goods

A seller praises his goods, which a buyer comments on because they are swarmed by fruit flies, as in the following snippet of conversation.

Buyer:	*Kiye salake dirubung ureng-ureng Bu*	'This *salak* is being swarmed by fruit flies, Ma'am.'
Seller:	*Anu salak asli ora diobat ya dadi dirubung ureng-ureng. Nek diobat lah anti ureng-ureng.*	This is *salak*, the real one, so it's not treated with chemicals and gets swarmed by insects.

A snippet of conversation between a buyer and a seller shows the use of the word for fruit flies *(ureng-ureng)* when evaluating *salak* (snake fruit) quality. The buyer says, *'Kiye salake dirubung ureng-ureng Bu,'* which means, 'This *salak* is being swarmed by fruit flies, Ma'am.' On the surface, this statement can be understood as an observation of the physical condition of the goods. Insects on fruit generally indicate damage, reduced quality, or a lack of protection for the commodity. However, the seller doesn't take that as criticism. She reframes it by

saying, *'Anu salak asli ora diobat ya dadi dirubung ureng-ureng. Nek diobat lah anti ureng-ureng,*' meaning, 'That's real *salak;* it hasn't been treated, so it's swarmed by fruit flies. If it were treated, the fruit flies wouldn't come.' Through this response, *ureng-ureng* serves a pragmatic function as a positive indicator of salak quality, authenticity, and production process.

The shift in evaluative orientation from the buyer's utterance to the seller's response is a key aspect in this data. The buyer states that the *salak* is covered in *ureng-ureng*, without explicitly judging whether this is good or bad. The seller then interprets this phenomenon by linking it to the concept of authentic *salak* and *'ora diobat'* or 'not treated with chemicals.' The seller turns an ecological sign that could be seen as negative into evidence of positive quality. So, the pragmatic meaning of *ureng-ureng* isn't fixed to its referent, but depends on the context and the evaluative framework used by the participants.

In the context of buying and selling, this strategy serves as both a compliment to the product's quality and a defense against potential physical flaws. A snake fruit swarmed by insects might raise doubts for potential buyers. Sellers address these doubts before they turn into rejection by explaining the cause. Instead of hiding the item's condition, sellers make it part of their marketing argument. The insects become empirical evidence supporting the claim that the snake fruit hasn't been treated with chemicals. In this way, sellers validate the quality through ecological signs that buyers can observe directly.

The use of *ureng-ureng* also shows shared ecological knowledge between sellers and buyers. Both participants recognize the insect as an entity that interacts with fruit. Sellers then use this knowledge to explain product quality. Ecological knowledge doesn't stop at naming the insect; it develops into an understanding of the relationship between the insect, the fruit, and how the plants are treated. In this context, *ureng-ureng* becomes part of local knowledge about commodity ecology. Sellers activate this knowledge to influence how buyers evaluate the goods.

From a pragmatic perspective, the seller's speech carries evaluative, informative, persuasive, and promotional functions all at once. The informative function appears in the explanation that the snake fruit isn't treated with pesticides. The evaluative function appears when the seller mentions that the fruit is genuine. The persuasive function comes into play when the seller guides the buyer to interpret the presence of worms as a positive sign. Meanwhile, the promotional function arises because this explanation aims to maintain the product's economic value. The seller isn't just explaining the condition of the snake fruit; they're also trying to build the perception that this condition actually increases the product's value.

In the framework of pragmeme, the construction of "This is salak, the real one, so it's not treated with chemicals and gets swarmed by insects" can be understood as a pragmatic pattern of praising a product's quality by reinterpreting ecological signs. This pragmeme appears when a physical characteristic that could potentially be seen as negative is turned into evidence of quality through contextual explanation. The pragmatic meaning of *ureng-ureng* cannot be derived from its lexical meaning alone. It emerges from the relationship between the salak's condition, ecological knowledge, plant-treatment practices, buyer expectations, and the seller's goal of maintaining the product's appeal. Thus, the lexicon *ureng-ureng* becomes part of a pragmatic configuration that lets sellers positively reframe the commodity's condition.

The eco-pragmatic perspective strengthens that interpretation because worms connect language, organisms, commodities, and human practices toward the environment. Insects don't appear as a metaphor completely detached from ecological experience, but as a real part of the ecosystem where *salak* is produced. Sellers use the ecological relationship between insects and fruit as an argument in economic interactions. This shows that the environment can provide evidence, categories, and experiences that people use to create meaning in communication. So, eco-pragmatics here doesn't just look at how the

environment is represented through language, but also how knowledge about ecological relationships is used to achieve communicative goals.

This strategy also has a strong persuasive side. Sellers use ecological experience as the basis for their arguments, not just throwing around evaluative words like 'nice,' 'authentic,' or 'good.' They back quality claims with concrete reasons. Sellers point out that treated *salak* is less likely to be infested by insects, while untreated *salak* attracts them. In market conversations, this kind of reasoning can boost a seller's credibility because it explains the condition of the goods the buyer observes.

IV. CONCLUSION

This study has demonstrated that insect lexicons in traditional selling and buying conversations in Banyumas function as culturally embedded pragmatic resources rather than merely as references to biological entities. Through an ecopragmatic and pragmeme perspective, the analysis shows that insect-related expressions perform diverse communicative functions, including asking about prices, complaining about product quality, rejecting offers, praising prices, providing information about product availability and service time, reporting market situations, encouraging fellow traders, and praising product quality. These functions emerge from the interaction of insect-related vocabulary, market context, shared ecological knowledge, cultural practices, and speakers' communicative goals. The data show that expressions involving *ketinggi, tengu, kecoro, jangkrik, semut, lemud, tomket,* and *ureng-ureng* acquire meanings beyond their literal referents. Speakers use these lexicons to create indirect evaluations, humorous expressions, wordplay, metaphorical associations, and *parikan* structures that enable transactional information and interpersonal messages to be communicated expressively. The findings also show that ecological knowledge contributes directly to pragmatic inference. Speakers draw on familiar experiences with insects, their physical characteristics, behaviors, and relationships with commodities to construct meanings that interlocutors can readily interpret within the market context. In this sense, insect lexicons connect the ecological environment with economic practices and interpersonal interaction. The study further reveals that these expressions can soften criticism, facilitate indirect rejection, strengthen product evaluation, provide persuasive explanations, and encourage social interaction among market participants. Thus, insect lexicons constitute an important part of the *Penginyongan* linguistic repertoire, demonstrating how ecological experience, cultural knowledge, and pragmatic competence converge in everyday economic communication. The findings ultimately highlight the importance of traditional markets as sites where language, ecology, culture, and social interaction remain closely interconnected.

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