



COMMODIFICATION OF MEANING IN IDIOMS AND THE *PIIL PESENGGIRI* PHILOSOPHY IN THE LIVES OF THE INDIGENOUS LAMPUNG PEOPLE

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ABSTRACT

The indigenous Lampung people constitute one of Indonesia's ethnic groups and are guided by the Piil Pesenggiri philosophy, which underpins their cultural values and social conduct. They communicate using various dialects of the Lampung language, including Dialect A, Dialect O, and the Cikoneng variant. This research examines the commodification of Lampung idioms and their connection to the Piil Pesenggiri philosophy as it relates to the

indigenous Lampung people from two regions—Lampung and Banten Provinces in Indonesia. *Piil Pesenggiri* is a cultural philosophy centred on self-esteem, dignity and social harmony, expressed through language and daily practices. Using a qualitative phenomenological strategy, the study gathers data through field observations, literature reviews, and interviews. The results confirm that idioms in the Lampung language demonstrate phonological and lexical differences across Dialects A, O, and Lampung Cikoneng. Nonetheless, their meanings consistently reflect aspects of commodification, encompassing positive and negative connotations. These idioms illustrate how the Lampung people uphold the *Piil Pesenggiri* philosophy. Negative commodification is evident in idioms that prohibit behaviours deemed harmful to self-esteem—the core value of *Piil Pesenggiri*. The commodification of Lampung idioms contributes to the field of anthropolinguistics, particularly in preserving and deepening the understanding of the interplay between language and *Piil Pesenggiri*. Additionally, it offers a foundation for developing educational and cultural policies within a multicultural society.

Keywords: Commodification, idioms, Lampung language, *Piil Pesenggiri* philosophy, indigenous people

INTRODUCTION

Language is dynamic and evolves alongside the lives of its speakers. The identity of language users is commonly reflected in their linguistic choices, as language competence mirrors a speaker's knowledge and behaviour (Pardi 2015). Idioms function as a medium for polite and respectful communication, fostering social harmony (Ismail et al. 2021). Language use can indicate intelligence, maturity and cultural background, reflecting shared societal values. Consequently, the dignity of a nation may be evaluated through its communicative practices, as a refined use of language reflects the intellectual depth of its speakers.

The Lampung Cikoneng community in Banten Province provides a valuable point of comparison to Dialects A and O, which are spoken in Lampung Province. This comparison allows an analysis of how idioms shift or retain meaning across distinct social and linguistic contexts. It also highlights the role of language in preserving philosophical values—particularly *Piil Pesenggiri*—despite geographic separation and multicultural influences. In this regard, the Cikoneng variant of the Lampung language is relevant and crucial for understanding language commodification, cultural preservation and the identity of the Lampung people.

The Lampung language is linguistically rich, especially in its oral literary traditions. The community also preserves the “Kuntara Raja Niti”, a text that offers life guidance, poetry, and rhymes in the Lampung language. The text is typically recited at traditional events such as weddings and title-conferring ceremonies (Evan and Rahmat 2023). Beyond its literary value, the Lampung language is deeply intertwined with the *Piil Pesenggiri* philosophy, which embodies the way of life of the Lampung people and is a core value system embedded in Lampung culture. Whilst most Lampung people reside in Lampung Province, some have migrated beyond their homeland, specifically to Banten Province. The values of *Piil Pesenggiri* are frequently communicated in Lampungese, particularly through idioms that convey these principles in daily life. These idioms reinforce appropriate conduct, reflect communal norms, and preserve inherited wisdom passed down through generations. They encapsulate the essential tenets of *Piil Pesenggiri* and function as a medium for sustaining cultural identity.

Nonetheless, Lampung individuals who have migrated or settled outside Lampung Province often no longer recall the four core components of *Piil Pesenggiri*: *bejuluk be'adok* (titled), *nemui nyimah* (hospitality and welcoming guests), *nengah nyapur* (collaborative spirit), and *sakai sambayan* (mutual assistance) (Fernanda and Samsuri 2020). Instead, the philosophy is commonly reduced to the preservation of self-respect and a sense of shame. This simplified meaning represents the most salient and enduring interpretation of *Piil Pesenggiri* in everyday life and serves as the primary reference through which the philosophy is understood and articulated in daily interactions.

Piil Pesenggiri constitutes a central philosophical framework that shapes Lampung society's social values, norms, and identity. Closely intertwined with oral traditions and everyday language use, this philosophy continues to influence how cultural values are articulated and transmitted across generations. The Lampung language is spoken not only in Lampung Province but also among Lampung communities outside the region, such as in Banten Province. These diasporic contexts provide important insight into how cultural philosophies are maintained, adapted, or simplified through language use, particularly in idiomatic expressions.

This research explores the use of Lampung language, specifically idioms, by the indigenous Lampung people in Lampung Province and by the Cikoneng Lampung community in Cikoneng Village, Banten Province. Whilst located outside the traditional Lampung territory, the Cikoneng community continues to preserve and transmit the Lampung language across generations. This presents a unique case of linguistic and cultural preservation within a multicultural setting. Exploring this community provides valuable insights into how language—particularly idioms—functions as a vehicle for sustaining cultural identity beyond its place of origin.

Arguing that idioms are closely associated with both culture and cognition, and that *Piil Pesenggiri* are embedded in idiomatic usage, this research draws on the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis to examine the connection between language, culture, and thought. Based on this hypothesis, this research moreover pursues three key objectives: (1) to analyse idioms correlated with the four concepts of the *Piil Pesenggiri* philosophy; (2) to investigate variations of idiomatic expressions across Lampung Dialects A, O, and Cikoneng in relation to these concepts; and (3) to assess how idioms contribute to the commodification of the Lampung language. By addressing these objectives, the analysis of idiomatic differences between Lampung speakers in Banten and those in Lampung Province will reveal how regional and temporal dynamics may affect how *Piil Pesenggiri* values are interpreted and expressed.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous research on language commodification spans a range of domains and theoretical perspectives. Bruzos (2023) argued that language functions as a form of commodification, emphasising that it shapes social relations and should not be viewed merely as a tradable commodity. His findings challenge traditional perspectives by highlighting the role of language within both economic and social contexts. Similarly, Hiasa (2023) conceptualised commodification as the transformation of language into a marketable product. Xiao and Pang (2024) provided empirical insights by examining the commodification of English in the tourism industry, underscoring its communicative, informative, and symbolic functions. Collectively, these studies emphasise the role of language as a vehicle for generating commercial and economic value.

Research on language commodification has also explored Arabic, particularly within the commercial linguistic landscape of Leipzig (Yusuf et al. 2022). This work applies theories of the linguistic landscape and language commodification, framing language as an economic product with commercial, identity-based and symbolic significance. Additionally, it draws on sociolinguistic theories of multilingualism, which examine the interaction between language and society in multilingual settings. Using both quantitative and qualitative approaches, the researchers assessed 76 Arabic artefacts. The results validate that Arabic, particularly terms such as *halal*, is strategically employed to shape the commercial environment to affect consumer behaviour.

Another study investigated language commodification amongst Pakistani speakers, specifically within call centre settings, to explore the ideological influences impacted by company-specific policies (Rahman 2009). Drawing on theories of language policy and commodification, the research utilises a qualitative approach to analyse how English—especially with accents approximating native varieties such as American or British—is treated as linguistic capital. The findings reveal that such accents are employed in sales strategies to meet client expectations during telephone interactions. Nonetheless, adopting a “native” linguistic identity is not invariably effective. In successful cases, call centre workers may impersonate native speakers strategically in specific contexts. The study concludes that these linguistic practices, shaped by institutional policies, reflect broader language ideologies and typically lead to linguistic discrimination against Pakistani call centre employees.

A further contribution comes from Block (2018), who adopts a more theoretical and critical stance. His qualitative review explores language commodification in the context of globalisation and neoliberal economic policy over the past four decades. Block questions whether language commodification is too readily accepted without sufficient conceptual rigour. He calls for greater nuance, arguing that commodification should not be treated as a rhetorical slogan but as a complex construct necessitating precise definition and critical application.

Whilst all three studies address language commodification, they differ in context. Yusuf et al. (2022) examined commodification in commercial public spaces; Rahman (2009) investigated the commodification of accents in workplace environments; and Block (2018) approached the topic from a theoretical and global perspective. Key distinctions include the languages analysed—Arabic and English—and the domains where commodification occurs, such as public versus private and local versus global settings. The studies also draw on distinct theoretical frameworks: linguistic landscape theory and multilingualism, which highlight physical signage (Yusuf et al. 2022); conceptual models of commodification (Block 2018); and language ideology in relation to workplace language policy (Rahman 2009). Despite differences in scope, language, and methodology, all three studies converge on the central theme of how language functions within market or institutional contexts.

Building on these discussions of language commodification, research has increasingly examined the relationships among language, identity, and cultural values in specific sociocultural contexts. In this regard, considerable research has explored the *Piil Pesenggiri* philosophy as a core cultural framework of Lampung society, particularly through its representation in wawacan, a form of oral literature. Fakhrurozi and Puspita (2021), for example, identified key elements of *Piil Pesenggiri* embedded in wawacan narratives. Other studies have linked *Piil Pesenggiri* to Lampung identity and its cultural and political significance, including its relevance among diaspora communities (Amaliah et al. 2018; Minandar 2018; Fernanda and Samsuri 2020). In a broader Southeast Asian context, cultural values and traditions have also been shown to be institutionalised through formal mechanisms such as legislation and state policy (Chin and Rajandran 2020).

Linguistic research on the Lampung language has primarily focused on regional distribution and dialectal variation. The Lampung language is spoken in Lampung Province as well as in Cikoneng Village, Anyer, Serang District, Banten Province, where it is commonly referred to as the Lampung Cikoneng language. Previous research has identified two primary dialects of Lampung—Dialect A (*Api*) and Dialect O (*Nyo*) (Hadikusuma 1990; Kurniawati 2007; Isnaeni 2022). According to Isnaeni (2022), Dialect A is spoken in Waykanan, Pesisir, and Liwa, while Dialect O is employed in Tulangbawang, Kota Bumi, and Sukadana. This dialectal distribution highlights patterns of linguistic variation among Lampung-speaking communities, including those beyond Lampung Province, and underscores the linguistic diversity of the Lampung language.

While *Piil Pesenggiri* remains deeply embedded among Lampung speakers and is preserved through oral traditions (Fakhrurozi and Puspita 2021), existing studies have largely concentrated on communities within Lampung Province. Consequently, limited attention has been paid to how *Piil Pesenggiri* is expressed through everyday language use—particularly idioms—in diasporic contexts such as Banten. Previous research on idioms in Lampung Dialect A has revealed the presence of complex lexical forms, including collocations and idiomatic constructions formed through combinations such as noun + noun, noun + adjective, noun + verb, verb + adjective, and verb + verb. Semantically, the verbs in these constructions are categorised as either stative or action verbs (Sulistianah 2018). While these studies provide important linguistic insights, they do not examine how idioms function as carriers of cultural philosophy or how idiomatic usage varies across dialects and diasporic settings.

Taken together, existing research has examined language commodification in global and institutional contexts, documented *Piil Pesenggiri* as a cultural philosophy, and described the linguistic features of the Lampung language and its dialects. However, limited attention has been paid to the interaction between language commodification, cultural philosophy, and idiomatic usage within Lampung-speaking communities, particularly in diasporic contexts such as Banten.

In addition, research on the Lampung dialect has generally focused on linguistic description and regional identity, with limited attention to its positioning within the perspective of language commodification. Existing studies have also not sufficiently examined how cultural values such as *Piil Pesenggiri* are articulated through idiomatic usage across different Lampung dialects, particularly in diasporic contexts.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHOD

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

The theory of linguistic relativity, foundational to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, examines the interplay between language, culture, and human cognition. Whilst some scholars contest aspects of this theory, it remains influential—particularly in sociolinguistics and cultural linguistics. Developed by Boas, Sapir, and Whorf, the theory posits that linguistic differences influence how individuals perceive and interpret the world. Sapir and Whorf further argued that the structure of a language, when utilised continuously, affects an individual's thoughts and behaviours (Kramersch 2015).

Language is the primary medium through which humans engage in social life. It is multilayered and deeply intertwined with culture in communicative contexts. Beyond being a tool for communication, language functions as a symbolic system that reflects and embodies the worldview of its speakers (Kramersch 2015; Lucy 2015). This intrinsic connection between language and culture emerges naturally and is evident in diverse forms of socialisation and adaptation.

The concept that individuals speak differently because they think differently (Kramersch 2015) underpins the theory of linguistic relativity, developed by Boas, Sapir, and Whorf through their studies of Native American languages. This theory, encapsulated in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, posits that the consistent use of a language's structure shapes how individuals think and behave, thereby both reflecting and reinforcing cultural worldviews. The interplay between language, culture, and ideology can be approached from several perspectives: (1) language structure affects how speakers perceive the world; (2) language reflects cultural values and social practices; and (3) language and culture may function independently, although cultural norms still influence language use (Wardhaugh and Fuller 2021).

This research adopts the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis to examine how Lampung idioms found in Dialects A, O, and Cikoneng reflect the values of *Piil Pesenggiri*. These idioms serve as cultural expressions of honourable behaviour and appropriate social conduct. Through observations and interviews, the study examines how these idioms influence social behaviour and interpersonal relationships. When Lampung speakers utilise idioms grounded in *Piil Pesenggiri* values, their language both expresses and affects culturally informed patterns of thought and interaction (Syarif and Rosa 2014).

Idioms are figurative, multiword expressions that convey meanings beyond their literal interpretation. They enrich communication by expressing complex ideas and emotions with clarity and nuance (Ding 2019; Bakhtiyarovna 2025). Their figurative nature stems from word combinations whose collective meanings diverge from the sum of their individual parts (Abidin et al. 2020). To be fully understood, idioms must be interpreted holistically (Pateda 2010; Yu 2015). Analysis typically begins by identifying the denotative, or literal, meanings of each component, followed by interpretation based on conversational context to reveal the idiomatic meaning (Pateda 2010; Yu 2015; Olimovna and Ibodullayevna 2025). Context—encompassing situational factors, cultural references, and shared knowledge—is essential to understanding how idiomatic expressions function in actual discourse (Hornby 2015; Bakhtiyarovna 2025).

In this study, analysis begins with the denotative meanings and then explores the connotative meanings affected by conversational context and the cultural values embedded in the *Piil Pesenggiri* philosophy (Putri et al. 2022). Finally, the associative meanings are examined—those influenced by personal, cultural, and perceptual factors—which are inherently fluid and subjective (Dickins 2014).

For instance, in the Lampung language, there is the idiom *Adila balak atai ulih dapok memenangkén lomba*, which translates as “Adila is very happy because she won the competition”. This sentence includes the idiom *balak atai* (from Dialect A). Denotatively, *balak atai* means “big heart”, with *balak* meaning “big” and *atai* meaning “heart”. Nonetheless, the literal interpretation—“having a large liver (organ)”—is not applicable here. Within the conversational context, *balak atai* conveys the connotative meaning of “a feeling of pride from winning the competition”.

When situated within the cultural context of Lampung and the *Piil Pesenggiri* philosophy—particularly the value of *nengah nyappur*, which highlights openness, friendliness, and sociability—the idiom *balak atai* takes on an associative meaning. It reflects a person’s ability to interact well, feel comfortable, confident, and valued within the community. Someone who embodies the trait of *balak atai* (big heart) is typically proud, calm in social relationships, and skilled at navigating their social environment appropriately.

Building on the theoretical foundation outlined above, this research analyses idioms in Lampung dialects utilising a three-stage semantic approach: denotative (literal), connotative (contextual), and associative (culturally embedded) meanings. This framework draws on the work of Pateda (2010), Dickins (2014), Yu (2015), and Putri et al. (2022). By situating idioms within a cultural philosophy of life, the study contributes to a broader understanding of language commodification—not merely as an economic process, but as a medium for cultural transmission and identity preservation.

Method

This qualitative phenomenological study investigates the interplay between the Lampung language and *Piil Pesenggiri* in the context of language commodification. Grounded in phenomenological philosophy, the study seeks to interpret human experience through an

in-depth analysis of specific concepts or phenomena. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with informants, field observations, and document analysis (Vredenberg 1978). A preliminary literature review was conducted to gather secondary data, specifically on the *Piil Pesenggiri* philosophy and the distribution of traditional Lampung territories. This review informed the design and implementation of the interview protocol.

Additionally, this research utilised secondary sources on oral traditions in Lampung Dialects A and O to identify commonly known idioms. A key reference is *Sistem Pemajemukan Bahasa Lampung Dialek Abung (The Compounding System of the Abung Dialect of the Lampung Language)* (Sudradjat et al. 1991), *Sastra Lisan Lampung Dialek Pubiyon (Lampung Oral Literature Dialect Pubiyon)* (Udin et al. 1998), and *Kamus Istilah Bahasa Lampung: Lampung-Indonesia, Indonesia-Lampung (Dictionary of Lampung Language Terms: Lampung-Indonesian, Indonesian-Lampung)* (Mahya 2016). These texts are collections of rhymes and dictionaries. Idioms extracted from these texts were compiled into a table that served as the basis for designing an interview questionnaire. Table 1 shows an example of a table that includes idioms in Indonesian, their equivalents in Lampung Dialects A and O, and a column for the Lampung Cikoneng variety. Missing entries were later completed through interviews with native speakers.

Table 1: Example of research instrument for idioms in Dialect A

Idioms in Indonesian	Lampung Dialect A	
	Dialect A idioms	Meaning from interview results
1. <i>Bahagia</i> (happy)		
2. <i>Kecil hati</i> (discouraged/disappointed)		
3. <i>Tebal telinga</i> (thick ears/do not want to hear)		
4. <i>Gelap mata</i> (dark eyes)		

Interviews and field observations were conducted in Lampung and Banten Provinces. Primary data were collected through face-to-face interviews and documented employing note-taking and audio recording techniques. The data comprised similes and idioms—figurative expressions that reflect cognitive processes within the Lampung language. Interviews were transcribed and analysed with a focus on cognitive and philosophical aspects, guided by the *Piil Pesenggiri* framework.

This research employed purposive sampling to select six informants, consistent with qualitative research methodology. This approach enables the selection of participants based on specific characteristics relevant to the study (Nyimbili and Nyimbili 2024). The selection criteria encompassed the following: proficiency in Lampung Dialects A, O, or Cikoneng; Lampung ethnic descent; familiarity with the values of the *Piil Pesenggiri* philosophy; and membership in the Saibatin, Pepadun, or Lampung Cikoneng Indigenous groups. The sample comprised two informants from each group—Saibatin (Dialect A), Pepadun (Dialect O), and Lampung Cikoneng. All participants were characterised by limited geographic mobility. The interviews explored idiomatic use across dialects and how *Piil Pesenggiri* is expressed through language.

Elicitation techniques enhanced the data collection process by engaging participants with visual, verbal, or written stimuli to prompt in-depth responses (Barton 2015). This approach was particularly effective in uncovering idiomatic meanings and their alignment with *Piil Pesenggiri* values, allowing participants to respond freely without being constrained by rigid theoretical assumptions. To ensure data reliability, the research applied triangulation as outlined by Denzin (1978, as cited in Humble 2009). This involved cross-verifying idioms across Dialects A, O, and Cikoneng, as exhibited in Figure 1.

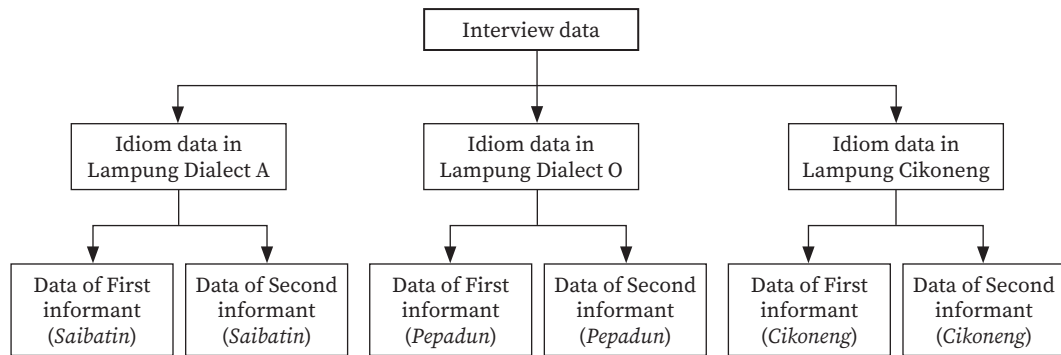


Figure 1: Cross-verifying idioms across dialects: Interview data.

Source triangulation was also employed by comparing the interview responses with the literature-based findings, optimising the conclusions' validity and credibility. Whilst idioms in Lampung Dialects A and O were verified against the existing literature, idioms from the Cikoneng variety, lacking written documentation, were sourced exclusively from interview data. This integration guaranteed robust source triangulation. Figure 2 illustrates the triangulation process.

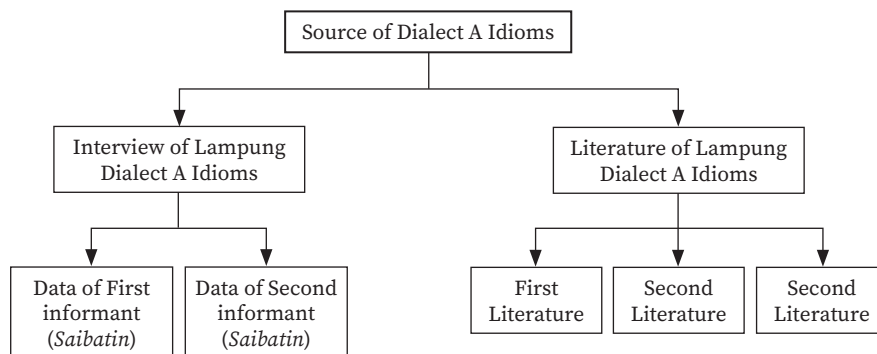


Figure 2: Triangulation process of Dialect A idioms.

Triangulation, as illustrated in Figure 2, helped minimise research bias and enhanced the trustworthiness of the analysis by cross-validating idioms obtained from interviews with literature-based sources (Alfansyur and Mariyani 2020). Following this source triangulation, the collected idioms were analysed methodologically and categorised according to the *Piil Pesenggiri* value system. Idioms expressing openness and hospitality were classified under *nemui nyimah*, while others were grouped under *juluk adok*, *sakai sambaiyan*, and *nengah nyappur*.

Idioms correlated with *Piil Pesenggiri* exhibit dual aspects—positive and negative—depending on their contextual use. For instance, idioms reflecting friendliness and openness were classified as positive under *nemui nyimah*, whereas those implying unfriendliness were categorised as negative. After grouping the idioms according to *Piil Pesenggiri*'s values, further analysis assessed whether they conveyed positive or negative connotations. Positive idioms embody traits such as friendliness, honour, involvement, and mutual support, whilst negative idioms contradict these values, reflecting unfairness, disrespect, or a lack of communal care.

Idiomatic interview data were cross-referenced with literature sources to ensure accurate and reliable interpretation. This triangulation was essential for validating the categorisation of idioms as positive or negative, ensuring alignment with cultural norms and the *Piil Pesenggiri* philosophy. Thus, the resulting analysis offers a precise representation of idiomatic meanings within the context of Lampung culture.

RESULTS

Idioms Representing the Four Core Concepts in the *Piil Pesenggiri* Philosophy

In the Lampung language, the *Piil Pesenggiri* philosophy represents a core cultural value. *Piil Pesenggiri* is an idiom that translates to “self-respect” in Indonesian. The word *piil* in Lampung likely signifies “the feeling of wanting to be respected and valued” (Palyanti et al. 2024). The concept is thought to derive from a combination of the Arabic word *piil*, meaning “behaviour”, and *Pesenggiri*, which refers to “the obligation to uphold high morals and an awareness of various responsibilities” (Syah 2013; Minandar 2018; Mustofa and Liberty 2018; Anggoroi 2022; Ulfah and Maisaroh 2024).

Interviews conducted between 2022 and 2023 with six community leaders from the Pepadun, Sai Batin, and Lampung Cikoneng communities revealed key interpretations of idioms correlated with *Piil Pesenggiri*. Participants from the Pepadun, Sai Batin, and Lampung Cikoneng agreed that *juluk adok* integrates “nickname” and “title”, signifying identity and respect through names conferred at significant life events. *Nemui nyimah*, meaning “to meet guests”, symbolises hospitality that extends beyond literal visitors to encompass all forms of social interaction. *Nengah nyapur*—“to be in the middle” or “mixed”—emphasises social engagement and deliberation as a means of resolving conflict. *Sakai sambayan* denotes cooperation and mutual aid, especially within kinship and neighbourhood networks. These idioms, whether literal or deeply figurative, are widely recognised across Lampung Dialects A, O, and Cikoneng. The Pepadun communities primarily speak Dialect O, the Sai Batin use Dialect A, and the Lampung Cikoneng communities maintain a distinct linguistic variety.

The collective meaning of the four *Piil Pesenggiri* principles highlights the Lampung people’s deep commitment to identity—beginning with naming at birth, continuing through marriage with the conferral of traditional titles and extending to the lifelong use of honorary titles. These practices embody the core values of self-esteem and honour. At the same time, the Lampung community is marked by sociability, cooperation, and a strong preference for resolving conflict through consensus. The values embedded in *Piil Pesenggiri* align with the national philosophy of Pancasila, reinforcing a shared Indonesian identity.

Idioms in Lampung Dialects A and O and the Lampung Cikoneng Language

The Lampung language comprises multiple dialects, most notably Dialects A and O (Kurniawati 2007; 2014; Isnaeni and Lauder 2021), which are predominantly spoken within Lampung Province. Nonetheless, the Lampung Cikoneng community also actively employs the language outside its native region. This research explores idioms commonly used in everyday speech across Dialects A, O, and Cikoneng. Observational and interview data reveal both phonological and lexical differences amongst the dialects. Phonological variations refer to differences in sound, whereas lexical variations relate to vocabulary. Distinct sound patterns in idiom pronunciation across the three dialects underscore their phonological divergence. Table 2 presents an analysis of the phonological variations observed in idioms across Lampung Dialects A, O, and Lampung Cikoneng.

Table 2: The phonological variations

Lampung dialects			Meaning in English	Analysis of phonological variation
A	O	Cikoneng		
[balak ataj]	[balak atej]	[balak atɛ]	Happy	Phonological variation in the second word shows vowel and consonant changes across dialects: [ataj] (A) contains vowel [a] and consonant [j]; [atej] (O) features a vowel shift from [e] to [j]; and [atɛ] (Cikoneng) involves loss of [h] and a final vowel change to [ɛ].
[lunik hati]	[lunik atej]	[lutɛk atɛ]	Discouraged/ disappointed	In the Cikoneng dialect, [lunik] becomes [lutɛk] through vowel and consonant shifts ([i] → [ɛ], [n] → [t/k]). Likewise, [hati] changes to [atej] in the O dialect and [atɛ] in Cikoneng, showing consonant loss ([h]) and vowel shifts ([i] → [ɛj] or [ɛ]).
[kədol cupiŋ]	[təbəl cupiŋ]	[dəgəl]	Thick ears/do not want to hear	The word [kədol] changes phonologically across dialects: in O, it becomes [təbəl] with a shift from [k] to [t] and [o] to [ɛ]; and in Cikoneng, it becomes [dəgəl] with a shift from [k] to [d] and [o] to [ɛ].
[manəm panəŋah]	[manom panəŋah]	[kələm mato]	Dark eyes	The word [manəm] changes to [manom] in Dialect O and to [kələm] in Cikoneng, with consonant and vowel shifts. The second word [panəŋah] stays the same in Dialects A and O but is simplified to [mato] in Cikoneng.

Table 2 underscores phonological variation across the three dialects of the Lampung language—Dialects A, O, and the Cikoneng dialect—by comparing semantically equivalent expressions with differing pronunciations. In the expression for “happy”, the second word shifts from [ataj] (Dialect A) to [atej] (Dialect O) and to [atɛ] in Cikoneng, reflecting a gradual vowel shift and the loss of the glide [j]. In the expression for “discouraged”, the first word changes from [lunik] in Dialects A and O to [lutɛk] in Cikoneng, involving both a vowel shift ([i] to [ɛ]) and a consonant change ([n] to [t]). The accompanying word [hati] undergoes initial consonant deletion ([h]) and final vowel modification, appearing as [atej] in Dialect O and [atɛ] in Cikoneng. The most pronounced divergence appears in the phrase for “dark eyes”: Dialects A and O utilise [manəm panəŋah] and [manom panəŋah], respectively, whilst Cikoneng replaces this with [kələm mato], demonstrating both phonological transformation and lexical replacement. Overall, Dialect O exhibits moderate phonological variation, whereas Cikoneng demonstrates more extensive phonological and lexical divergence, underscoring the dynamic nature of dialectal variation in Lampung.

This variation displays a shift in vowel quality from [a] to [ɛ] to [ɛ], along with the eventual omission of the glide [j] in the Cikoneng variant. Another example appears in the idiom for “discouraged” or “disappointed”, where Dialects A and O retain [lunik] as the first word, whilst Cikoneng employs [lutɛk]. This change encompasses both a vowel shift ([i] to [ɛ]) and a consonant shift ([n] to [t]). The second word in this phrase, [hati], transforms into [atej] in Dialect O and further reduces to [atɛ] in Cikoneng, with phonological processes encompassing initial consonant deletion ([h]) and final vowel modification. The most pronounced variation is found in the idiom for “dark eyes”: Dialects A and O employ [manəm panəŋah] and [manom panəŋah], respectively, whereas Cikoneng employs an entirely different form—[kələm mato]. In this case, [manəm] shifts to [kələm] and [panəŋah] is lexically replaced by [mato], demonstrating both phonological transformation and lexical substitution. Table 3 presents an analysis of the lexical variations observed in idioms across Lampung Dialects A, O, and Lampung Cikoneng.

Table 3: The lexical variations

Lampung dialects			Meaning in English	Analysis of lexical variation
A	O	Cikoneng		
-	[appaŋ pʊŋə]	[rojal]	Helpful	The O dialect uses [appaŋ pʊŋə], highlighting individual helpfulness with a positive tone, while the Cikoneng dialect employs [rojal], conveying a broader sense of generosity or magnanimity.
-	[latih kaluŋih]	[lamon ŋicik/ bəribo]	Talking a lot/ talking a lot about useless things	Dialect O uses the complex phrase [latih kaluŋih] with the palatal nasal [ŋ] to describe habitual excessive talking, while Cikoneng prefers simpler, shorter phrases like [lamon ŋicik] or [bəribo].
[kacaw balaw]	[kuco bəreŋo]	[maʔelaw]	Untidy	Dialect A uses the familiar phrase [kacaw balaw] with simple vowels while Dialect O shifts vowels in [kuco bəreŋo]. Lampung Cikoneng simplifies it to [maʔelaw], featuring a glottal stop [ʔ], but retains the same meaning.
-	[kədol pundak]	[puda badak]	Thick face/ shameless	The O dialect's [kədol pundak] subtly implies shamelessness through body-related imagery, while Cikoneng's [puda badak] conveys the same meaning more directly, with [badak] highlighting boldness.
[paxi hampa]	-	[ŋotak]	Nonsense/lying/ giving false hope	Dialect A's [paxi hampa] conveys “nonsense”, emphasising the emptiness of speech, while Cikoneng's [ŋotak] is a more direct term for falsehood or untrustworthiness.

The lexical variation across the Lampung dialects—Dialects A, O, and Cikoneng—reveals notable differences in vocabulary and pragmatic and cultural nuance. A particularly illustrative example is the lexical encoding of the concept “helpful”. Dialect O utilises the compound expression [appaŋ pʊŋə], which exhibits deliberate intent and active participation in providing assistance. Conversely, the Cikoneng dialect utilises [rojal], a single lexical item that denotes generosity in a broader and more generalised sense. This contrast reflects a tendency in the Cikoneng dialect towards lexical economy whilst preserving semantic breadth.

Another compelling example is the expression denoting “talking excessively, specifically about trivial matters”. Dialect O employs the complex construction [latih kaluŋih], with [kaluŋih] featuring the palatal nasal [ŋ], a distinctive phonological trait of the dialect. Contrarily, Cikoneng provides two concise alternatives— [lamon ŋicik] and [bəribo]—demonstrating a consistent preference for lexical economy and semantic precision.

For the concept of “untidy”, all three dialects present distinct lexical forms: [kacaw balaw] (A), [kuco bəreŋo] (O) and [maʔelaw] (Cikoneng). Dialects A and O maintain a bisyllabic pattern with phonological variation in vowels and consonants, whereas Cikoneng employs a single, more phonetically marked form featuring a glottal stop [ʔ]. This example illustrates how lexical compression in the Cikoneng may be accompanied by salient phonological features that preserve the utterance’s expressive intensity.

The lexical items denoting “shameless” further illustrate dialectal divergence with culturally embedded nuance. Dialect O utilises [kədol pundak], a metaphorical phrase correlating shamelessness with the body—specifically the shoulder—thereby implying a loss of honour. Conversely, Cikoneng employs [puda badak], a more literal and emphatic expression. The term [badak] (rhinoceros) evokes boldness and insensitivity, providing a distinct metaphorical foundation and a sharper tone of social judgment. Similarly, expressions for “nonsense” or “lying”

differ markedly in tone and structure. Dialect A uses the metaphorical phrase [paxi hampa] (empty talk), proposing futility or false hope. The Cikoneng dialect, by contrast, utilises [ɲotak], a succinct and unequivocal term denoting dishonesty or fabrication. This shift from metaphorical expression to direct accusation marks a pragmatic transformation in communicative style.

Based on lexical forms, the idioms of Lampung Dialect A are similar to those of Lampung Dialect O, differing only in phoneme forms. However, the Lampung Cikoneng language shows more significant lexical differences. Despite these variations, the idioms in Lampung Dialects A, O, and Cikoneng retain the same meanings when translated into English. For example, six idioms are shared across Lampung Dialects A, O, and Cikoneng, such as [balak hati]-[balak atɛj]-[balak atɛ] (happy), [lunik hati]-[lunik atɛj]-[lutɛk atɛ] (discouraged/disappointed), [kedɔl cupiŋ]-[tɔbɔl cupiŋ]-[dɔgɔl] (thick ears/do not want to listen), [manɔm panɔŋah]-[manɔm panɔŋah]-[kɔlɔm mato] (dark eyes), [kacaw balaw]-[kuco barɛno]-[maʔelaw] (untidy), and [manɔm kelɔm]-[manɔm cikɔp]-[kɔlɔm] (pitch black).

Additionally, eight idioms are shared between Lampung Dialects O and Cikoneng, such as [appaŋ puŋɔ]-[rɔjal] (helpful), [latih kaluŋih]-[lamɔn ɲicik]/[bɔribɔ] (talking excessively about trivial matters), [luttam keluŋam]-[ɔlaw ni] (frenzied), [kɔxas ulɔ]-[kɔras ulu] (stubborn), [tijaŋ puŋɔ]-[tɔjuŋ culo] (long hands), [kedɔl pundak]-[puda badak] (thick face/shameless), [balak hulu]-[balak ulu] (big-headed/arrogant), and [kaxas atɛj]-[gati diatur] (unyielding). Similarly, eight idioms are shared between Lampung Dialects A and Cikoneng, including [ɲakuk pundak]-[ɛgɛk] (seeking attention), [kɔlam pudak]-[kɔlɔm pudak] (angry), [mata bajuk]-[mato api] (ladies' man), [tɔmu tundun]-[bɛʔdo] (dissent), [paxi hampa]-[ɲotak] (nonsense/lying/giving false hope), [kamak puŋu]-[culu kama] (dirty hands/stealing tendencies), [bijak iŋjak]-[malɔsan ga] (lazy person), and [cucuk cabuk]-[kɔbatɔ aŋin] (no fixed opinion). Notably, [ɲakuk pundak] (seeking attention) appears only in Dialect A.

These examples exhibit that whilst Dialect O tends to preserve complex phrasal constructions marked by distinctive phonological features, the Cikoneng dialect frequently favours simplified, direct, and typically more expressive lexical forms. These patterns of variation underscore the dynamic interplay between lexical economy, phonological salience, and sociocultural expression within the Lampung language continuum.

Commodification in the Lampung Language

This research emphasises idioms in the Lampung language whose meanings closely correspond to their Indonesian equivalents. These expressions have been integrated into Indonesian due to their broad communicative relevance at the national level. This phenomenon reflects a form of internal linguistic integration, where Lampung terms are preserved in their original form, uninfluenced by external linguistic elements.

As previously discussed, the Lampung people adhere to a cultural code known as *Piil Pesenggiri*, which functions as a moral and behavioural compass. The values embedded in this philosophical framework are expressed through the vocabulary and idioms of the Lampung language. *Piil Pesenggiri* fosters key social ideals such as honour, self-respect, and hospitality. Nonetheless, as the idioms examined in this study demonstrate, certain expressions also convey negative traits or behaviours—such as shamelessness or deceit—through contrast, thereby reinforcing the moral boundaries upheld by the community.

Commodification is evident in diverse expressions and terms within the Lampung language. This process encompasses adapting both positive and negative meanings into forms that serve as advice or expressions of emotion. Expressions with advisory functions are commonly

commodified to discourage behaviours viewed as detrimental to the image of Lampung society, which is deeply rooted in the *Piil Pesenggiri* values. The results of this commodification process, including specific meanings and expressions, are detailed in Table 4.

Table 4: The commodification of idioms based on the value of the *Piil Pesenggiri* philosophy

Idioms	Phrases with positive meanings	Phrases with negative meanings	Values/philosophy of life in Lampung society	Commodification of meanings
<i>Lunik hati</i>	-	<i>Lunik hati</i> is “disheartened/ disappointed”	<i>Piil Pesenggiri</i>	People must strive to maintain self-esteem and avoid embarrassment.
<i>Kedol cuping</i>	-	<i>Kedol cuping</i> is “thick ears/does not want to listen to other people’s advice”	<i>Piil Pesenggiri</i>	One must be open to receiving input and advice, especially when it is constructive and positive.
<i>Manem panengah</i>	-	<i>Manem panengah</i> is “dark eyes/not considering what is wrong/right because he is carried away by anger”	<i>Nengah nyapur</i>	People should control anger in social situations and practice tolerance towards others.
<i>Balak atai</i>	<i>Balak atai</i> (happy/ excited)	-	<i>Nengah nyapur</i>	One must enjoy social interactions, be sociable, and embrace meeting new people.
<i>Appang pungeu</i>	<i>Appang pungeu</i> (helpful)	-	<i>Sakai sambaiyan</i>	People should always be willing to help others, both within and outside their community.
<i>Ngakuk pudak</i>	-	<i>Ngakuk pudak</i> is “looking for face/looking for attention”	<i>Juluk adok</i>	Social strata in Lampung society, defined by familial and customary titles, discourage lower-status individuals from seeking excessive attention from those of higher status.
<i>Latih kalunyah</i>	-	<i>Latih kalunyah</i> is “talking a lot of useless things”	<i>Piil Pesenggiri</i> and <i>nemui nyimah</i>	One must speak appropriately, as excessive, irrelevant speech lowers self-esteem and credibility, particularly when interacting with guests or strangers.
<i>Temu tunduh</i>	-	<i>Temu tunduh</i> is “dissent”	<i>Nemui nyimah</i> and <i>sakai sambaiyan</i>	People must respect differing opinions, especially during discussions with individuals from other groups.

Based on Table 4, the idioms and expressions in the Lampung language encompass both positive and negative meanings, reflecting the outcomes of their commodification. The process demonstrates that these idioms serve as behavioural guidelines grounded in the *Piil Pesenggiri* regardless of their connotation. According to traditional leaders of the Lampung community, such expressions convey teachings or advice aligned with the core philosophical values of *Piil Pesenggiri*. All idioms are correlated with their four central concepts, with commodified meanings manifesting as either positive or negative. Negative meanings commonly function as prohibitions, discouraging behaviours considered dishonourable or contrary to the community’s moral standards. Conversely, positive meanings represent the ideal behaviours expected of individuals according to *Piil Pesenggiri*.

Interviews with traditional leaders of the Lampung community underscored the central role of *Piil Pesenggiri* in encouraging individuals to uphold a strong sense of self-esteem to avoid humiliation. Participants emphasised the significance of being open to constructive criticism and maintaining effective communication. Nonetheless, they cautioned that excessive or irrelevant speech could diminish one's perceived status—especially in interactions with strangers or guests—thus harming one's self-esteem. This concern is reflected in idioms such as *lunik hati* (disheartened/disappointed), *kedol cuping* (thick ears/ignoring advice), and *latih kalunyah* (talking excessively without purpose), all of which align with the *Piil Pesenggiri* principle of self-esteem.

The interview findings highlighted the concept of *nengah nyapur*, which emphasises regulating anger in social situations and cultivating tolerance towards others. Participants stressed the significance of finding joy in social interactions and forming new friendships. Sociability and gregariousness were regarded as essential traits for successfully navigating various social contexts. This is reflected in idioms such as *manem panengah* (dark eyes/not discerning right from wrong due to anger) and *balak hati* (happy/excited).

Concerning the concept of *sakai sambaiyan*, the interviews highlighted the significance of consistent willingness to help others, extending assistance beyond one's immediate circle. Informants affirmed that Lampung culture places great emphasis on respect, especially in verbal communication, where politeness is paramount. This value encourages the Lampung people to honour differing viewpoints, as reflected in idioms such as *appang pungeu* (helpful) and *temu tundun* (dissent).

The interview findings also reflect the concept of *juluk adok*, which underscores the pronounced social stratification within Lampung society, particularly in familial and traditional contexts. Informants explained that Lampung culture enforces strict social hierarchy norms, requiring individuals of lower social status to pay respect towards those of higher status. These social boundaries, defined by customary groups, are especially evident in practices such as the conferral of titles, which are governed by the respective customary authorities. This is exemplified in the idiom *ngakuk pudak* (looking for face/looking for attention).

One informant elaborated on the concept of *nemui nyimah*, stating that talking excessively or about trivial matters can cause discomfort. Such behaviour may lead others to form negative impressions, ultimately diminishing one's self-esteem. This concept also emphasises the importance of cultivating a courteous and congenial atmosphere, particularly in conversations encompassing differing perspectives. As a core aspect of the *nemui nyimah*, participants stressed the significance of respecting those with opposing perspectives, specifically when interacting with individuals outside one's immediate social circle. This is reflected in idioms such as *latih kalunyah* (talking a lot of useless things) and *temu tundun* (dissent).

Idioms constitute an integral component of the Lampung language system and are commonly embedded within sentence structures. The following are examples of idioms with the meaning “big-hearted (joyful)” employed in context across diverse Lampung dialects:

1. Dialect O: Adila *balak atei ulih dapok memenangkén perlombaan*.
2. Dialect A: Adila *balak atai ulih dapok memenagkén perlombaan*.
3. Lampung Cikoneng: Adila *balak ate masa hadiah perlombaan*.

The meaning is “Adila is big-hearted (happy) because she won the race”.

Examples of idioms presented in this study demonstrate that Lampung idioms consistently have equivalents in English. Nonetheless, preserving the Lampung language demands reinforcement across all spheres of life within the Lampung community. One of the primary challenges in preserving the language—especially its idiomatic forms—lies in dialectal variation, as demonstrated by examples from the three major Lampung dialects.

DISCUSSION

The findings of this study both reinforce and extend previous research concerning the semantic significance of idioms and the conceptual framework of *Piil Pesenggiri* within Lampung society. As articulated by Palyanti et al. (2024) and Ulfah and Maisaroh (2024), *Piil Pesenggiri* is not merely a moral concept, but a comprehensive system of values that is deeply internalised and consistently articulated through language, particularly via idiomatic expressions. This study affirms that idioms across Dialects A, O, and Cikoneng serve as linguistic expressions and cultural instruments that regulate social relations, hierarchical structures, and collective identity among the Lampung people.

The identification of *Piil Pesenggiri* aligns with the findings of Minandar (2018) and Syah (2013), who emphasise that these values transcend normative doctrines and are actively embodied in everyday linguistic practices. For example, idioms such as *latih kalunyah* and *kedol cuping* encapsulate nuanced yet potent social admonitions that uphold individual and communal dignity (*piil*).

Moreover, the phonological and lexical variations among dialects—for instance, the Cikoneng dialect's tendency towards more succinct and expressive idioms (e.g., [ɲotak] to denote “lying”)—support the assertions made by Kurniawati (2014) and Isnaeni and Lauder (2021) that such linguistic divergence is not solely geographically determined, but also reflects broader patterns of social dynamics, migration, and cultural adaptation. Nevertheless, despite these surface-level differences, the underlying semantic values embedded within idiomatic expressions remain aligned with the universal principles of *Piil Pesenggiri*.

The internalisation of the Lampung language encompasses processes and activities aimed at reinforcing and empowering its internal conditions. Given the current state of the language, the following areas of internalisation are especially important and warrant focused attention.

The Lampung language, spoken daily by the Lampung people throughout Lampung Province and in Cikoneng Village, Serang Regency, Banten, features a robust linguistic system encompassing phonological, grammatical, lexical, and terminological components. This system is further reinforced by established grammatical conventions and a body of Lampung literary works. Vocabulary and terminology, deeply rooted in Lampung's oral traditions, play a vital role in maintaining the language's vitality.

The empowerment of the Lampung language represents an essential component of language planning and development, which is closely correlated with government policy. Ongoing efforts to bolster the Lampung language and literature are reflected in their incorporation into the educational curriculum. At the elementary level, local content subjects introduce students to the Lampung language and its literary heritage, encompassing instruction on the life philosophy of the Lampung people, *Piil Pesenggiri*. According to interview data, informants reported that they were introduced to and began practising *Piil Pesenggiri* values in primary school. This foundation is further reinforced at home, where families actively encourage children to apply these values in daily life.

The dignity of the Lampung language within the family domain is reflected in the use of titles rooted in the life philosophy of *bejuluk beadok bejeneng*. These titles—granted at birth, during marriage, and as traditional honours by customary groups—convey cultural status and significance, as they are expressed in the native language. The Lampung community in Lampung Province comprises two principal traditional groups: Sai Batin and Pepadun. Nonetheless, the Lampung people in Cikoneng do not affiliate with either of these groups. Migrants (*perantau*) from Cikoneng and other regions outside Lampung have established associations known as *Lampung Sai* (Lampung United). Unlike the Sai Batin and Pepadun communities, which are mainly concerned with the preservation of specific cultural traditions, *Lampung Sai* functions as a platform for the Lampung people in the diaspora to connect, deliberate, and reaffirm the cultural values of Lampung customs whilst living away from their ancestral land. It serves as a cultural hub for Lampung communities in Cikoneng, Sukabumi, and other regions.

The concept of *bejuluk beadok bejeneng* carries considerable significance for the Lampung people, symbolising the dignity of their language and encompassing the following: (1) respect for social hierarchy; (2) sociocultural identity within the community; (3) regulation of social and kinship relations; (4) a marker of personal maturity; and (5) a means of cultural preservation. Through the continued use of these titles, the Lampung people cultivate pride in their cultural heritage and sustain a connection to their ancestral roots, even when living beyond their homeland. Examples of *adok* titles employed in Lampung society are outlined in Table 5.

Table 5: The term *adok* used in Lampung society

Sai Batin	Pepadun	Lampung Cikoneng
1. <i>Suntan/suttan/dalom/pangeran</i> “Prince/royalty (a person of high status or position)”	1. <i>Buay Nunyai</i> “Hero/warrior (a brave and persistent person)”	1. <i>Buay Aji</i> “King/leader (a person of high authority)”
2. <i>Khaja/raja/jukuan/depati</i> “King/leader (a person of high authority)”	2. <i>Buay Unyi</i> “Clean (a person of pure or blameless character)”	2. <i>Buay Runjung</i> “Responsible (a reliable person)”
3. <i>Batin</i> “King/leader (title for leader in a broader context)”	3. <i>Buay Subing</i> “Cryptic/hidden (an elusive person)”	3. <i>Buay Pandan</i> “Beautiful/charming (a charming person)”
4. <i>Khadin</i> “Head/leader (a person with certain power or position in society)”	4. <i>Buay Nuban</i> “Big/great (a person of great influence)”	4. <i>Buay Mesindi</i> “Rich (a person with much wealth)”
5. <i>Minak</i> “Chief (a title for a group leader)”	5. <i>Buay Beliuk</i> “Graceful/appealing (an attractive person)”	5. <i>Buay Arong</i> “Handsome/beautiful (a good-looking person)”
6. <i>Kemas</i> “Honourable/respected person (a person of high standing)”	6. <i>Buay Nyerupo</i> “Valuable (a person of significance)”	6. <i>Buay Bulan</i> “Moon (a person who gives hope)”
7. <i>Mas</i> “Lord (a person of high status)”	7. <i>Buay Selagai</i> “Modest/humble (a person who is not arrogant)”	7. <i>Buay Jahe</i> “Strong/authoritarian (a person with high fighting power)”
	8. <i>Buay Kunang</i> “Brilliant/shining (a person who radiates light)”	8. <i>Buay Kemica Bawo</i> “Passionate (an enthusiastic person)”
	9. <i>Buay Anek Tuho</i> “Very valuable/significant (a precious person)”	9. <i>Buay Kuning</i> “Smart (an intellectual/intelligent person)”

Based on Table 5, the *adok* titles in the Sai Batin community follow a hierarchical structure comprising seven levels, ranging from the highest (*Suntan*) to the lowest (*Mas*). Conversely, the *Pepadun* and Lampung Cikoneng communities organise their *adok* within nine *buay* (clans), collectively known as *Abung Siwo Megou*.

In the Sai Batin and *Pepadun* indigenous communities, *buay* signifies differences in social hierarchy. Nonetheless, within the Lampung Cikoneng community, *buay* does not imply social stratification. As a migrant community outside its ancestral homeland, the Lampung Cikoneng group has developed a unique organisational structure. *Buay Aji* is recognised as the most senior *buay* within this community, with its descendants regarded as the “eldest brothers”, occupying a symbolic position of seniority.

Human beings live within a structured society composed of interrelated elements such as social groups, culture, institutions, stratification, power, and authority. These elements intersect with diverse domains—encompassing economic, political, legal, and social—and exert mutual influence. The *adok* values upheld by the Lampung people, encompassing mutual protection, respect, division of responsibilities and the avoidance of arbitrariness within the hierarchical system, reflect the commodification of these societal values. Nevertheless, these values may be negatively commodified when individuals exploit their social status. Such consequences can be mitigated through the collective commitment of all societal elements to fulfilling their respective roles and responsibilities within the established social framework.

CONCLUSION

This research explores idioms correlated with the four main concepts of the *Piil Pesenggiri* philosophy; assesses their variation across Lampung Dialects A, O, and Cikoneng, and investigates the commodification of the Lampung language through idiomatic expression. *Piil Pesenggiri* comprises four foundational values: *juluk adok* (honour), *nemui nyimah* (openness), *nengah nyapur* (cooperation), and *sakai sambayan* (solidarity). These concepts articulate Lampung society’s moral fabric and are embedded in the community’s idiomatic repertoire. Whilst idioms across Dialects A and O commonly share lexical similarities, the Cikoneng dialect displays greater divergence. Despite phonological and lexical variation, the idioms consistently reflect equivalent meanings, highlighting the shared cultural values aligned with *Piil Pesenggiri*.

The research finds that Lampung idioms, regardless of dialect, express affirmative and cautionary messages, serving as social guidance. Positive idioms reinforce key *Piil Pesenggiri* principles, whilst negative idioms commonly function as cultural admonitions against behaviour that deviates from normative values. These negative expressions do not contradict the philosophy but uphold its ethical boundaries. This reflects the commodification of idioms as tools of cultural transmission and regulation, where idiomatic language becomes a medium for encoding and sustaining collective values.

Additionally, this work supports the Sapir–Whorf hypothesis, suggesting that whilst language does not determine thought, it affects conceptual frameworks. Lexical differences amongst idioms in Dialects A, O, and Cikoneng demonstrate this linguistic relativity. For instance, the idioms *balak atai* (A), *balak atei* (O), and *balak ate* (Cikoneng) all denote the literal notion of “big heart” but connote emotional satisfaction, particularly in contexts of achievement. This idiom embodies the value of *juluk adok*, linking personal success with communal pride and social recognition.

This work fills a critical gap in the existing literature by exploring idioms as linguistic forms and vehicles of cultural identity, specifically prioritising their commodification beyond economic domains. Whilst previous studies (e.g., Rahman 2000; Block 2018; Yusuf et al. 2022; Bruzos 2023; Hiasa 2023; Xiao and Pang 2024) have addressed language commodification in global or market-oriented contexts, this research provides a culturally grounded alternative by situating idiomatic expression within the localised value system of *Piil Pesenggiri*. The results contribute to a deeper understanding of how idioms preserve cultural identity and offer new insights for educational and cultural policy, specifically within diaspora communities such as Lampung Cikoneng in multicultural environments.

Hence, idioms in the Lampung language function as vital cultural instruments that encapsulate and reinforce the principles of *Piil Pesenggiri*. Through an anthropolinguistic lens, this research affirms the role of idioms in sustaining cultural identity, emphasising their significance in regional heritage preservation and intercultural dialogue. This study invites further cross-regional research into idiomatic expression as a dynamic interface between language, culture, and identity.

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COMPLIANCE WITH ETHICAL STANDARDS

This study obtained ethical clearance approval from the National Research and Innovation Agency under No: 493/KE.01/SK/06/2024 and was conducted in accordance with Indonesian ethical regulations and relevant amendments. Informed consent was obtained from all key interview participants and stakeholders in Lampung and Banten Provinces.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that there are no conflicts of interests.

NOTES

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