

## A PRAGMATIC STUDY OF CONVERSATIONAL IMPLICATURE IN TRANSACTIONAL CONVERSATION CLOTHING SALES IN PASAR GOTONG ROYONG

*Kajian Pragmatik tentang Implikatur Percakapan dalam Interaksi Transaksional Penjualan Pakaian di Pasar Gotong Royong*

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### Abstract

This study analyzes the conversational implicature functions in verbal exchanges between sellers and buyers at Omah Daleman stall in Pasar Gotong Royong, Probolinggo. The research aims to identify the forms and functions of implicature based on Leech's conversational implicature theory, including the maxims of Tact, Approbation, Generosity, Agreement, and Modesty. Using a descriptive qualitative design, data were collected through observation, recording, and interviews involving one seller and three buyers representing Javanese, Madurese, and Pandalungan ethnic backgrounds. The results show that four maxims are applied: Tact Maxim appears most frequently (12 utterances), followed by Approbation Maxim (8 utterances), Generosity Maxim (7 utterances), and Agreement Maxim (4 utterances), while Modesty Maxim is absent as it does not suit sales contexts. These implicatures serve to soften refusals, praise products, offer benefits, and build consensus, all while maintaining implicature and social harmony. It is concluded that implicature is not merely a linguistic tool but a cultural strategy that sustains positive relationships and supports business competitiveness in traditional markets.

**Keywords:** Conversational Implicature; Leech's Maxim; Pragmatics; Pasar Gotong Royong

### Introduction

Traditional markets hold a central position in the economic and social structure of Indonesian society. These places function not merely as locations for buying and selling products but also as dynamic spaces for cultural interaction and verbal communication. The success of a transaction depends heavily on communication between sellers and buyers. Language serves to convey information. It also functions to negotiate, persuade, and maintain harmonious social relationships. One of the most significant linguistic phenomena in such interactions is conversational implicature. This concept in pragmatics refers to meaning implied rather than stated explicitly. The phenomenon allows participants to convey intentions indirectly. It also helps to soften refusals, express implicature, and respect cultural norms. These aspects are essential in communities that highly value social harmony and courtesy (Leech, 1983; Grice, 1975).

Extensive research exists on implicature in market interactions. However, notable gaps remain in current literature. This research directs attention to contexts where languages and cultures blend. Specifically, the study looks at areas where the Pandalungan dialect is spoken. This dialect is unique to Probolinggo and surrounding regions. It represents a linguistic and cultural fusion between Javanese and Madurese communities. The two groups show different communication styles. Javanese speech tends to be highly indirect and polite. Madurese communication values clarity and straightforwardness.

The function of implicature within this blended dialect remains largely unexplored. Prior studies also analyze transactions across various goods from food to medicine. No research narrows the focus to clothing sales. This sector features longer negotiations and more intense persuasion. Social bonding plays a critical role in attracting repeat customers. Fewer studies apply Leech's conversational implicature theory in depth. This includes examination of all five maxims. The maxims cover Tact, Generosity, Approbation, Modesty, and Agreement. Research is necessary to understand how each maxim operates in the social and cultural dynamics of Pasar Gotong Royong (Aisyah & Hidayati, 2025; Rahajeng, 2023).

Pasar Gotong Royong stands in the center of Probolinggo City. The location serves as an ideal setting to address these gaps. The market establishes in 1966. It develops historically as the main economic hub in the Simpang Tiga King area. The place functions as a long-term center of interaction for diverse backgrounds. These backgrounds include Javanese, Madurese, and local Pandalungan communities. The market hosts approximately 245 active sellers. 12 sellers specialize in clothing sales. Operations run within a government-managed environment. The setting preserves traditional trading practices despite strong competition from modern retail stores and online commerce. Communication forms the primary competitive advantage for clothing sellers here. Online platforms offer minimal interaction and fixed prices. In contrast, transactions at Pasar Gotong Royong involve rich verbal exchanges. Every utterance carries potential implied meaning. Sellers adapt speech to customers' ethnic backgrounds. They use vocabulary, intonation, and strategies aligned with Javanese culture. They also apply styles matching Madurese directness or the unique blend of Pandalungan speech. This complexity makes the market a rich site for pragmatic research. The use of implicature depends on transactional needs. It also follows deep-seated cultural identities and social expectations (Radar Bromo, 2026).



Figure 1: Pasar Gotong Royong Kota Probolinggo  
(Source: Rizky Putra Dinasti/TIMES Indonesia)

The problem investigate in this research focuses on functions of conversational implicature. These functions appear in transactional conversations during clothing sales and buyer interactions at Pasar Gotong Royong, Probolinggo. The specific objective derives from this problem. The goal is to analyze and describe how implicature functions through application of Leech's five maxims. The study also explains how functions vary according to cultural and linguistic backgrounds of speakers involved. The research demonstrates a key point. Implicature in this setting is not merely a linguistic tool. It acts as a sophisticated social strategy. The strategy enables sellers to negotiate prices, promote products, resolve disagreements, and build loyalty. All activities follow cultural values of the Probolinggo community.

This study explores how implicature operates in a unique setting. The work contributes both theoretically and practically. Theoretically, the research enriches the field of pragmatics. It provides empirical evidence on how Leech's principles apply in a mixed-language cultural context. It also clarifies the specific role of each maxim in the economic activity of selling clothes. Practically, the findings offer insights for sellers to refine communication strategies. Better communication helps sellers compete more effectively against modern markets. The work also serves students, teachers, and linguists. It presents a clear example of how language and culture link inseparably in everyday life. This introduction sets the stage for detailed data analysis in subsequent sections. The paper concludes with a summary. The summary explains how implicature forms the foundation of successful and harmonious transactions at Pasar Gotong Royong.

## **Method**

This study employs a descriptive qualitative design focusing on pragmatic analysis. The data consist of verbal utterances exchanged between sellers and buyers during clothing sales transactions at Pasar Gotong Royong Probolinggo. Primary data come from interaction at Omah Daleman stall. This stall ranks among the most popular clothing shops in the market. Participants include one seller and three buyers. The buyers represent three main ethnic groups namely Javanese, Madurese, and Pandalungan. Data collection takes place over two months from January to February 2026. Activities run specifically on Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays during peak trading hours between 12:00 and 16:00 WIB. Primary data are collected through three methods. The first is participatory observation to record conversations and note non-verbal cues. The second is semi-structured interviews with seller and buyers to clarify intended meanings and cultural interpretations. The third is documentation through audio recording and field notes. All recorded utterances transcribe verbatim and translate from Pandalungan dialect or regional languages. Secondary data derive from journals, books, and previous studies related to implicature theory.

The sampling technique used is purposive. The study selects utterances directly relevant to conversational implicature based on Leech's framework. Data are classified according to five maxims. These maxims cover Tact, Approbation, Generosity, Agreement, and Modesty. To ensure validity expert validation applies during the process. Findings cross-reference with relevant linguistic and cultural references such as Javanese and Madurese dictionaries and studies on Pandalungan culture. Data analysis follows Miles Huberman and Saldana's interactive model. Steps include data reduction by categorizing utterances based on maxims. Next is data display through description and examples. The final step is conclusion drawing to identify function and pattern of implicature in transactional conversation.

## **Discussion and Result**

The study identifies conversational implicature in transactional interactions between sellers and buyers at Pasar Gotong Royong. The analysis focuses on the application of five maxims from Leech's theory. Data collection yields 31 utterances containing implicature. These utterances appear during negotiation, product offering, and agreement stages. The findings show four maxims occur frequently. The fifth maxim does not appear in the data. The Tact Maxim appears 12 times. The Approbation Maxim appears 8 times. The Generosity Maxim appears 7 times. The Agreement Maxim appears 4 times. The Modesty Maxim does not appear at all. Detailed explanation and discussion for each maxim follow below.

## 1. Tact Maxim

The Tact Maxim operates on the principle of minimizing cost or disadvantage to others. This rule also aims to maximize benefit or advantage for the communication partner. Speakers use this maxim to convey refusal or correction indirectly. This way of speaking avoids direct conflict or offense. This strategy suits the cultural context of Probolinggo well. The local community values harmony highly. In this study the Tact Maxim appears most frequently. This finding aligns with the main characteristic of transactions at Pasar Gotong Royong. Price negotiation forms the longest and most sensitive part of interaction. Direct rejection of price offers often creates discomfort. This maxim functions differently across ethnic backgrounds.

Utterance

Buyer : “Cek larange buk mboten oleh kurang?”

Seller : “*Pas pun, batine ya titik.*”

Context

The dialog above is with Javanese. The buyer with Javanese ethnic utters the sentence to state that the price is too expensive and asks for a discount, “Cek larange buk mboten oleh kurang?” (“mahal sekali bu, apakah tidak boleh kurang?”). The seller responds by stating the price is fixed and explains the profit margin is very small, “*Pas pun, batine ya titik.*” (“sudah pas harganya. Untung yang saya dapat juga sedikit”). The implicature means the price cannot be lowered further. This principle aims to minimize disadvantage to others and maximize benefit for others. The seller refuses the request politely with a clear reason. This way minimizes the buyer’s feeling of rejection. The explanation helps the buyer understand the situation. Interaction remains comfortable and harmonious (Abdurrahman et al., 2025; Pratiwi, 2021; Prihantono et al., 2013).

Utterance

Buyer : “Tak segemek?”

Seller : “*Nyareh dibik yu. Kolakan dibik yu.*”

Context

The dialog above is with Madurese. The buyer with Madurese Ethnic asks to lower the price to half, “*Tak segemek?*” (“no half of the price?”). This refers to an offer of 25 thousand Rupiah from an initial price of 50 thousand Rupiah. The seller refuses jokingly and states such price is only possible if bought wholesale directly, “*Nyareh dibik yu. Kolakan dibik yu.*” (“Find it yourself”). The implicature means the offer is too low and unacceptable. This principle aims to minimize disadvantage to others. The seller rejects indirectly using humorous expressions instead of rude words. This way avoids offending the buyer. The message is

conveyed politely and keeps interaction pleasant (Abdurrahman et al., 2025; Kasada, 2025; Mohtar, 2010).

The Sellers use longer and softer utterances with Javanese buyers. Javanese culture prioritizes indirectness and respect. The Interaction with Madurese buyers uses shorter and clearer sentences. Madurese speakers prefer clarity and honesty. The dominance of this maxim proves an important point. Economic benefit remains the main goal in transactions. However social relationship holds equal importance in traditional markets. Implicature through Tact Maxim balances both goals effectively.

## 2. Approbation Maxim

The Approbation Maxim follows as the second most frequent. These principal guides speakers to minimize criticism. The rule also maximizes praise or positive evaluation toward others or related objects. In sales interaction this maxim appears mostly in product introduction and persuasion stages. Sellers use positive language to build good image of goods. This strategy aims to create interest and desire to buy.

Utterance

Seller : “Yak se pendek, *iki apik.*”

Buyer : “iki selawe an pisan?”

Context

The dialog above is with Javanese. The seller recommends a short-sleeved t-shirt and praises its quality, “Yak se pendek, *iki apik.*” (“This short one, this is good”). The buyer asks whether the price is also twenty-five thousand Rupiah, same as the estimated price, “iki selawe an pisan?” (“is this also twenty-five?”).

This principle aims to maximize praise and minimize criticism. The seller praises the product to show its good quality and suitability. This way builds positive impression, helps the buyer choose easily, and makes interaction pleasant (Abdurrahman et al., 2025; Pratiwi, 2021; Prihantono et al., 2013).

Utterance

Buyer : “Tak papah lah, Seket lemak lah.”

Seller : “*Iyâ ra lah, mun ka’ toko laen tak kera olle bâ’en yu. Yak kebbeh lah.*”

Context

The dialog above is with Madurese. The buyer insists on paying fifty-five thousand Rupiah, “*Tak papah lah, Seket lemak lah.*” (“It’s okay, fifty-five then”). The seller finally agrees and states this price is special and unobtainable elsewhere, “*Iyâ ra lah, mun ka’ toko laen tak kera olle bâ’en yu. Yak kebbeh lah.*” (“Alright, at other stores, you won’t get this, ma’am. Take it now”). The implicature means the buyer gets exceptional treatment for her persistence. This principle aims to

maximize appreciation and minimize criticism. The seller does not express displeasure. Instead, the statement implies the buyer is special and receives privilege. This way makes the buyer feel valued and satisfied (Abdurrahman et al., 2025; Kasada, 2025; Mohtar, 2010).

Cultural background influences the choice of words. Interaction with Javanese buyers uses more subtle praise, while interaction with Madurese buyers uses direct praise. The use of Approbation Maxim shows a clear function. Implicature acts as a persuasion tool. This method works better than direct promotion. Praise creates positive atmosphere and builds trust. Positive evaluation serves as key strategy in traditional market transactions.

### 3. Generosity Maxim

The Generosity Maxim ranks third in frequency. These principal guides speakers to minimize benefit for self. The rule also maximizes benefit or advantage for the partner. In sales interaction this maxim appears mostly during agreement or closing stages. Speakers use this maxim to offer extra value or service. This approach aims to build loyalty and encourage repeat visits.

Utterance

Seller : “Pas pun.”

Buyer : “Kurangi lah buk lima ribu, mboten ta? Mboten angsal ta?”

Seller : “Ndak oleh.”

Buyer : “*Kulo mundhut kalih loh. Yo angsal pun, tujuh puluhan an pun?*”

Context

The dialog above is with Javanese. The seller states the price is fixed, “*Pas pun.*” (“That's the fixed price”). The buyer asks for a five thousand discount but gets refused, “*Kurangi lah buk lima ribu, mboten ta? Mboten angsal ta?*” (“Please reduce it by five thousand, ma'am”). The Seller refuses with, “*Ndak oleh.*” The buyer then offers to buy two pieces to negotiate a price of seventy thousand each, “*Kulo mundhut kalih loh. Yo angsal pun, tujuh puluhan an pun?*” (“I will take two, you know. Yes, it is possible then, around seventy thousand?”). The implicature means the buyer uses larger purchase volume to persuade the seller for a discount. This principle aims to maximize benefit for others and minimize benefit for oneself. The buyer offers to buy more items, which benefits the seller, in exchange for a lower price. This way creates mutual advantage and encourages the seller to agree. Interaction runs fairly and cooperatively (Abdurrahman et al., 2025; Pratiwi, 2021; Prihantono et al., 2013).

Utterance

Seller : “*Apa pole? Kaos yeh?*”

Buyer : “Bedeh?”

### Context

The dialog above is with Madurese. The seller asks about other needs and offers a t-shirt to complement the purchase, “*Apa pole? Kaos yeh?*” (“Is there anything else (you are looking for)? A t-shirt, right?”). The buyer responds to ask about its availability, showing interest, “*Bedeh?*” (“Is there?”). The implicature means the seller provides complete service, and the buyer considers the additional offer. This principle aims to maximize benefit for others. The seller proactively offers other needed goods, so the buyer can shop in one place. This way shows good service and care for the buyer’s needs. Interaction becomes more beneficial and satisfying (Abdurrahman et al., 2025; Kasada, 2025; Mohtar, 2010).

Cultural adaptation also occurs here. Interaction with Javanese buyers uses polite offers, and interaction with Madurese buyers uses clear terms. This maxim functions as relationship builder. The act of giving extra creates feeling of gratitude. This strengthens bond between seller and buyer. Generosity becomes essential strategy to compete with modern stores. Personal touch forms unique advantage of traditional markets.

## 4. Agreement Maxim

The Agreement Maxim appears least among the four active maxims. These principal guides speakers to minimize disagreement. The rule maximizes common ground or consensus. This maxim appears mostly during price negotiation or when opinions differ. Speakers use this maxim to acknowledge the partner’s opinion first. Then the speaker introduces different view. This method reduces conflict potential significantly.

### Utterance

Seller : “*Iyo apik iku.*”

Buyer : “*Kate nukukno putuku, SMA tapi.*”

### Context

The dialog above is with Javanese. The seller praises the buyer's choice, “*Iyo apik iku.*” (“yes, that’s good”). The buyer agrees it is good, then explains it is for her grandchild who is already in high school, “*Kate nukukno putuku, SMA tapi.*” (“I Will buy for my grandchild, but (they are already) in high school”). The implicature means the buyer confirms the good quality, but subtly checks whether the item suits an older student. This principle aims to maximize agreement and minimize disagreement. The buyer first aligns with the seller’s opinion before mentioning the age consideration. This way maintains shared understanding, avoids direct contradiction, and keeps interaction pleasant and harmonious (Abdurrahman et al., 2025; Pratiwi, 2021; Prihantono et al., 2013).

### Utterance

Seller : “*Petto’ lèma’.*”

Buyer : *“Apah beih je’ engkok mun melleh ka’ bâ’en meloloh. Seket lah.”*

Context

The seller sets the price at seventy-five thousand Rupiah, *“Petto’ lèma’.*” (“Seventy-five”). The buyer disagrees, mentions being a loyal customer, and offers fifty thousand Rupiah, *“Apah beih je’ engkok mun melleh ka’ bâ’en meloloh. Seket lah.”* (“Oh, come on, I always buy from your stall. Fifty, please”). The implicature means the buyer expects special treatment and a lower price due to their long-term relationship. This principle aims to maximize agreement and minimize disagreement. The buyer does not reject the price directly, but builds common ground by reminding the seller of their familiarity. This way creates shared understanding, reduces conflict, and encourages the seller to agree on a better price (Abdurrahman et al., 2025; Kasada, 2025; Mohtar, 2010).

Cultural background shapes the way agreement appears. Interaction with Javanese buyers uses longer structure, and interaction with Madurese buyers uses direct agreement. This maxim serves to maintain harmony. Disagreement remains inevitable in transaction. However, the way of delivery determines the outcome. Implicature through Agreement Maxim turns difference into discussion. Shared understanding becomes key element in mixed dialect communication.

### **5.Modesty Maxim**

The Modesty Maxim aims to minimize praise of self. The rule maximizes humble attitude. This maxim shows zero occurrence in the data. This result happens due to specific characteristics of sales activity. Sellers need to promote goods and convince buyers. Humble attitude about quality or price weakens persuasion effect. Utterances such as “This is not very good” or “Price might be too high” never appear. Such statements contradict sales goals.

This absence fits perfectly with Leech’s theory. The application of maxims depends on context and goal of interaction. Sales context prioritizes promotion and benefit. Modesty does not support these goals. This finding proves that implicature strategies adapt to situation. Speakers choose appropriate maxim based on purpose.

The result of this study examines 31 utterances. Tact Maxim appears most frequently in 12 utterances. This principle minimizes loss for others and maximizes benefit for others. This approach helps deliver rejection or correction gently in business communication. This method maintains good relations and supports business continuity and word-of-mouth marketing.

Approbation Maxim occurs in 8 utterances. This principle maximizes praise and highlights product quality or positive buyer image. Generosity Maxim appears in 7 utterances. This principle prioritizes benefits for others even at one’s own expense. Agreement Maxim features in 4 utterances. This principle seeks common ground and aligns views. Modesty Maxim does not appear at all. Modesty proves

irrelevant in transactions because sellers promote product excellence and buyers act assertively during negotiation.

## Conclusion

Based on the results of the analysis, it can be concluded that the Analysis of 31 utterances at Pasar Gotong Royong Probolinggo shows speakers use Leech's maxims to convey implied meaning. Tact Maxim appears most often, prioritizing politeness and minimal imposition to avoid conflict. Approbation Maxim follows to praise goods or customers. Generosity Maxim provides extra benefit or help. Agreement Maxim seeks common ground during negotiation.

Implicature serves three key roles. Transactional function supports negotiation and decision making through polite indirect language. Social harmony function preserves good relations and fits local cultural values of respect. Cultural adaptation adjusts speech style to Javanese Madurese or Pandalungan background. Pandalungan dialect strongly shapes meaning and expression. Vocabulary and tone from this dialect make interaction natural warm and acceptable. Dialect use mark's identity and strengthens emotional bond between parties.

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