

INTIMATE LANGUAGE IN TRADITIONAL MARKETS: CHALLENGING PUBLIC SPACE NORMS THROUGH KRISTEVA’S INTERTEXTUALITY

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Abstrak

Penggunaan intimasi bahasa di ruang publik menjadi fenomena yang muncul dalam interaksi pelaku ekonomi di pasar tradisional; oleh karena itu, Intimasi bahasa mendekonstruksi norma sosial yang seharusnya tidak dipertontonkan di ruang publik. Namun intimasi bahasa telah muncul di pasar tradisional sejak lama dalam interaksi pelaku ekonomi yang meliputi penjual, pembeli, kuli panggul, tukang parkir, dan komunitas arisan. Penelitian ini mengeksplorasi bagaimana intim bahasa diartikulasikan dalam ruang ekonomi yang lekat dengan identitas etnis pelaku ekonomi di pasar tradisional wilayah Jember. Adapun ragam etnis yang dimaksud, meliputi etnis Jawa, Madura, Tionghoa/Cina, dan Arab. Fenomena tersebut diteliti secara kualitatif dengan menggunakan pendekatan post-strukturalis dan menerapkan teori intertekstualitas Julia Kristeva. Analisis data menggunakan dua konsep Kristeva yaitu intertekstualitas dan suprasegmental. Data diolah dengan melihat proses produksi teks yang berasal dari dalam dan luar teks tersebut ada. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa intimasi bahasa yang biasanya digunakan di ranah privat, berhasil mendobrak kekakuan bahasa di ruang publik, selain itu mampu mencairkan relasi sosial antara aktor ekonomi dengan beragam etnis maupun dengan ragam latar kelas sosial. Dengan demikian, penggunaan sapaan dalam intimasi bahasa yang lekat dengan identitas

etnis mengalami perkembangan dan melebur bersama ruang keakraban dan kedekatan yang dibangun oleh pelaku ekonomi di pasar tradisional.

Kata kunci: *Intertekstualitas, intimasi bahasa, masyarakat multi-etnis, pasar tradisional.*

Abstract

The use of intimate language in public spaces is a phenomenon that emerges in the interactions of economic actors in traditional markets. Therefore, language intimacy deconstructs social norms that should not be displayed in public spaces. However, language intimacy has emerged in traditional markets for a long time in the interactions of economic actors, including sellers, buyers, porters, parking attendants, and the social gathering community. This research explores how intimate language is articulated in an economic space closely related to the ethnic identity of economic actors in traditional markets in the Jember region. The ethnic diversity in question includes Javanese, Madurese, Chinese/Chinese, and Arab. This phenomenon was researched qualitatively using a post-structuralist approach and applying Julia Kristeva's theory of intertextuality. Data analysis uses two Kristeva concepts, namely intertextuality and suprasegmental. The data is processed by looking at the text production process originating inside and outside the text. The research results show that the intimacy of language, usually used in the private sphere, has succeeded in breaking down the rigidity of language in the public sphere, besides dissolving social relations between economic actors with various ethnicities and social classes. Thus, the use of greetings in intimate language closely related to ethnic identity is experiencing development and merging with the space of familiarity and closeness built by economic actors in traditional markets.

Keywords: *Intertextuality, intimate language, multi-ethnic society, traditional markets.*

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INTRODUCTION

A French philosopher and linguist, Julia Kristeva used the term "intertextuality" (*intertextualité*) in text studies to present interconnections or correlations that place the production of meaning in a non-linear dialogical process. This idea means there is a connection between the creator and the viewer of the text. The text's unity does not lie in its authenticity but in the purpose or place where it is addressed.

The theory of intertextuality cannot be separated from the emergence of Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogism theory, "...Bakhtin situates the text within history and society, which are then seen as texts by the writer, and into which he inserts himself by rewriting them..." (Kristeva, 1980, p. 65). Bakhtin's dialogism considers the literary text in each utterance as the result of many existing voices. Bakhtin's dialogism describes how humans use language in specific social contexts. Thus, language is not only a means of communication but a bridge to the social reality that presents interactions between individuals.

Kristeva views Bakhtin's dialogism as a duality or exchange of speaking literary characters. Exchange in dialogue not only involves interaction between the speaker (the writer) and the person being spoken to (addressee), but holds much greater complexity. In this case, the dialogical process gives rise to the position of words, which are defined into two forms, namely (Kristeva, 1980, p. 66): 1. horizontal, which means that the words in the text include and become a unity between the subject writing and the character being spoken to. Horizontally, a word's position in a text connects the creator and recipient of the text in the same corpus and 2. vertical, meaning that the text's words are oriented toward a work's anterior or synchronic corpus. Vertically, the position of the text in words is not only contained within the interior of the text but also extends to the exterior of the text, connecting the piece of writing with other texts.

Bakhtin divides dialogism into two, namely dialogue and ambivalence. Kristeva looks at both axes to see the text as a mosaic

of quotations drawn from cultural centers. The text is assessed as an absorption and transformation of other existing texts. Texts closely related to language are culturally determined and encouraged to interpret reality by focusing attention on specific phenomena. Language, consisting of symbols and words, forms the basis of every culture. Language not only describes a culture but shapes the reality of the culture itself. The text is a mosaic of quotations (Becker, 2013, p. 127-128), consisting of dialogue between 2 characters, author and reader (subject and recipient), text and other texts, and social and ideological context.

The text in intertextuality is not a single entity sheltered in a soundproof room. As the text does not stand alone, the system is not closed and moves dynamically as productivity continues to move forward. The final textual result is not a product that is ready to be consumed but rather one that will continue to carry out its productive function. Text creation requires both the creator and recipient of the text to persuade, legitimize, and provide choices on the topic being published. Therefore, intertextuality assumes that texts originate from a complex composition of sound echoes and the many discourses surrounding them (Becker, 2013, p. 127).

In the concept of ideologeme, texts cannot be separated from social and historical coordinates, "...The ideologeme is that intertextual function read as "materialized" at the different structural levels of each text, and which stretches along the entire length of its trajectory, giving it its historical and social coordinates..." (Kristeva, 1980, p. 36). The concept of ideologeme is understood as a transformation of speech or expression that cannot be reduced to the entire content of the text. The text is drawn from cultural centers of countless varieties and numbers as a mosaic of quotations. Language related are culturally determined and encouraged to interpret reality that focuses attention on specific phenomena. Ideologeme describes the process of crossing over text settings carried through speech, assimilated into its own space (interior text), and refers to the outer text space (exterior text).

Texts described through utterances or utterances in language events mustn't be isolated or guided by a rigid social realm of language use. In a linguistic context, speech or sayings are not only a communication medium but also shape social reality. Greetings, as a form of speech or utterance, are used to reprimand, greet, and mention the person you speak to in language events (Sugeng Rianto, Kusnadi, 2013). A greeting can start a communication and determine whether the communication will continue or not. This also relates to speaking attitudes and how individuals position their interlocutors. Suppose that the choice of greeting is frequently categorized through physical appearance related to one gender and age. In a broader context, greetings can also reflect a person's locality (Wibowo et al., 2015). These greeting's characteristics cannot be separated from dialects, accents, and regional languages used by individuals.

The variety of greetings in dialogue between individuals suggests that linguistic intimacy can enter the outermost side of the public space, challenging the rigidity of language. This idea stems from the assumption that intimacy is typically confined to private relationships, such as family, lovers, and friendships. Abdul Ghofur (2013) explains the use of greetings by Madurese people in the context of the traditional market. Notably, one of the exciting things is the seller's use of friendly greetings such as "*Sayang*" (Darling). Apart from that, some greetings show praise, such as "*Ning Raddhin*" which means a beautiful woman in Madurases.

Traditional markets present new characteristics related to the commercial community's efforts to maintain their existence in public spaces through intimate greetings. For example, a porter close to the image of a manual worker uses an intimate greeting with his customers through the greeting "*Ma* or *Mama*" (Mamma). This greeting occurs when the porter asks the seller to wait for the commodity to be transported from the fish auction place to the customer's stall. The porter uttered the phrase "*Sek yo, Ma*" (Wait, Mam) to the seller after placing the fish commodity in another seller's stall. The use of the word "*Ma*," which is usually used in the

relationship between mother and child, appears in the dialogue between the porter and the seller. Although sweat poured down Porter's body when lifting his customer's goods, the porter uses this greeting to dispel the assumption that he was a rough worker.

Economic actors in traditional markets have practical and strategic goals to fulfill their motives. As in bargaining, buyers want a price that suits their pockets, while sellers try to maximize their profits. Sometimes, this situation does not go smoothly and leads to price disagreements. As in bargaining activities, sellers and buyers often do not agree on commodity prices. The seller said an intimate greeting, "*Gak boleh kalau segitu, Sayang*" (I can't accept that offer as it stands, Darling), to provide the understanding and influence the buyer to reach an agreement on the price.

Traditional markets for economic actors have become workspaces whose social realities are changing daily. In this case, the social interactions built between economic actors are not limited to mere economic transactions but also include efforts to influence respect and please each other. These social relationships can foster relationships of friendship, brotherhood, and kinship between one another (Noor, 2017; Putri & Hidayah, 2019). This condition allows economic actors in traditional markets to use intimate language freely.

The greetings used by economic actors are not only related to sellers and buyers, such as attracting buyers' attention and bargaining (Panggabean, 2017). Other economic actors, including porters, parking attendants, and social gathering communities, also participate in these activities in traditional markets. The ethnic diversity in traditional markets adds another layer of interest to intimate language as it is adapted to the regional elements of each ethnicity.

In this research, written text will be brought to oral text which originates from utterances or utterances from economic actors in the form of greetings. Intertextuality projects a practical and productive space in the linguistic space of different types of texts (Kuswarini, 2016). Intimacy in the form of greeting places meaning and logic

based on what has been received and how it will be received by economic actors in traditional markets. A collection of economic actors with different ethnic backgrounds projects language intimacy into something close to their social environment. So in practice, linguistic texts that originally came from a certain ethnicity will be used by other ethnicities and this is something that is agreed upon in the context of traditional markets.

Intimate language attached to the private sphere inhabits a more fluid social space and is not only used by individuals with particular social ties. Traditional markets, as a reflection of the people's economy, practice intimate language that is closely related to the daily activities of economic actors. Accordingly, the question that emerges then is how intimate language is articulated in the economic space closely linked to ethnic identity in traditional markets. This article explains that crowded public spaces can modulate intimate language through the role of economic actors in traditional markets.

Methodologically speaking, this research design uses qualitative research approach to understand human-world relations and practical behavior in producing meaning (Budianto, 2007). In this way, we closely adopted Kristeva's post-structuralist view in terms of investigating the knowledge, values, culture, society and language works.

The data in the research was collected through observation, interviews, and documentation in the form of video, audio, images, and related documents. The data analysis used refers to Kristeva's two methods for analyzing text (Kristeva, 1980, p. 37-38), which include, suprasegmental and intertextuality analysis.

Suprasegmental analysis means expressions/speech in words, sentences, and paragraphs expressed as limited text. This analysis focuses on the mode of speech within the text's framework, expressed as a text bound by its meaning. This meaning can be seen from the perspective of the creator and recipient or as a text with a dual purpose. Meanwhile, intertextuality analysis is the understanding of speech within the dialogue of a text. The speech

in the text is related to the outside text, so its presence is not just a speech that slips into its unity.

The two analyses above show the text analysis process, which examines the creation process from within and outside the text and relates it to the spatial and temporal context.

Also, this research was located in two traditional markets in Jember Regency. The first market is the Senenan market in Tanggul District, which represents the sub-urban area with a homogeneous culture. Meanwhile, the second market is the Tanjung market in the Kaliwates sub-district, representing an urban area with a heterogeneous culture. The homogeneous and heterogeneous cultures in both traditional markets display variations in the intimate greetings used by economic actors. The economic actors in question include sellers, buyers, porters, parking attendants, and social gathering communities. Apart from that, there are Javanese, Madurese, Chinese, and Arab ethnicities that represent a multi-ethnic society. The data in the research was collected through observation, interviews, and documentation in the form of video, audio, images, and related documents.

DISCUSSION

1. Intimate Language as Ethnic Identity

The intimate language used by economic actors in traditional markets represents each individual's ethnic identity. The characteristics and attributes of each ethnicity determine the choice of intimate language used by individuals in suburban and urban areas.

Senenan Market, Tanggul District

Senenan Market is located on Jalan Urip Sumoharjo No. 106, Krajan, Tanggul Wetan. Senenan Market was originally an animal market (cattle and goats) operated only on Mondays (Senenan in Javanese). Senenan Market represents a sub-urban area inhabited by people of Madurese, Javanese, Arab, and Chinese ethnicities. Specifically, this sub-urban area is dominated by people of Madurese ethnicity. This reality is related to the distribution of the

Madurese ethnic group, which inhabits the mountainous northern side of the Tanggul area. Meanwhile, most economic actors (especially sellers) come from this mountainous region. So, the dominance of the Madurese ethnic group can be felt simply through the words used by economic actors.

A fish seller named *Mbak Mur* (Ms. Mur) revealed that she originally came from Javanese ethnicity, more precisely, Central Java.

"Tante ini ya Jawa ya Madura, Te." (This aunt is Javanese and Madurese, Aunt)

"Pinter ndek pasar, Nduk. Dulu kan jawwa e sek kentel, aku kan dari Jawa tengah." (Be smart in the market, Daughter. In the past, Javanese language was still strong; I am from Central Java)

(Ms. Mur personal communication, 14 October 2023)

Mbak Mur explained that her fluency in Madurese resulted from 17 years of trading at the Senenan market. Even though she was starting to trade, she found it challenging to speak Madurese. Moreover, buyers and fellow sellers mostly use Madurese when interacting.

Kristeva explains that text typology is "...the specificity of different textual arrangements by placing them within the general text (culture) of which they are part and which is, in turn, part of them" (Kristeva, 1980, p. 36). This idea means that the text, initially a general (cultural) text, places the individual in its part and gradually becomes part of the individual. The ideologeme describes an assimilation process regarding the intersection of texts that are brought from their own space (interior text) to the outside (exterior text). Through the process of their creation, texts give form to cultural norms, values, and discourse.

On the other hand, culture influences how texts are written, interpreted, and assessed. If applied to Mbak Mur's situation, the dominance of the Madurese ethnic group in the Senenan market has shaped economic actors to adapt to their social environment. The

voices that responded to each other with initially foreign vocabulary gradually became an accompaniment to words familiar to her ears. Individuals start a vocabulary they hear and construct it when interacting with their interlocutors to make their activities easier in traditional markets. Therefore, it is not only an effort to fulfill socio-economic interests, but this social adaptation process has made individuals part of the existing ethnicity.

The greetings used by economic actors in the Senenan market show an intimate side that differentiates them from other ethnic groups. The dynamic and open characteristics of the Madurese ethnic group make intimate greetings a medium of communication closely related to the individual's daily life. The greetings often used include *Emak* (Mamma), *Nak* and *Nduk* (abbreviation of son and daughter), *Umik* (Mother), and *Wong Ayu* (Beautiful Woman). In the context where economic actors are assumed to have a kinship relationship, intimate language extends beyond those who are close. This means that such intimate language will be applied in every interaction with unfamiliar buyers who may have just visited the Senenan market. This practice is influenced by the characteristics of the Madurese people, who are expressive, make small talk, and often speak with high intonation. These cultural characteristics allow individuals to have more freedom when using intimate greetings.

Senenan Market, located in a suburban area and closely resembling the city's outskirts, has the characteristics of a rural community with strong communal ties. The proximity to mountainous areas means that this sub-urban area must be connected to the construction of rural community life. The predictable mobilization of economic actors daily creates kinship ties through interactions that are not limited to economic transactions alone. The market assumes visitors are residents, reflecting characteristics of sub-urban areas with smaller spaces than urban areas.

Tanjung Market, Kaliwates District

Tanjung Market is located on Jalan Samanhudi, Jember Kidul, Kaliwates. This market has been operating since 1973 and is open 24 hours daily. It is identical to its water tower and uses the main market building and the roadside as a location for trading. This market is active during the day with vehicle traffic and will also be packed with sellers. The main market building operates from morning to evening. More economic activity is found at night, which can be seen on the roadside around the main market building.

Tanjung market represents an urban area with various ethnicities including Javanese, Madurese, Arab and Chinese. This diversity comes from immigrant communities comprising working-class individuals and students who live in Jember. As the primary market in the center of Jember City, ethnic diversity is easy to find when visiting the Tanjung market. The multi-ethnic community seen in Tanjung Market creates a space for language intimacy close to city society's elements by choosing Indonesian as the mode of communication. The greetings are more universal because there is no dominance of each ethnic group. Ethnic groups adjust greetings towards a universal language without eliminating the intimate side. For example, in village communities, the figure of a child is called "*Nak* or *Nduk*" (abbreviation for younger individual), which is closely related to Javanese and Madurese ethnicities. Meanwhile, economic actors in the Tanjung market prefer intimate greetings such as "*Adek* or *Mbak*" (a term for younger individuals). Even though the Indonesian language is used, the dialect and accent of each ethnic group are still strongly felt.

One of the spice sellers, Mrs Mahmuma, said she was more used to speaking Indonesian to communicate with buyers at traditional markets. This data is related to the origin of the seller, who comes from Bali and is accustomed to using Indonesian. Even though she comes from Javanese ethnicity, Indonesian has become her daily language because she has lived in Bali for a long time. Apart from that, a seller from Madurese ethnicity, male, aged 30 years, stated that he was used to greeting teenage buyers with the

greeting “*Mbak-Mbak Cantik*” (beautiful woman). He could produce greetings as an intimate language from his daily life experience. Adding the word “*cantik*” (beautiful) in the greeting aims to attract the attention of buyers. However, it cannot be denied that the choice of reappearing greetings is adapted to the universal language used by city people, namely Indonesian language.

Table 1. Differences in intimate language in the two markets

Ethnicity	Senenan Market	Tanjung Market
Madurese	<i>Sayang</i> (Darling), <i>Wong Ayu</i> (Beautiful Woman), <i>Ning Raddhin</i> (Beautiful Woman), <i>Nak</i> (abbreviation for younger individual), <i>Ale'</i> (Little Brother), <i>Emak</i> (Mother), <i>Mama</i> (Mamma), <i>Cong/Kacong</i> (Boy)	<i>Sayang</i> (Darling), <i>Mbak-Mbak Cantik</i> (Beautiful Woman), <i>Ning</i> (Daughter), <i>Nduk</i> (abbreviation younger individual), <i>Adek</i>
Java	<i>Sayang/Say/Yang/Beb</i> (Darling), <i>Wong Ayu</i> (Beautiful Woman), <i>Nduk</i> (abbreviation of younger individual), <i>Adek</i> (Little brother), <i>Mama</i> , <i>Budhe/Bulek</i> (Aunty)	<i>Adek/Mbak</i> (a term of teenager), <i>Ibu</i> (Mother), <i>Nduk</i> (abbreviation of younger individual)
China	<i>Cik/Tacik</i> (a term for woman), <i>Kokoh</i> (a term for men)	<i>Cik/Tacik/Cece</i> (a term for woman), <i>Kokoh</i> (a term for men), <i>Adek/Mbak/Mas</i> (a term of teenager)
Arab	<i>Umik</i> (Mother), <i>Abah</i> (Father), <i>Ustad/Ustadzah/Iyek/Nyai</i> (a term for religious teachers), <i>Cong/Kacong</i> (Boy)	<i>Umik</i> (Mother), <i>Abah</i> (Father), <i>Adek/Mbak</i> (a term for teenagers)

The use of intimate language in the table shows differences in the choice of greetings used by economic actors. In multi-ethnic communities like Tanjung Market, greetings appear in Bahasa Indonesia to harmonize the language differences. Misinformation or misinterpretation in the language is likely to be avoided. Those economic actors often use greetings such as “*Adek, Mbak, or Ibu*” as intimate expressions.

The difference that emerged in sub-urban areas was the use of greetings adapted to the language of each ethnic group. If the individual is of Madurese ethnicity, the greeting “*Ibu*” will be

changed to "*Emak*", meaning the same. Interactions with a teenager at the Tanjung market may hinge on the greetings "*Adek* or *Mbak*," while individuals at Senenan market will instead choose the greetings "*Nak* or *Nduk*". In this case, greetings closely related to regional languages have become accepted in sub-urban areas.

Economic actors in traditional markets reflect greetings according to their language preferences and are linked to their social environment. There is an effort to show a friendly impression, especially from the seller to the buyer.

Table 2. Examples of the use of intimate greetings

General Greetings	Ethnicity	Intimate Greetings	
		Senenan Market	Tanjung Market
<i>Ikannya, Bu</i> (The fish, Ma'am)	Java	<i>Iwake, Nduk</i>	<i>Ikannya, Dek</i> <i>Ikannya, Nak</i>
	Madurese	<i>Iwake, Nak</i>	
<i>Beli apa, Mbak?</i> (What did you buy, Sis?)	Java	<i>Beli apa, Budhe?</i>	<i>Cari apa, Ning?</i>
	Madurese	<i>Wong Ayu, tuku opo Wong Ayu?</i>	<i>Beli opo, Mbak'e? Mbak'e cantik-cantik</i>

The table above shows differences in general and intimate language modulated by Javanese and Madurese ethnicities in traditional markets. When economic actors are asked for reasons why they chose intimate greetings, there is an effort to eliminate the impression of being "*cek resmine*" (too formal) in Jember language. The greetings are also an alternative to eliminate the impression of being kittenish, such as when a seller serves a buyer. In contrast to the Tanjung market, the words "*Adek* or *Mbak*" are more widely used than "*Nduk*". In addition, the greeting "*Budhe*" replaces the "*Mbak*" used by ethnic Javanese. The choice of greeting cannot be separated from the age characteristics of the person you are talking to.

Intimate language that involves praising someone's appearance is also modulated by Madurese ethnicity, as shown in Table 2. What makes the difference between the two markets cannot be separated from the use of language in choosing greetings. The greeting "*Wong Ayu*" means the same beautiful woman as "*Mbak-Mbak Cantik*". The choice of greeting must be distinct from the characteristics of suburban and urban areas in the traditional markets. Even when applying greetings, they still have similarities related to the expressive attitude of economic actors and high speaking intonation. In this case, the Madurese ethnic group explores many different types of greetings without limiting themselves to being friendly with the person they are talking to.

The use of intimate language in traditional markets is generally a characteristic of how sellers attract the attention of buyers (Suhandra, 2014). It is hypothesized that sellers only use intimate language to fulfill their economic motives. The data shows that sellers, porters, and parking attendants use greetings in their daily dialogue. This service provider's use of intimate language is a medium for creating a warm and open impression.

Buyers with a close relationship with the seller can produce their intimate greetings like a buyer who is a woman at the Senenan market, freely greeting the seller with the greeting "*Yang*" (Darling). This buyer, who comes from Javanese ethnicity, stated that the market has become her regular shopping location for day-to-day needs. Thus, one of the habits that has become buyer identity is the use of intimate greetings to sellers. It is interesting when the sellers do not greet the buyer with "*Yang*" (Darling) but instead greet intimately with "*Budhe* or *Bulek*" (Aunty). The seller, who is of Javanese ethnicity, said an age gap made him try to respect the buyers.

The articulation of ethnic identity in intimate language is closely related to the attributes brought by each ethnicity. Religious attributes, for example, closely associated with Arab ethnicity, give rise to the intimate greeting "*Abah/Umik* (Father/Mother), *Ustadz/Ustadzah*" (a term for religious teachers). However, in

traditional markets, this religious attribute is interpreted more fluidly. Not only those whose physical appearance is like an Arab but also those who are housewives wearing a hijab and Muslim clothing will be called "*Umik*". The general conception holds that only those who have completed the Hajj pilgrimage or are indeed religious scholars deserve to be called "*Abah* or *Umik*".

The actualization in the market shows that the attributes brought by ethnicity are not always inherent in that ethnicity. For Chinese ethnic groups, for example, sellers at the Tanjung market do not practice greetings according to their ethnicity. The sellers freely call "*Ade/Mbak*" for individuals classified as teenagers of Chinese ethnicity. Meanwhile, ethnic Chinese older than the seller will be called "*Kokoh, Tacik, Cece*" (a term for Chinese women and men) as usual. It is the practice of sellers to classify intimate language based on age to show the impression of respect and appreciation for the person they are talking to.

Kristeva's revolutionary semiotics describe a crisis and upheaval that has become socially institutionalized in the production of linguistic texts. Therefore, the meaning can be seen as more fluid by rejecting the stability of meanings attached to identity (Kristeva, 1984, p. 190-191). Language becomes dynamic, out of rules, and practical in its intended place. Even if examined more deeply, language games in intimate language show broader utilization based on social characteristics. Returning to the religious attributes of an individual, sellers, in particular, play a role in this language game. For example, individuals who are of Arab ethnicity are not greeted with greetings originating from that ethnicity. For instance, Umik Sana, an ethnic Madurese seller at the Senenan market, greets his buyers with the greeting "*Cong/Kacong*" (Son), which means boy in Madurese. If examined physically, the male figure addressed is closely identified with the image of the Arab ethnic group. However, by not wearing Arab clothing to the market, the buyer eliminates the intimate greeting of "*Abah*" (Father) or "*Iyek*" (a term of religious teachers) which he would usually receive.

Ethnicity in the use of intimate language in traditional markets is related to the attributes and characteristics of each economic actor in the two traditional markets. In suburban areas, ethnicity is more homogeneous, and the greetings are used to show more of the locality. In contrast to heterogeneous urban areas, intimate language is a more universal language, namely Indonesian. Of the ethnic groups in the two markets, the Javanese and Madurese ethnic groups produce and reproduce more greetings, whether from their ethnicity or outside their ethnicity. Likewise, the Arab ethnic group produces more varied intimate greetings, not just focusing on religious attributes. However, ethnic Chinese show restrictions on the use of intimate language both for their ethnicity and outside their ethnicity.

There is no aim to privilege individuals when intimate language is used by economic actors. Based on suprasegmental analysis, texts are bound by the dual meanings and purposes of the creator and recipient of the text. In this case, there will be assumptions that lead to a special relationship that is trying to be built between one individual and another. Apart from that, there is a shy response when intimate language usually used by lovers is present at traditional markets. However, intimate greetings are only a medium for establishing closeness in public spaces such as markets. These intimate languages often encounter a shy response, which is a normative element, especially when intimate languages are said by the opposite sex.

2. Articulation of Intimate Language in Socio-Economic Relations

The socio-economic relationships built in traditional markets through friendly greetings illustrate several tactics economic actors use to maintain their existence. Not just making as many profits as possible but continuously expanding social networks can be the key to the welfare of economic actors. Social norms and values surrounding society can indicate behavior habits closely related to the social environment. Economic actors are more careful in their

actions and words in areas with a broader scope, such as Tanjung Market. So, they make intimate language greetings that are not attached to elements of their ethnicity. In this case, intimate language does not highlight the regional characteristics of each ethnicity.

Senenan Market's smaller space creates closeness channeled through intimate greetings. Then, the economic actors are no longer careful with the choice of greeting because there is an assumption that the individual from yesterday or today could be the same person and will be met again the next day. Traditional markets are economic spaces that move dynamically and openly modulate intimate language more freely. Without eliminating elements of social norms within the limits of decency in society. Apart from that, the opening times for traditional markets in sub-urban areas are limited, which makes economic actors rush to attract as many visitors as possible. Thus, language intimacy is increasingly used in every dialogue in suburban areas.

Intimacy is a sense of closeness, dependence, and warmth for personal sharing. Intimate language in the form of greetings presents various ways to convey social context that can be chosen through conversation topics, expressions, and markers (Pei & Jurgens, 2020). Traditional markets are economic spaces that move dynamically and openly modulate intimate language more freely. Without eliminating elements of social norms within the limits of decency in society. The use of intimate language results from negotiations between economic actors that originate from repeated contact in adjacent spaces (Otnes et al., 2012). Traditional markets carry out repeated daily mobilization, with individuals coming and returning.

Intimacy in the economic space in traditional markets characterizes the text's unity, which does not always lie in its authenticity and is closely related to the thought conception of structuralist figures. No conception leads to a special or seductive relationship, especially if it is a male figure; various assumptions will arise in the individual's mind. However, what happens in the

field shows that greetings such as “*Sayang*” (Darling) become a medium for establishing closeness with buyers.

Sustainable thinking From economic actors shows that there is hope for the establishment of social relationships, such as seller-buyer which makes buyers become customers. For example, in bargaining transactions, this condition shows mutual persuasion efforts between sellers and buyers who want to maintain commodity prices. It is different when intimate language is used to overcome this condition. The bargaining process, which was quite challenging, could be reduced with an intimate greeting. Moreover, it is not only aimed at finding an agreement on price; intimate language can show the attitude of the seller who is trying to provide understanding to the buyer.

Table 3. Intimate Language as Calmers to Calm the Noise

Senenan Market	Tanjung Market
<i>Sing sabar yo, Nak</i> (Be patient, Son)	<i>Bentar ya, Sayang</i> (Wait a minute, Darling)
<i>Wes Wong Ayu sing sabar. Pasti dikorting yo, Yang</i> (Beautiful ladies, please be patient. Definitely, I give you a discount, honey)	<i>Tunggu sebentar ya, Dek</i> (Wait a moment, Son)

For sellers, relationships with buyers in the traditional markets serve as a breath of fresh air in the monotony of exchanging commodities for profit. An interesting dynamic in this relationship emerges when the seller needs clarification on how to optimally serve his buyers. Meanwhile, from the buyer's side, they sometimes need fast service because they do not have much time. In this case, intimate language has effectively reduced buyers' anxiety when the seller serves another buyer.

In the table above, pieces of conversation are displayed which sellers use to assuage buyer stress during wait times. Simple words that aim to calm buyers are interspersed with effective, intimate greetings. The greeting “*Sing sabar yo, Nak*” (Be patient, Son) is generally said by the older close person to the younger. However,

this sentence is heard in markets that connect sellers and buyers. It is the same as the sentence "*Bentar ya, Sayang*" (Wait a minute, Darling), which lovers usually say to resolve a conflict or simply as a command to wait patiently for their lover. But this series of words becomes a medium to reduce the commotion between economic actors in traditional markets.

The queue of buyers filling the sellers' stalls can sometimes be confusing and even make the buyer worry about whether any commodities are left. So, it is common for buyers to look for alternatives by visiting other sellers. However, some buyers are confidently waiting for their regular sellers' stalls. Traditional markets, which present diversity and uniformity of commodities, ultimately create many choices for buyers. The difference usually arises when the buyer already has a regular seller to buy the commodity. So that when buyers visit the market, they do not hesitate to join the queue when their regular stalls are busy with visitors. This reality is because sellers and buyers already have an attitude of trust due to repeated interactions. Then, the seller will casually say, "*Wes Wong Ayu sing sabar. Pasti distorting yo, Yang*" (*Beautiful ladies, please be patient. Definitely, I will give you a discount, honey*). In this sentence, there is an unwritten agreement between the seller and the buyer regarding the discount that will be obtained in return for their willingness to wait. With both intimate language and the promise of a discount, these overtures are rarely rejected by buyers and may even receive a happy smile in response.

One of the porters at the market often tells customers, whether sellers or buyers, the phrase "*Sek yo, Ma*" (Wait a moment, Mam). This sentence is intended to ask customers to wait for a certain amount of time when there are goods that the porter must transport. Even though he uses a high speaking intonation, the customer understands what the porter means and is not in a hurry to do everything quickly. There is a mutual understanding between economic actors, even from the tone of speech, which might be said to be shouting. However, this public space has removed the boundaries for speaking, whether in a high or low intonation.

Especially for the Madurese ethnic group, which lives in suburban areas, communicating using high intonation has become a characteristic of individuals. Individuals place greater emphasis on responsiveness, demonstrated through words and actions.

The social interactions built between economic actors in traditional markets have stronger emotional ties than in modern markets. This emotional bond cannot be separated from the social relationships that are repeated every day. Repeated contact creates an intimate atmosphere seen in individuals' daily lives in traditional markets.

In "Revolution in Poetic Language", Kristeva explains that language can revolutionize individual desires, related to the language revolution aimed at resistance (Kristeva, 1984, p. 130-132). The desires of individuals in economic actors are related to gaining profits and social networks that can maintain their existence in traditional markets. The power operated by economic actors in a subversive context can produce dialogues as a space for language intimacy in traditional markets. This is closely related to the socio-economic relations individuals have built in their daily lives in traditional markets. Repetitive and even daily social contact encourages strong emotional bonds within primarily economic relationships. In simple terms, trading has tied economic actors into bonds of brotherhood or kinship.

3. Transformation of the Meaning of Intimate Greetings

Intimate language closely linked to elements of ethnicity in traditional markets shows developments, shifts, and changes in line with social dynamics. The experience and knowledge gained by economic actors transform intimate language into meaning that is closely related to developments over time. Nowadays, greetings such as "*Sayang, Yang, Say, Beb*" (Darling) are increasingly used by economic actors. This greeting becomes a medium for connecting economic actors without leading to a unique or special relationship. The use of "*Say or Beb*" (Darling) is something new. However, it

cannot be denied that its use is only for those who have repeated contact every day, such as sellers and *mlijo* (greengrocers), sellers and sellers (of the same age), sellers and collectors—lottery club. Economic players in traditional markets are keeping up with the times where intimate language often appears on live-streaming online shop accounts on social media. For example, in the social gathering community at the Senenan market, sellers who join this community daily will be charged a certain amount of money, which will then be shuffled or drawn every Sunday. Social gathering collectors will use the greeting “*Say or Beb*” (Darling) when visiting sellers’ stalls. This intimate greeting is still used even when communicating in the community WhatsApp group. In that sense, the intimate greetings are not limited to verbal use but are textual in social media communication.

The transformation of the meaning of intimate language in traditional markets is also related to how sellers attract buyers’ attention. Apart from using intimate language such as “Honey” or “Beautiful Miss,” which are related to praising the appearance of the person you are talking to, compliments and likening the other person’s face to a commodity are sellers’ tactics to attract the attention of buyers.

“Iwake cantik-cantik, glowing kaya sing tuku” (The fish is beautiful, glowing like you)

“Pindange apik-apik, istimewa” (The pindang fish is good, special) (Data source: Observation data)

The words “*glowing*” and “*istimewa*” (special) are closely related to the present and are produced by economic actors to ensure the quality of their commodities. The book titled “*The Art of Dealing with People*” explains several ways that can be used to build social relationships with other people (Giblin, 2016, p. 108-110). The enthusiastic attitude felt by individuals creates conditions that can transmit that enthusiasm to buyers. In this case, someone will only succeed in convincing an individual after the individual himself

believes it. This conception can be compared to the seller's confidence in guaranteeing their commodity appears the same as the buyer.

Economic humor that describes the similarities between commodities and their buyers creates a variety of jokes that sometimes raise questions about whether there will be an uncomfortable atmosphere between sellers and buyers. However, the seller denied this, saying that if the dialogue was "*Jelek ikannya, kayak yang beli*" (The fish is as bad as you), the buyer might run away. This condition has become an unwritten agreement between the seller and the buyer, which does not give rise to assumptions of feelings of offense or anything. The appearance of individuals is often the object that combines greetings and praise.

This intimate greeting in the form of praise shows the characteristics of economic actors to attract the attention of people around them. In this case, several ways can be used to form good habits in building social relationships. One way to do this is by giving sincere praise in everyday life (Giblin, 2016, p. 113). The praise given by the seller provides an interesting point regarding the meaning of the greeting, which is not just a joke but can be an alternative for building good relations with the person you are talking to. However, it is not uncommon to encounter a shy response, especially when the opposite sex says it. However, this shame response is a normative code for accepting differences and moral boundaries in public space (Valentine et al., 2015). There is no negative assumption in its use, but rather a tactic to foster humorous and humanistic social relations.

Intimate language follows contemporary developments by showing the increasingly widespread preferences of economic actors. The text that is the object of exchange with its owner distributes communicative speech to share information (Bula, 2022). The element of ethnicity does not only focus on the social norms and values that guide social life. Nevertheless, armed with knowledge and experience in the market, they can produce texts they get from outside things such as social media. Greetings such as "*Juragan* atau

Nyonyah" (Owner or Madam) can be found in television series that show classifications based on social class, which are easily used in the market scope. Not only does it show the differences between upper and lower social classes, but this intimate greeting, later shortened to "*Gan and Nyah*" (abbreviation of Owner and Madam), is used between members of the same class. This word means that previously, this indicated a greeting from subordinates to superiors; sellers use an intimate greeting to buyers who can be assumed to be equal in social class.

Intimate language that is not static shows a dynamic transformation of meaning. Initially, the intimate language used by economic actors was inseparable from elements of an individual's religiosity, such as the greeting "*Umik/Abah*" (Mother/Father). Apart from that, greetings with family elements such as "*Ibu, Budhe, Bulek*" (Mam, Aunty) are also an alternative in dialogue between individuals. However, as discussed earlier, economic actors use greetings that lead to romantic relationships more widely.

Public space has applied romanticization to the tightness and fullness of economic activity in traditional markets. The greetings "*Sayang, Say, Yang, Beb*" (Darling) are increasingly used in socio-economic transactions in traditional markets. Like "*Halo, Sayang. Iwak opo, Wong Ayu?*" (Hello, Darling. What fish do you buy, beautiful people?) is said freely by the seller to attract the buyer's attention.

Moreover, this series of words is said with a high speaking intonation, so it is not uncommon for people around you to hear what is said. In addition, the shift in intimate greetings from "*Ibu*" (Mam) to "*Mama*" (Mamma) shows previously rarely or not used differences. The nickname "*Mama*" is considered to be used more by the upper class, which comes from the English term "Mamma". However, as explained in the previous discussion, this greeting is one way for porters to interact with the person they are talking to.

The production of intimate language by certain ethnicities is used in language games that move freely. Individuals have more freedom in producing their greetings without classifying their

interlocutors based on ethnicity. This reality happens to Javanese and Madurese ethnic groups who expressively play greetings in traditional markets. Even though, in several Javanese and Arab ethnic groups, they also take part. They actively produce greetings that follow current developments without focusing on the ethnic attributes of the interlocutor. Greetings related to religion, family, and the romanticization of lovers also become daily consumption in public dialogue. Likewise, the Arab ethnic group produces intimate greetings not only in the religious sphere. At this time, greetings closely related to family elements are also often used, such as "*Adek/Mbak*" (a term for teenagers). Economic actors also don't hesitate to use the greeting "*Cong/Kacong*" (Boy), which is usually used by ethnic Madurese.

Meanwhile, ethnic Chinese people have limitations when choosing intimate greetings, which show the connection between greetings and their attributes. The greeting movement only changes from "*Adek/Mbak*" (a term for a teenager) and does not move to greetings that show romantic or religious elements. Likewise, the intimate greetings from ethnic Javanese and Madurese to ethnic Chinese show accuracy, such as "*Cece, Kokoh, Tacik*" (a term for women and men). In Chinese ethnicity, the characterization of intimate greetings cannot be excluded, whether from their ethnicity or ethnic groups outside it. In this case, it seems as if there is an identity politics that limits the meaning of intimate greetings used by ethnic Chinese.

Close intimacy with elements of closeness, warmth and a sense of interdependence is present in the form of greetings in traditional markets for strategic and practical purposes from economic actors. Intimate greetings are a form of creativity from economic actors to maintain their existence in traditional markets. Greetings experience developments, shifts and changes that originate from the experience and knowledge economic actors gain while making the market their work space. One form of ideologeme, namely transformation, explains changes in meaning that move from diachronic to synchronic (Kristeva, 1980, p. 66-67). The production of

contemporary words in intimate greetings is widely used by economic actors, obtained from live streaming on social media accounts and the social environment where they socialize and gather with each other. Text is no longer something that is closely linked to ethnicity because in practice texts from the Madurese ethnic group can easily be used by Javanese and Arab ethnic groups, and vice versa. Apart from that, global languages become texts which are then close to the linguistic space in traditional markets.

Text production through an approach to language sees development over time. So there are also texts that eventually expire because they are no longer reused by economic actors in traditional markets. Kristeva in the position of words sees the text horizontally connecting the author and reader. This is related to how language intimacy in traditional markets connects economic actors through the space of closeness created in the form of greetings. Meanwhile, vertically, the words in the text are oriented towards a synchronic corpus that is related to time (Kristeva, 1980, p. 66). The text becomes a unit that coexists with space and time within the scope of the social context. Just like intimate greetings that were initially only consumed in private spaces, but over time entered public spaces where they freely produce meaning and words. Apart from that, the experience and knowledge of economic actors place texts in a synchronic way that projects into the past, present and future.

CONCLUSION

The intimate language used by economic actors in traditional markets deconstructed the rigid terms used in private spaces. Intimacy, defined as closeness to belonging to a particular social status, enters public spaces such as traditional markets. The use of intimate language in traditional markets is creative and emphasizes that public spaces can be easily penetrated by the concept of intimacy. In its development, intimate language follows contemporary things, no longer following the rigid attributes of each existing ethnic group. However, it cannot be denied that ethnic Chinese have several limitations in exploring their greetings. This

differs from the Javanese, Madurese, and Arab ethnic groups, who freely articulate greetings according to their experience and knowledge. Economic actors use intimate language to sustain their prospective motives, such as social networks and profit, while maintaining economic circles in traditional markets.

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