

Realizing Gramsci's Dream: A Case Study of Vernacular Sundanese Linguistic Contra-Hegemony

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ABSTRACT

The need to promote egalitarianism and reduce the colonial influence in language drives civil society actors and organizations operating within the community to revive their vernacular language, replacing hierarchical standard language exist in their community for a long time. Gramsci's and Lu Xun's efforts to promote vernacular language in Italy and China at their times faced failure. Today, in the democratic and digital-dominated society of Indonesia, the same effort has been taken by Aing Tangerang Foundation. This civil organization tries to revive egalitarian Sundanese language against hierarchical Sundanese brought by colonialism. One of their efforts is to popularize the word "Aing", which means "I" in Sundanese conversation. The word is considered harsh by the majority of Sundanese using hierarchical standards. However, in Tangerang Regency, it is part of their mother tongue. This paper reports on a case study of the vernacular Sundanese linguistic revival campaign taken by the Aing Tangerang Foundation and strategies, drivers, and barriers they faced while promoting their cause. The data is collected through in-depth interviews with three informants: one expert in Sundanese literature, one expert in Sundanese history, and one is the leader of said organization. The research method is qualitative-phenomenological hermeneutics. We use Gramsci's hegemonic theory to analyze and discuss the findings. The results are presented and discussed related to horizontal and vertical strategies; political, organizational, and technological drivers; and historical, psychological, sociological, and sociofacts barriers.

Keywords: linguistic hegemony, vernacular language, Sundanese language, egalitarian culture, Aing Tangerang Foundation.

INTRODUCTION

In the first half of the previous century, Antonio Gramsci and Lu Xun criticize their government for taking hierarchical language as the official language of their countries (Italy for Gramsci and China for Lu Xun). Both try to advance their selected language for the egalitarian value of these

languages. Yet they failed to convince their government and today Italy and China still use languages inherited from their hierarchical past. Tuscan language for Italy and Mandarin for China. Both reflect social stratification between higher status and low-status users. One may wonder would be successful if their campaign acted out in today's times, where democracy and information technology dominate the government and cultural landscape.

Despite the importance of these issues, literature lack research on how to successfully promote contra-hegemonic language, in the Gramscian term, in today's linguistic climate. Existing research is still inadequate to pointing the "how" aspect of this issue. For example, Thiessen (2021) criticizes how English language teaching is plagued with dominant language ideology and linguistic hegemony that moves in an opposite direction from the ideal language teaching that promotes egalitarianism. Yet the study only presents the case without telling how to overcome this problem. The same also applies to Letaief (2021) which able to see the problem in English language dominance for Arabic speakers but does not present the active strategy to promoting egalitarian language use. Other research falls in this category are Dumont-Heinrich (2019) in the use of English on Spotify, Reagan (2019) in the context of education, Silverstein (2018) in American linguistic hegemony, Lichy and Ramphort (2019) in communication in the digital era, Yigi (2021) in the use of English in Turkey, and Alsubaiai (2019) in the use of English in King Abdullah Hospital, Saudi Arabia.

Several studies indeed advance some form of strategy, but only limited to the educational setting. Rodríguez-Mojica et al.'s (2019) study in teacher educators in the United States and Sanchez's (2020) study in Spanish classes in higher education propose educational strategies to overcome this problem. Lichy and Ramphort (2019) also advance an anti-racist black language pedagogy. In another direction, Cotner (2020) analyzes how to become part of the elite, rather than how to reduce the linguistic elite influence the society.

To close the gap, this research uses a natural setting, which is closer to the Gramsci and Lu Xun condition, to study the potentially effective strategy to advance egalitarian language to replace hierarchical language. The Sundanese language setting is such a language. Sundanese is the second-largest regional informal language in Indonesia after Javanese. Note that the Indonesian language is the national language, used mainly in a formal setting.

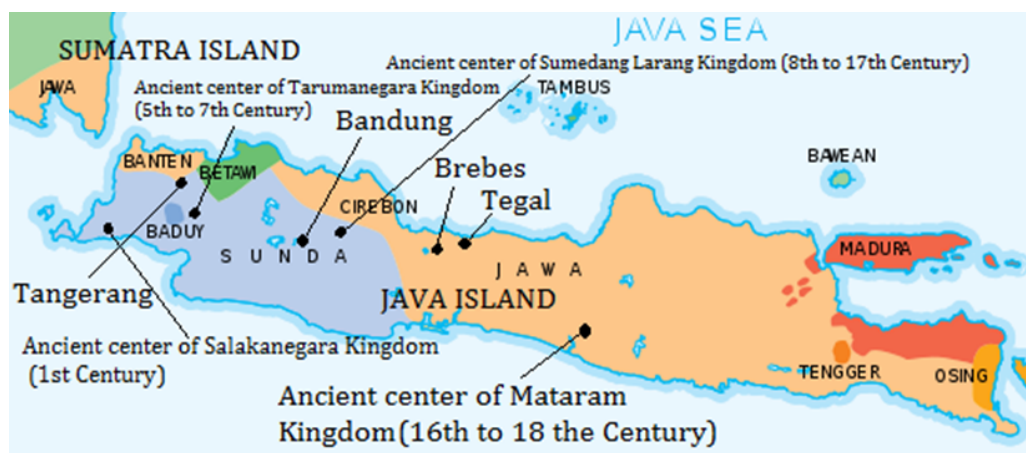


Figure 1. Location of Places Mentioned in This Research on the Ethnicities Map of Java Island (Kartapranata, 2010)

The recent Sundanese language is the relic of the colonialism era. Moriyama (1996) pointed out that the recent Sundanese language is hierarchical, and this is standardized by two eras of colonialism. First, by Mataram empire influence in the 16th century which replacing egalitarian Sundanese with hierarchical Sundanese which adapted from the hierarchical structure of the Javanese language. Mataram ruled for approximately 57 years (1620-1677), and since then the Sundanese language has come to know the *undak usuk basa* (the hierarchical language rules) (Dienaputra 2011). Hierarchical Sundanese consists of three levels: *lemes* (high), *loma* (intermediate), and *kasar* (low); while Javanese also consists of three levels but there are three sub-levels each: *krama* (high), *madya* (intermediate), and *ngoko* (low). The second era came after the Javanese kingdom was defeated by Dutch in the 18th century. The Dutch then standardized the Sundanese language on their perception. They think that Sundanese is a variant of Javanese, hence sustaining the hierarchical structure of the language.

Today, people who speak with egalitarian Sundanese language could be considered impolite by the general Sundanese population. A striking example is 2017 when a schoolboy asked president Joko Widodo to renovate his school using the "harsh" language (Zen 2017). A debate immediately sparked in social media. One of the outcomes of this debate is the creation of the Aing Tangerang Foundation (*Yayasan Aing Tangerang*), a civil society organization that aims to promote the use of the egalitarian version of the Sundanese language, Tangerang Sundanese.

Tangerang is a regency in Banten Province, a province bordered by West Java. West Java's capital city, Bandung, is thought of as the center of Sundanese culture, which is formalized by the Dutch. In this periphery, the egalitarian version of the Sundanese language is still in use and came out as the Tangerang dialect. The general population of Sundanese considers this dialect as the low form of dialect and consists of many impolite words.

One of these words is "Aing". "Aing" literally means "I". It is considered impolite and used only for peer settings. While in Tangerang Sundanese, the use of "Aing" is also prohibited when speaking with older people, standard Sundanese language extends this word to use only by low-status citizens and prohibited to use when speaking with higher status people. There are two language strata in Sundanese, *alus* (high language) and *kasar* (low language). "Aing" is part of low language, as with many words in egalitarian Sundanese.

We focused on the works of the Aing Tangerang Foundation since their campaign has been consistently performed and showing substantial progress despite many rejections from general society. They partnered with the Tangerang regency government to use the language as the linguistic heritage of the regency and currently when this paper was written, able to push the local government to issues an educational policy to the teaching and use of this language in the school.

This research will have implications both theoretical and practical. This research will inform the studies of linguistic hegemony on how to approach hegemony problem with civil society action. This research will also inform similar non-governmental organizations to produce better results on their road to egalitarianizing their language around the world.

As such, this research aims to answers three questions. First, what strategies were used by Aing Tangerang Foundation to promote their linguistic contra-hegemony cause? Second, what are

the drivers of their strategies? Conversely, the third question asked about the barriers to their campaign.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Vernacular Concept

There are two opinions regarding the origin of the word vernacular. The first opinion says that the word vernacular comes from the word *varnae* in the Etruscan language which means housemaid or family (Welge 2020) or slave born in the master's house (Härmănescu and Enache 2016). The emphasis on this word is “helper” or “slave”, so it has a negative and hierarchical connotation, between “slave” and “master”. *Vernae* is the property of the master and has no market value because it is not for sale, only for the benefit of the master (Härmănescu and Enache 2016).

The second opinion says that the word vernacular comes from the Latin word *vernaculus* (Ramminger 2010). This word is found in Cicero's work (106 BC – 43 BC) entitled *Brutus*. In this work, Cicero mentions the existence of *saporvernaculus* which means native refinement. *Sapor vernaculus* is used in a very positive sense. Cicero in *Brutus* mentions a very talented orator named Titus Tineius of Piacenza. The greatness of Titus Tineius according to Cicero not only comes from his ability to speak Latin but also the presence of *sapor vernaculus* (native refinement) in his orations (Ramminger 2010). Titus Tineius uses vernacular words in his speeches which are mainly in Latin, and this makes it even more beautiful. That is, the *vernaculus* or vernacular character in a language is considered something beautiful. For this reason, modern researchers regard vernacular as something positive and regard it as local, indigenous, personal, private, and artistic (Al Shaikhli and Al Shafie 2020; Primiano 1995).

Since the discovery of the *Brutus* manuscript in 1421, Italian scholars immediately adopted the concept of *vernaculus*, replacing the previous concept, *vulgar* (*vulgaris*). Scholars are uncomfortable with the word *vulgar* to refer to local Italian dialects because it means useless, uncultured. The word *vulgar* itself was used by Dante who lived in 1260-1321. But even the word *vulgar* has its controversy because it has an alternative word of Italian origin, *volgare*, which does not have a negative meaning (Ramminger 2010). Since then, scholars from other countries in Europe have adopted the word *vernaculus* into their language. In English, the word *vernaculus* becomes vernacular.

Despite the controversial origin of the “vernacular” word, in this article, we use the vernacular word in its positive meaning. Hence when we talk about vernacular language, we mean that the language is local and indigenous

CIVILITY IN EGALITARIAN AND HIERARCHICAL CULTURE

Civility or politeness in a language is the use of language gently and respecting the interlocutor. Research shows that the use of polite language is more pleasant to hear, suppresses anger, and has a calming effect (Mitchell 2018). Civility exists in almost all cultures and has different use between egalitarian and hierarchical cultures. Gintis (2019) shows that a successful culture is an egalitarian culture where the group controls the leader, not a hierarchical culture where the leader controls the group.

In egalitarian groups, language that reflects politeness is used as a form of return for the control that society gives to leaders or the younger generation to the older generation. In a hierarchical group, language that reflects politeness is something that is forced by superiors on subordinates so that subordinates do not get punished by their superiors. This is supported by the fact that respect for parents is a universal cultural character in all surviving cultures in the world today (Curry et al. 2019)

GRAMSCI AND CULTURAL HEGEMONY

Gramsci is generally seen as the main thinker of Western Marxism and is often associated with the critical paradigm. Even so, theoretically, Gramsci's theory is included in the linguistic and phenomenological framework because it is often used to study the production of meaning and its significance (Holub 1992). Gramsci sees that there are two layers of the superstructure in a democratic society, namely the state and civil society. The target of the theory of cultural hegemony is at the level of civil society. Unlike the state which maintains its power through repressive means such as law enforcement, civil society works through the production of consensus. In this civil society, a dominant class is formed that controls the consensus on what is right and wrong, what is possible and impossible, what is acceptable and unacceptable (Ruck 2021).

Gramsci (2005) mentions that there are two intellectual classes in civil society, namely traditional intellectuals and organic intellectuals. Traditional intellectuals include professional intellectual groups from various universities. In addition, traditional intellectuals include philosophers, scholars, and writers. Traditional intellectuals see themselves as independent of the historically dominant group. However, if traced historically, we can find that the institutional existence of traditional intellectuals has its roots in the dominant social groups of its time.

The organic intellectual group is the element of thinking and managing the class in addition to the traditional intellectuals. There are two types of organic intellectuals. The first group is growing organically with the dominant class and this group is responsible for managing the hegemonic relationship. The second group is permanent persuaders, namely groups that grow organically with subordinate classes (Hier 2005). This group is practically involved with the subordinate class and can elicit the feelings and desires of the subordinate group. Feelings and desires, apart from reason, are important to this group because they are the driving forces for mass consolidation (Gramsci 2005). An example of a permanent persuader is the creator of certain content on social media such as YouTube (Lydon 2020).

Cultural hegemony is the process by which a dominant class in society tries to maintain its dominance through the creation of consensus (Ruck 2021). According to Gramsci, intellectuals have an important role in the process of cultural hegemony. Intellectuals act as both defenders and challengers to cultural hegemony. Social change will occur if organic intellectuals from oppressed social classes work together against traditional intellectuals who maintain cultural hegemony. These permanent persuaders tried to assimilate and conquer the traditional intellectuals ideologically.

To reproduce or challenge cultural hegemony, permanent persuaders need to unite on key ideological elements (Simon 1991). Because groups that control cultural hegemony gain

recognition based on political and ideological leadership, namely through persuasion, rather than force. This is where the term hegemony comes from. Hegemony is an organic ideology (Winkler 2020). Ideology is a system of ideas needed to invite and bind an alliance (Simon 1991). Hegemony does not create a new ideology but re-articulates ideological elements into a new worldview (Winkler 2020).

GRAMSCIAN DREAM OF THE IDEAL LANGUAGE

In his life in the early 20th century, Gramsci was involved in the struggle to reject the language of the elite. Gramsci rejected the placement of the Tuscan dialect as the official language of Italy. The Tuscan dialect was the language of the elite in Florence and its election as the official language of Italy would soon lead to an increase in the status of those who spoke and/or wrote that language, who were elite. Gramsci saw that this effort was nothing more than an effort to ensure that the power of the elite remained victorious and that other low-status and non-Tuscan-speaking people remained servile to the 'educated' people. According to Gramsci, the official language of Italy should not be taken from one particular language, but from a combination of various dialects that exist in Italy (Cotner 2020). The reason is that vernacular language has the power and efficacy in achieving the goal of uniting and building the nation. Vernacular dialects have the power to express feelings and emotions. This strength is not possessed by the Tuscan dialect which has limitations in many communication situations (Cotner 2020). Despite this effort, Gramsci failed to incorporate his vernacular language into the official language of Italy. Today, the Italian language is derived from the Tuscan language.

Gramsci's struggles inspired Lu Xun (1881-1936), a Chinese writer better known under the pen name Zhou Shuren. Like Gramsci, Lu also struggled to make the vernacular language the national language of China. The vernacular language that Lu Xun strives for is Baihua, a populist expressive dialect originating from Peking (Ha 2019). However, like the Italian government, the Chinese communist government still maintains Mandarin, an elite royal language, as China's official language.

We can immediately see parallels between Tuscan and the Italian vernacular in Gramsci's time, and between Mandarin and Peking vernacular in Lu Xun's time, with formal Sundanese based on *undak usuk basa* (language levels) and the egalitarian vernacular Sundanese of today. This alone is sufficient to confirm the relationship between Gramsci's theory of hegemony and the current research topic regarding the rejuvenation of Sundanese vernacular language.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The design of this research is qualitative, using an in-depth interview approach. The questions asked during the interview match with the research questions used in this study. The summary of the research purposes and general overview of questions together with an invitation for the interview was sent to three carefully selected stakeholders within the domain of Sundanese culture. Informant 1 is an expert in Sundanese literature and has been published various books on Sundanese culture, especially from a literary perspective. Informant 2 is a professor of history at Padjadjaran University, well known for his expertise in Sundanese history. Informant 3 is the leader of the Aing Tangerang Foundation, the permanent persuader in the Gramscian framework. From the framework, Informant 1 and 2 are traditional intellectuals but sympathize with contra-hegemony discourse, which is the revivalism of vernacular Sundanese language. The three informants are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Characteristic of the Informant

Informant	Sundanese Literatur	Sunda History	Aing Tangerang Foundaton
Type of organization	Independent author	Faculty of culture, local university	Civil society organization
Role in organization	Writer	Lecturer	Leader
Gender	Male	Male	Male
Educational level	PhD	Professor	Postgraduate

Since the informants were situated around West Java and the neighboring province, Banten, all three interviews were performed face to face in their place during October 2021. All interviews were transcribed and lasted longer than the originally booked interview time. This means the informants feel enthusiastic about the topic addressed. Consequently, we were able to collect very rich data despite only three informants involved.

Coding and data analysis is done through two iterations. First by developing a preliminary code structure based on the interview guide. Furthermore, the initial structure was developed to become a final structure with a higher level of abstraction, using the code generation method from Miles and Huberman (1994). Generally, half of the transcript deal with information confirming the situation faced by the Sundanese language, as we have already described in the introduction section. Another half deal with strategies, drivers, and barriers for the successful contra-hegemony campaign against standard hierarchical Sundanese language.

The final code structure includes three main themes, namely strategies, drivers, and barriers. For strategies, two sub-themes are used: vertical and horizontal strategies. For barriers, we used themes that emerges during the interview. To classify the driving factors that were revealed from the informants' presentations, we used the organizational change framework of Van de Ven and Poole (1995). According to Van de Ven and Poole (1995), change can be analyzed from four points of view, namely life cycle, teleological, evolutionary, and dialectical. These four elements thoroughly describe how organizations move to build change (Pentland 1999). The life cycle is a dynamic that occurs within the organization and is natural. Teleology is a dynamic that occurs within the organization and is artificial, in the sense that it is socially constructed by members of the organization. Evolution is a dynamic that occurs in relationships between organizations and is natural. Dialectics is a dynamic that occurs in relationships between organizations and is artificial. Each of the forces that give rise to these dynamics is referred to as a motor. The difference between the components of this model in the dimensions of coverage and properties is shown in Figure 2 below.

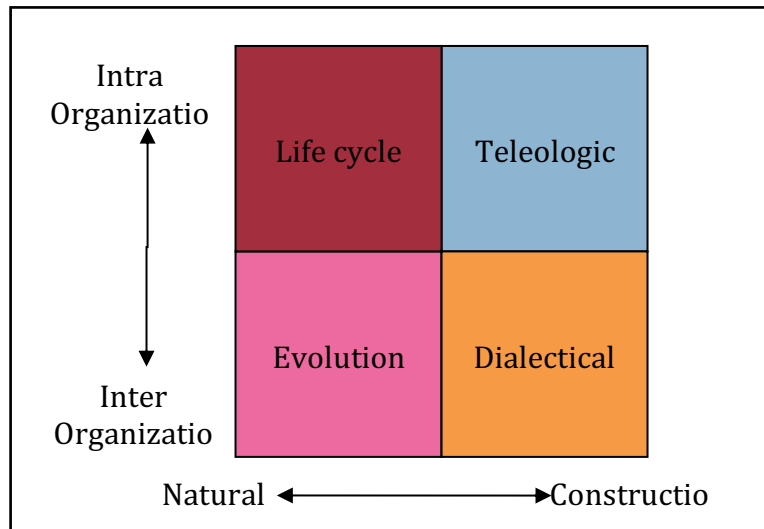


Figure 2 Organizational Change Model (Van de Ven and Poole, 1995)

The results from the analysis are presented in the following section.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The strategy to popularize the word "Aing" is not a new phenomenon. Informant 1 stated that "Aing" in the offline world had been socialized by the Bandung football club's supporters (*bobotoh* Persib) for the Bandung area since the 1980s. However, it is still questionable whether it can be more effective than the Aing Tangerang Foundation because it is a very specific community, even though it has a large number. In addition, the vision and mission of *bobotoh* are more for entertainment activities rather than language preservation. However, *bobotoh*'s efforts need to be appreciated, especially in that there is a concern for identity to Sundaan which is a shared vision.

The popularization of the word "Aing" today requires careful consideration of the context as accurately as possible. The word "Aing" appears in an informal context on social media while before that, this word was associated with the community as a rude word. There is no quick, instant way to popularize this word as an egalitarian word without offending the public. Informant 1 emphasized that the use of this word in a formal speech would actually cause controversy and consequently reduce the spirit to fight for the vernacular Sundanese language. He gave an example of how the words "bro" (brother) and "sis" (sister) which are used by a political party in Indonesia to attract the interest of the younger generation reduce the value of the content of the message to be conveyed.

Informant 2 is also pessimistic that the government's role can effectively promote egalitarianism if it uses a direct strategy. This is because so far, words promoted through policy politics have lost their popularity.

"So the strategy must be very mature. See how the effect, must anticipate the effects that may arise when this linguistic strategy is taken. Because there are many symptoms, for example when certain words are promoted through policy language politics, the language does not even sell." – Informant 2

Vertical Approach Increasing Political Will

The indirect way that must be taken first is to create political will from the authorities. Political will has two forms, namely regulation and implementation. This means demanding that two parties at the level of authority play an important role, namely the local people's representative council (DPRD) and the Government as policymakers and implementers. Informant 2 underpin and illustrates this in the following quote:

"Of course, if we talked about political will, there are two forms of political will, the first is the regulatory aspect. Regulation is necessary, but what is no less important is the implementation of the regulation.. almost all provinces have regulations on regional languages, but not all at the implementation level have the politics to implement it, so in the end we are satisfied that the regulations have been issued but the implementation is not optimal. First, there had to be a political will that required people to communicate in the local language." – Informant 2

However, at the implementation stage, there must be an adjustment between what will be taught and the context of the learner. In this case, contextual factors become important in promoting the effectiveness of the policy. In Indonesian society, which is multilingual and multicultural, it is difficult to maintain certain languages (Junawaroh *et al.* 2020). This demands further compromise on the language policies issued by the government regarding regional languages:

"I already told you that when we talk about political will, the regulatory aspect is important, when we talk about the regulatory aspect, it regulates the regional language, and the regional language adjusts to where the local language is located, right like that. So that's why implementation is lacking, so in this case, I think maybe this is what needs to be done, that is, our attitude is friendly with the language, in this sense the regional language when taught in Priangan, then Sundanese, what then? non-Sundanese, learn Sundanese? So you understand, people who are not Sundanese learning Sundanese here need the wisdom of the teacher to teach it." – Informant 2

In line with this, language preservation policies do not have a strong political will so they are only in the skin. This is in line with the policy implementation theory of Howlett (2019) which asserts that the effectiveness of policy implementation is determined by three factors: the existence of a problem, the existence of a solution, and the existence of political will to implement the solution to the existing problem. In the absence of a political will, the current standard Sundanese language is not used seriously and its application in government is merely an image.

This creates an opportunity to socialize egalitarian Sundanese at the policy level. The Aing Tangerang Foundation has made a vertical effort to advocate for the use of egalitarian "Aing" but is still limited to other terms that are considered more gentle. However, the Aing Tangerang Foundation received an enthusiastic response from the Tangerang Regency government. The Aing Tangerang Foundation has even succeeded in encouraging the district government to use Sundanese words as a medium for delivering information to the public.

"The response was very positive from the Tangerang district government because[they knew from] the Tangerang city(a city with the same name) government who already implement the

use of local language in the government. They are mostly Betawi, so [they use the Betawi language] for information or anything else. We also have many ethnicities in Tangerang, not just Sundanese. The indigenous ethnicities are Betawi, Chinese, Sundanese, and coastal Javanese. So, for the Tangerang city government, it is more inclined to Betawi, but for the Tangerang district government and coincidentally, Aing Tangerang is in the Tangerang district where the domicile is, [is Tangerang Sundanese]. From the beginning, there was very little use of the words [from] Sundanese for media promotion to the public. Even if you use it, you still follow the dictionary. For example, "tong hilap" (do not forget, egalitarian Sundanese version), but now I can't claim that it's referenced from Aing Tangerang or not. But at least after we did this they have started to use Sundanese as a medium for conveying information to the public. For example, the Bapedda, the regional revenue agency, makes banners: "ulah poho ngayar PBB" (do not forget to pay property taxes). That's very typical of Tangerang[Sundanese], "ulah poho", while the West Java version is "tong hilap" (do not forget, hierarchical Sundanese version), right? – Informant 3

The Aing Tangerang Foundation's relationship with the local government of Tangerang Regency is very close. This is shown by the foundations who are always invited to birthday events and given a place to express their vision and mission in the event. They also have a mentor from DPRD who has aspirations to promote the Tangerang Sundanese language in government activities. However, the foundation was still faced with the challenge of building a list of Tangerang Sundanese vocabulary which had been delayed due to the pandemic:

"We also have very close communication with the local government. So every regency birthday we are always invited. [We] always given a place like [in] the exhibition, to show the existence of Aing Tangerang" – Informant 3

"We also have a coach who is a member of the DPRD in the Tangerang district. He also always tries to sound about Aing Tangerang. He has also had comparative studies in the Tegal (a regency in Central Java province) area. There [the government] use the Panginyongan language [local Javanese dialect] every Wednesday or Friday. He also tried to activate the Tangerang Sundanese language at least in Tangerang first. The only challenge for me and my friends is to make a vocabulary list for the Tangerang version. At least you have a mini dictionary, you don't need a full dictionary. Now that's what we're trying to design again, [because temporarily stopped] because of the pandemic... So we started to slack off a bit, but now we're starting again. So our target, if my ideals or other ideals maybe the Sundanese language in the dictionary was changed, roughly removed. It's just that we can't intervene because that's the realm of West Java[province] right? Now we are in Banten[province], at least if we can't do it in Banten [scope], it's in Tangerang that we are recognized. So it's local content." – Informant 3

This indirect strategy is carried out by prioritizing the superstructure of the word Aing. The superstructure of the word "Aing" is an egalitarian Sundanese language that is still alive and is used by the Sundanese people of Tangerang. The values of this society must be prioritized as an inseparable package. The government should promote the oral traditions, manuscripts, customs, rites, traditional knowledge, traditional technologies, arts, languages, folk games, and traditional sports of these indigenous peoples. When the identity of this indigenous community as a living community and holding a pure Sundanese identity has been accepted by the

community, it becomes easy for the community to accept one of the components of this cultural package, namely Aing said, to be part of the pride of their identity.

Theoretically, the effort to popularize the word Aing with a macro approach is an attempt by permanent persuaders (Yayasan Aing Tangerang) to encourage the dominant class (local government) to replace their organic ideology (Hierarchical Sundanese) with counter-hegemony (Egalitarian Sundanese) promoted by permanent persuaders. The strategy formulated above is an effort to make the dominant class aware that they have a strong identity in the sub-ordinate class (egalitarian Sundanese society) which they have forgotten so far. If this is successful, there will be political will to advance culture, especially since advancing culture itself is an ideology from a higher authority (central government) that the dominant class needs to obey. This effort will begin with research on cultural aspects of the subordinates, including their egalitarian language, which is carried out by traditional intellectuals (anthropology and linguistics researchers from universities). With the political will of the dominant class and a clear identity of the subordinate class as a result of traditional intellectual work, cultural promotion programs can raise awareness of counter-hegemony in civil society. In parallel with this, organic intellectuals can start working to popularize the word together with the dominant class, permanent persuaders, and traditional intellectuals, creating a society that uses the word "Aing" in an egalitarian way.

HORIZONTAL APPROACH: NEW PUBLIC SPACE CAMPAIGN

Efforts to use new public space as a media of campaign are horizontal efforts made by permanent persuaders to directly persuade civil society. Important instruments in horizontal efforts are campaigns through social media and information technology in general because these technologies allow messages to be widely conveyed in a short period at a minimal cost.

The informant observed that social media has the potential to assist the younger generation in pursuing language rejuvenation. This phenomenon is also observed in the literature. Thurlow (2018) observes that the use of social media leads to language recontextualization and resemiotization. Thurlow (2018) concludes that this is the evidence of language change and digital space is a force that can lead to language change. In other cases, research has found that online youth communities are even able to create new languages such as Town Bemba, Sheng, and Camfranglais as tools that bridge language differences among members (Erastus and Kebeya 2018). This is also observed in the following interview results:

"I don't know if they(young people) realize the problem. But what is clear is that they have the potential to change the design of the language. And maybe it becomes slang first for sure and "Aing" is the same as "agan"(brother)and "kakak" (sister). "Agan have money, brother, kakak have goods" or vice versa, that's in buying and selling online. "Kakak have money, agan have goods,"... But it's also strange, "agan" word is from "juragan" ("boss" in the Betawi language), it's from "undak usuk" (hierarchical system) but is now popularized. So a kind of rejuvenation. Well, hopefully, or I think that young people have great potential to seek rejuvenation of the Sundanese language themselves." – Informant 1

The popularization of the word "Aing" itself is a manifestation of the language's rejuvenation:

“Why am I happy with the popularity of the “Aing” word in daily communication, including in social media because I hope that maybe in this way the hierarchicalization of the language that has been around for hundreds of years can be simpler and maybe even egalitarian again in the future. Hopefully, I know it will be difficult and will take a long time because hierarchicalization takes hundreds of years. Say 200 years as the learning outcomes of the Sundanese nobles to Mataram. Then it is planted through education, politics, law, economic order and so on so that until now the results are very deep, then the renewal must also be slow.” – Informant 1.

The following quote shows that the rejuvenation process that occurs is a reflection of the strength of the Sundanese language in the social media users circle, which is an important capital for wider efforts to revitalize the language.:

“So it's like that, at the time, what is called globalization has co-opted local culture, but when the local culture is built by a strong identity, it influences the global community... for example, if the global community speaks in context the arts, for example, okay, we used to talk, there is such a thing as breakdance and so on, he doesn't participate in that trend but he still builds local culture within himself, for example, other people talk about breakdance, he continues to develop the saman dance in various aspects of social media. . local culture will certainly not be eroded by the global community, but it may affect the global community, maybe later the saman dance ... will become the part of the global community... This is something which in the sense that once again I often state that this opportunity is political will in building the culture of the area, but what is clear when we talk about the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is ... cultural diversity, ... cultural diversity must be the strength of Indonesia ... in interacting with the global community.” – Informant 2

The informant referred to the findings of We Are Social and Hootsuite (2021) as evidence that a virtual realm is an important tool for making vernacular language a medium of communication. Social media features like live translation allow two people to talk on social media using different languages. This must be used to preserve regional languages as the sources themselves have done on WhatsApp social media:

“What is non-conventional, then we have to use it, I explained earlier with the findings of We Are Social, right, that we have to enter the virtual realm and we use various existing social media to make language a medium of communication, like it or not. what must be done by all regional cultures, including language, should be done. The language becomes the language of communication media in social media spaces and then the regional language is carried out. That's what I think ... has to be done, so what I think is social media it could be Facebook, it could be Twitter, which you said, maybe later in the context if we have awareness of language maybe people are not just using “Aing” but they can also speak Sundanese. And then he can be Sundanese, he speaks Sundanese and he can explain what his position is and it will be very beautiful if then people answer according to their respective regional languages.” – Informant 2

Informant 2 stated that the use of regional languages will create a strong local identity and allow globalization to play a positive role in strengthening regional languages. For example, the use of WhatsApp uses the user's natural language so that users can use regional languages to talk to fellow users instead of using Indonesian.

This horizontal strategy was put to good use by the Aing Tangerang Foundation. Social media for Aing Tangerang Foundation allows them to create two layers of mass: core mass and peripheral mass. The core mass is the mass whose membership is marked with a Membership Identity Card (KTA). Members have rights and obligations and actively participate in activities in the real world. Peripheral masses are groups that only participate in forums but are not fans. Peripheral masses include people who are interested in Sundanese culture including its problems and uses:

"If you are registered, you have KTA. It's still around 300, but we have a flexible membership system. Some members are registered so they have KTAs. So they will have rights and obligations. But there are also forum members, anyone can enter the forum, even those from outside Tangerang Sundanese can enter. We also [have mass from] Bandung. Some of my friends from Palembang(a city in Sumatra Island) are also learning Sundanese Tangerang." – Informant 3

Analysis of data related to the practices carried out by the Aing Tangerang Foundation based on information from Informant 3 to maintain the sustainability of the horizontal approach resulted in the finding that there are three main approaches used by the Aing Tangerang Foundation. First, to continuously observe the development of Sundanese language issues and make them material for group discussion. Members observe Sundanese language issues that appear in online news media or increase their knowledge independently or collectively using Wikipedia articles or research results on Google Scholar.

Second, developing groups with projects that have a real impact on the development of the Tangerang Sundanese language. The role of a coach, who is Secretary of Commission II of the Tangerang Regency DPRD in initiating the preparation of a dictionary to be used by the Tangerang Regency government has a role in building dynamics within the group, apart from of course the foundation's internal administrators who continue to revive the group with various themes. This creates a feeling for members that their activities will have a real impact and not just a silent discourse.

Third, the AingTangerang Foundation also carries out activities in the real world in the form of charitable activities to local religious institutions that have a reputation for preserving the Sundanese language. This charitable activity is focused on religious organizations, especially since the general chairman of the foundation is an alumnus of one of the *pesantren* (religious school). In this case, the *salafi* (traditional) *pesantrens* also play an important role in building awareness in the community about the Foundation's campaign and become a separate asset for the Foundation to build social capital or other forms of cooperation that are mutually constructive for the Sundanese language.

These three external actors: the media, people representatives in the regency's council, and social organizations build three elements of civil society that support the Aing Tangerang Foundation in creating the driving force for their actions. It also shows a close relationship

between the horizontal method and the vertical method, especially because of the presence of a DPRD member who is one of the sources of the group's internal dynamics to have a broad impact on society, in addition to the impact that currently exists in the form of a second-tier group interested in learning the Sundanese language and becoming a part of the community. member of the forum but not a member of the Foundation.

Collaboration between these actors can be even wider in the future if the Aing Tangerang Foundation can maximize social media such as YouTube or TikTok in supporting their campaigns in virtual spaces, both in the form of live information and various video innovations that are packaged in an attractive and professionally managed and sustainable manner. Informant 1 who observed the development of "Aing" discourse on social media saw that there was still a wide space for the use of social media to campaign for an egalitarian "Aing". Included in this effort is to create innovations such as discussion shows (podcasts) or free programs that are recorded and uploaded to YouTube. This is especially so because the most widely used social media in Indonesia according to the We Are Social report is YouTube.

"It must be, especially in social media, so far, it has only been mostly in the form of tweets. In the future, it must be considered using the word in more diverse forms of communication, for example, free events, discussion events uploaded via YouTube, maybe you can try out the new meaning as well. from research. Giving a new review of "Aing" new meaning, I do who "Aing" is." – Informant 1

From the perspective of the theory of cultural hegemony, what the Aing Tangerang Foundation does in a horizontal strategy is an effort to influence civil society using organic intellectuals originating from activities in the socio-cultural space controlled by the authorities. These activities can be carried out despite the power of the hegemon because the existing hegemony is free to be questioned in a virtual space that is beyond the reach of traditional intellectuals. Hegemons can't limit this virtual space because absolute restrictions will deprive them of income and thorough surveillance also can't be done given the vastness of the virtual space. In this unrestricted and unsupervised virtual space, permanent persuaders build relations with the subordinate class as well as some of the dominant class (achieved through vertical efforts) to effectively push counter-hegemony forward and initiate a movement against ideology.

In summary, the new public space can be utilized by civil society to provide social and psychological effects for the creation of egalitarian Sundanese communication culture. This utilization effort is a form of horizontal strategy that can be carried out by civil society. Data from the Aing Tangerang Foundation shows that this effort is still not optimal and has a lot of room for further development.

Drivers

Technological Motor

The life cycle factor focuses on the internal dynamics that occur within the Aing Tangerang Foundation. This natural internal dynamic is what determines how the Aing Tangerang Foundation can effectively lead to the effectiveness of the egalitarian "Aing" campaign. It can be concluded that the Aing Tangerang Foundation's life cycle is still at an early stage. This institution naturally develops from small to large through the participation of its members who actively comment using organizational norms, namely using the Tangerang Sundanese language.

"It's really big, I can't imagine if this movement didn't start from the[social] media, it might not be this big. The first is my organization, the second is what its name looks like to change people's perceptions. Because now it feels like every time I post, even those outside of Sunda Tangerang have begun to understand. Then they sometimes say, 'I've been in Tangerang for 5 years, so I miss talking about the Tangerang Sundanese language.' So it's started.. yes, this is indeed our version. Well, that is already their version, well, Sunda Tangerang is like that. Then we add, it's like we have Instagram and Facebook, it's like we have followers, right? But the followers are loyal, so every time I post it, they comment, commenting in the Tangerang Sundanese language. So the media concept that I manage is Sundanese media, Tangerang Sundanese entertainment media. It's nostalgic, like what you have done in the past. Like yesterday I shared, in the past, when there was an invitation[for attending wedding ceremony]webrought tenong (traditional woven bamboo container)like that. But today, it's all [replaced by] paper envelopes, it's like that. If it used to be like this, they kept saying 'Well, I've had this experience'. So they [experience the same thing] like me and we agree on the same thing and keep putting it together in the comments column." – Informant '3

The Aing Tangerang Foundation's life cycle is still in its early stages and developing. The natural driving force is the social media technology itself which enables the organization to spread widely and quickly. It can be concluded that the technology motor is the driver of the Aing Tangerang Foundation's life cycle from its inception to its widespread development as it is today.

Vision and Missions Motor

Teleology means something that lives with a purpose. The Aing Tangerang Foundation has an objective and measurable goal of existence, namely to spread the Tangerang Sundanese language to Sundanese. This can be seen from the following quote:

"First we are really active and very active on social media. So this Aing Tangerang, we're not claiming it, but I've also checked. Aing Tangerang is the first to promote the Tangerang Sundanese language to social media, yes. So we raised this Tangerang Sundanese language to the media realm. Its function is so that we at least communicate again in the media using the Tangerang Sundanese language. So it's always what I share on social media, trying to get that person to comment using the Tangerang Sundanese language in the comment column. So people still use the Tangerang Sundanese language, then in Aing Tangerang itself, we make it like an association, right? We have the foundation, we have the organization, so we apply that every Aing Tangerang gathering must use the Tangerang Sundanese language. In the [online] group, it's like being required to use the Tangerang Sundanese language. So we may be active 24 hours, in the communication in the group and [offline] gatherings uses the Tangerang Sundanese language." – Informant 2

From the above review, the existence of a clear vision, mission, and goals allows the Aing Tangerang Foundation to move and develop on social media.

Political Motor

Evolutionary factors are factors that describe the components of selective variation and retention. This factor describes the existence of a natural motor between entities. In the context of this research, the entities are the Aing Tangerang Foundation, the government (vertical), and the community (horizontally). In the evolutionary model, the driving force is natural and works to influence the relationship between entities. From the results of data analysis, it can be seen that technological development is the natural driving force in the relationship between the Aing Tangerang Foundation and the community while the natural driving force in the relationship between the Aing Tangerang Foundation and the government is political development.

Regarding the natural driving force of technological development, it can be seen from the next quote. In this quote, it can be seen how the Aing Tangerang Foundation tried to capture the opinion of the Sundanese people by proposing the elimination of rough strata in the Sundanese language. This effort will be very difficult to do without the development of information technology because gathering many people by asking for opinions related to the problems brought up by the organization requires large resources without technological support.:

"But once in a while, I've been in a group with a majority of West Javanese. I once wanted to know what it was called... a social experiment, right? What is the response of the majority of West Javanese people to my movement? I once suggested, "Is it possible for the Sundanese congress to change the dictionary in the future". OK, there are subtle levels of Sundanese. Because there are levels of Sundanese language that are lemes (high), loma (intermediate), and kasar (low). Okay, let's still maintain the hierarchy for lemes and loma. But please remove the bottom one." – Informant 3

The natural driving force in the relationship between the Aing Tangerang Foundation and the government is political development. In certain periods of power, support from the government can be very high, while in other periods it is very weak and can be counterproductive. The emergence of the standard Sundanese dictionary, for example, occurred in a political situation dominated by traditional Dutch colonial intellectuals. Another example can be seen in the case of Ganjar Kurnia's leadership at Unpad, as seen from the following quote:

"I think it's not only that but from basic education to higher education. In the past, UNPAD (Padjajaran University) during the time of its rector, Ganjar Kurnia, had that desire, so Sundanese became the language of communication on campus and was applied in the UNPAD sectors. And the names of the places are changed to Sundanese, so we have Bale Aweuhan (name of a campus mosque). That's political will. Political will must come from the holders of power. The powerholders have the will, have the concern, then they will do it, but if they don't care, you can see for yourself like most local languages now, there are regulations, but only regulations [not implementation]. Every regional language, the language that needs to be preserved is only in the regulation. But how is it preserved? How it is implemented, there are clearly explained actions called what I said earlier called clear political actions, that must be clear, then like in a family, it is clear that it must become a habit, then formal education becomes a language that must be done. Now, this is what is seen as an implementation, from the implementation, you will talk about this research later, right? I'm sure about "Aing" appearing, because if Sundanese

[language condition] is good, "Aing" might not appear. If it's good, Sundanese is taught" – Informant 2

Fellow Organizations Motor

Dialectical driving refers to the existence of two contradictory or contradictory forces which then move against each other and produce progress. When viewed from the perspective of structuralism, it is clear that the existence of opposing forces or hegemony is a limiting factor. But from the point of view of materialism, the presence of opposing forces is the driving factor (Fuchs 2020). In the results of the study, it can be seen that dialectic occurs between Sundanese – Javanese, *alus* – *kasar*, "Aing" – "Urang", negative-positive valence, individual – collective, and affirmative – persuasive.

Even so, the author tries to escape this dichotomy by referring to the same things or comparisons, as a supporting force. In this case, structuralism and materialism will agree that the companion or group that fights for the same thing is supportive. In the case of the Aing Tangerang Foundation, this supporting force is the mentor from Ngapak Javanese (egalitarian version of Javanese):

"Maybe later I will review a little from the history. That may be the origin of us starting from social media Facebook and Instagram. Then after that, I tried to find a mentor to strengthen it too, yes, my principles will be like that in the future. Incidentally, my mentor is not Sundanese either. He's a ngapak person, Ngapak Javanese. Then he motivated me so much, why? Because of our position in Sunda Tangerang with Ngapak Javanese in the area of Brebes, Tegal, all kinds of things are almost the same. So it's caused by Mataram, so in Ngapak Javanese, it still maintains its stance by using the suffix "-a", say "sapa" ("who" in Ngapak Javanese), not "sopo" ("who" in standard Javanese). It turns out that history was changed during the Mataram era. So it is considered that the "-a" suffix is not good. So it was changed with "-o" suffix, that's why ... Well, while the people who do it are wrong, they remain firm in their stance. In the end, they can, why can't we? I finally got excited, right, I dug up the history again. It turned out that that was indeed true, so it was completely like Jawa Ngapak. So Sunda Tangerang was "Aing", it was egalitarian, right? Sunda is egalitarian, right from the Salakanagara era, Tarumanegara all kinds are egalitarian. Then when the Sundanese kingdom was under the leadership of Mataram... There is a Sundanese kingdom, Sumedang Larang. The Sundanese kingdom existed, only because at that time it was under the leadership of Mataram. Then the priyayi (noblemen), maybe was looking for attention from the boss, the boss is from Mataram. They saw that in Javanese there were levels, so that the commoners speak with [specific language to] commoners, the traders speak own language with other traders, the priyayi [speaks own language with] other priyayi, the superiors [speaks with another language] with the superiors. They are trying to adapt it into Sundanese, so actually, the Sundanese was the ones who changed it. It's just a reference to it and the situation is that the Sunda kingdom is under Mataram." – Informant 3

Barriers

The inhibiting factors that can be identified from the results of the interviews include psychological barriers, sociological barriers, historical barriers, and sociofact barriers. Psychological barriers refer to the individual aspects of humans due to educational experiences. Sociological barriers refer to the collective aspects of society. Historical barriers are obstacles due to an event in the past that continues to have an impact in the present. Sociofact barriers are barriers caused by the interaction of human society with language.

Psychological Barriers

The use of the word “Aing” in a more egalitarian context creates psychological barriers. Psychological barriers come from the individual. Individuals who have been educated since childhood by certain language behaviors will be very difficult to change in the future, especially if only based on factual encouragement that can still be denied. For example, research results show that “Aing” is an egalitarian word. This is expressed in the results of the interview as follows:

“In my opinion, do not be provoked that far because the officials here will not dare to argue because of the absorption of the results of hundreds of years of education. They will experience psychological barriers. I think that's the obstacle but... there can be opportunities for co-optation that are always there.” – Informant 1.

Sociological Barriers

The sociological barriers that the writer means here are the barriers that come from the collective culture in Indonesian society. “Aing” word contain an emphasis on individualism which a society that adheres to collectivism like Indonesia would avoid. The words “Aing” and “Urang” are first-person singular pronouns but the word “Aing” is seen as more individual than “Urang”. Research shows that first-person singular pronouns are used more when someone is in a stressful situation and coexists more with words with negative valence (Barach et al. 2019). This is based on the theory that a person uses the first person pronoun to an independent or individualist self (Packard and Berger 2020; Twenge et al. 2013; Uz 2014; van Baaren et al. 2003). This is revealed in the following interview:

“No... “Aing” is so prominent. People will feel this is so exclusive, too much individuality that accentuates this word. We have to find other words to balance this, that is Urang”- Informant 1

Historical Barriers

Historical barriers arise from the existence of a standardized Sundanese language used in schools since the 1920s by the Dutch. Regarding the history of this arrangement, Mikihiro Moriyama has studied it in depth (Moriyama 1996). According to Moriyama (1996), the origin of standardization of the standard Sundanese language used in schools comes from Dutch missionaries and scholars. They are trying to determine what constitutes “pure” (*zuiver*) Sundanese. In their minds, Sundanese (*Zondase taal*) is a dialect of Javanese or also known as Javanese Mountain (*Bergjavaans*). This is because the Dutch came and got to know Sundanese when the Sundanese language already had a strong influence from the Javanese language and was used by the aristocrats/regents subordinate to Mataram. After considerable debate and discussion, the Dutch government in 1872 decided that the Sundanese language used in Bandung was the purest. After they were sure they had found pure Sundanese, they

compiled dictionaries, grammar books, and spelling systems which were then taught in schools. The same announcement was made in 1912 by the colonial authorities. According to Moriyama (1996), the process of developing Sundanese is nothing but the implementation of colonial language policies. The Dutch sought the pure Sundanese language and then taught it to the Sundanese themselves. The dialect chosen was chosen by the colonial authorities, not by the people who use the language itself. Moriyama (1996) concludes that ironically, the language "discovered" by the Dutch is considered "true" by the Sundanese themselves until now. As a result, until now, the existence of the standard language inherited from the Netherlands has made a more egalitarian language considered a less polite language:

"[The Dutch]standardizes the standard Sundanese language, which until now has caused the people of Bogor or Banten to feel impolite when speaking the Sundanese dialect[other than]Bandung. ... which is considered standard Sundanese ... which is used in schools. Literary works [also] based on Bandung dialect, modified by the Dutch in the 1920s." – Informant 1

This was supported by the Aing Tangerang Foundation informant regarding the preparation of the Sundanese language dictionary. Historically, the compilation of Sundanese dictionaries that had a great influence was the Sundanese-Dutch dictionary written by S. Coolsma, a missionary of the Dutch Missionaries Association, in 1884 (Moriyama 2007). This dictionary was used by government-published Sundanese books (*the Lansdrukkerij*). According to Moriyama (2007), the Sundanese language with its Latin script (Walanda script), was formulated to reflect colonial ideology. Sundanese intellectuals at that time did not protest because they saw that the new Sundanese language was a symbol of modernity and its mastery was a good step to get a respected job in the Dutch East Indies colonial government. This dictionary then shackles the community into a hierarchical language system, different from their mother tongue:

"Because earlier the reason it was shackled was not by a person but by a dictionary that did not involve our region in the beginning. So what we do to free the shackles, is just hit it. Hit the one in the dictionary version with our native language version. By trying to educate people to understand that we are like this. It's not that we don't have manners. Yes, this is the mother tongue in the Sundanese area of Tangerang" – Informant 3

This has implications for the problem of using language in a social context, namely sociofacts, which will be discussed later. In the following quote, the shackles caused by language standardization make the Bandung language more in a higher hierarchy than the Tangerang language, so that the speakers have to refine their language when visiting Bandung, but the opposite does not happen when Bandung residents come to Tangerang:

"Now the emphasis on the shackles, I will explain in detail. It's not silly, yes, but that's what happened. We were shackled, we came to visit in the Bandung area, for example. We have to follow the language standards there, for example, "lama" ("long time" in Tangerang dialect) becomes "lami" ("long time" in Bandung dialect), we must follow the strata in the dictionary. We're following, we appreciate it because we're the ones who visited Bandung. We try to speak "alus", try sifting our language so that the language is "alus". When playing Bandung, we follow their language, and sadly, when the people of Bandung come here, we also follow their language. We can't use the Tangerang Sundanese language, so we are shackled.

Yes, it's okay when we visit there, we follow him but when they visit here why do we have to follow that too.” – Informant 3

Sociofact barriers

Informant 2 mentions three components of language, namely artifacts, mentifacts, and sociofacts. Artifacts are words while mentifacts are the meaning of the word. Sociofact is how the word is used in a social setting. The problem of the hierarchical language is a sociofact problem. According to him, civility as a practical manifestation of the hierarchical language is something that cannot be avoided as a sociofact. This indirectly shows that the basics of the language are permanent in human language behavior:

“Then in the sociofact context it includes the language hierarchy ... now if we talk about hierarchization, I don't think it's probably not a term for hierarchization, but language indeed requires manners. It is necessary to maintain the style of language manners, not something that must be done, but then good in the context of the language, so language manners are important. In the sense of language etiquette, with whom you communicate, when is the time to communicate, there is language etiquette, right, even though we and our parents have different language manners from people of the same age or people below us, that's etiquette. Time dimension too [have influenced the manners], a time when talking there are manners too. Now in that context, language is indeed a tool to strengthen culture, language is what strengthens culture in the sense that when someone uses language as a form of culture, both in terms of artifacts, mentifacts, sociofacts, it means that he has strengthened the culture of the area where the language is. So if I said earlier maybe the term is not hierarchization .. it is the language that needs to maintain language manners, it is necessary to maintain language manners. Because every language has its etiquette” – Informant 2

But this can also be seen as a concrete manifestation of the different functions between the functions of civility in a hierarchical culture and an egalitarian culture. The language etiquette as a sociofact in all cultures is civility, while specific to hierarchical cultures is where civility is imposed by the authorities on subordinates. In an egalitarian culture, civility is a form of respect of subordinates to the ruler and depends on the principle of reciprocity of the ruler to his subordinates. In an egalitarian culture, rulers or parents are not considered worthy of civility if the authorities or parents do not carry out their obligations as forced by subordinates/societies/children to the superiors/leaders/parents.

Even so, the Aing Tangerang Foundation informant provided a solution to the unavoidable etiquette problem. Instead of maintaining the hierarchy that classifies language into high and low, the informants suggested the use of manners by distinguishing between high and medium. This reflects the situation of changing repertoires from hierarchical repertoires (high vs low, fine vs coarse) to egalitarian (equivalent) repertoires (van den Haak and Wilterdink 2019):

“Yes, just delete it so it goes into a “loma” like that. Because if the perception is “kasar” (low language, literally means “harsh” language), let alone explain it to Sundanese people to non-Sundanese people, even the “kasar” term must refer to it negatively. “Kasar” people mean they often hit all sorts of things right. So the “kasar” term refers to it negatively. So my advice is, can it be done or not, it means the hierarchy is “alus” and “loma”, just like that. So “loma” is for familiarity and

"alus" is for those in "kasepuhan" (authority), we respect the elders or traditional ceremonies. That's why I'm not really against it. That's why I think it's also a wealth that needs to be preserved as well. It's like we have changed what had been thirsty into other words, right there, pour it, leave it like that, right? Right, if it's a traditional ceremony, if it's singed, it's in a high language, it's also nice to hear that. But I mean that the "kasar" term is discarded because there are Sundanese people that not taught about the hierarchical language by their mother tongue. They will be disturbed, they will be bullied constantly when using their mother tongue. Being labeled as rude, in the end, they did not want to use the Sundanese language. And it has been proven that the Sundanese people, compared to Javanese, the confidence in using their local language is inferior to the Javanese. The Javanese are brave wherever they use the Javanese language. The Sundanese are sometimes embarrassed, they are also afraid of being wrong because there is such a harsh term. Eventually, the fall of the Sundanese language will come and the language become extinct, that's what I'm really worried about. There was also a response after I made those words in the group in West Java. I can't, but some agree, that it's 50-50, not all of them are contra." – Informant 3

SUMMARY

This study explores enabling factors and strategy choice and enabling factors and barriers related to promoting linguistic contra hegemony – within the context of the Sundanese culture, part of Indonesian multi-linguistic fabrics. The efforts made by the Aing Tangerang Foundation can be seen from two categories: vertical efforts and horizontal efforts. Vertical efforts are directed at political efforts to encourage the local government of Tangerang Regency to adopt the egalitarian Sundanese language in the practice of government communication to the community. This is supported by the presence of political support and clarity of vision, mission, and goals. Horizontal efforts are directed at socialization efforts to encourage the people of Tangerang Regency in particular and Sundanese in general to change people's perceptions and encourage the use of egalitarian Sundanese in everyday life. Horizontal efforts are carried out in two forms that support and complement each other, namely virtual forms and actual forms. The virtual form is demonstrated by the development of Facebook groups and social media in general as well as virtual projects to make a real contribution to society. The actual form is shown by building social networks to other organizations and meetings in the real world.

Both strategies are accelerated by four drivers: politics, organizational strategic objectives, technological advancement, and motivation and cooperation with other organizations with similar objectives. Meanwhile, historical, psychological, sociological, and sociofact barriers hinder the strategies to achieve their objectives flawlessly. For this, Aing Tangerang Foundation needs to develop government political will by capitalizing on the living use of Egalitarian Sundanese by Tangerang people. To make the horizontal strategies more effective, Aing Tangerang Foundation needs to capitalize the social media, YouTube, information sites, and news sites to increase awareness and give examples on how to use egalitarian Sundanese language properly. This effort must include the specific use of egalitarian language for a persuasive purpose, rather than only affirmative and balancing the use of pronoun "Aing" with "Urang". The "Aing" word should also be used in a more positive context to point out that the word is neutral.

Implications and Future Research

This research is motivated, in part, by the theoretical question of whether the vernacular phenomena faced by Gramsci in the context of the Italian language are similar to those faced by the Aing Tangerang Foundation in the context of the Sundanese language. Are there differences in Sundanese society regarding what Gramsci has conceptualized regarding vernacular? This study finds that in certain aspects, egalitarian Sundanese has differences with Italian in the case of Gramsci.

The counter-hegemony of both Gramsci and Lu Xun's languages is closed. Gramsci proposed mixed language and Lu Xu proposed Baihua language, both of which are closed languages. The Baihua language is used in a limited area, while the Gramsci mixed language has not even been manifested in reality. On the other hand, certain vocabularies in egalitarian Sundanese have been used freely by people outside the context of Sundanese.

The word "Aing" is used mostly in Indonesian sentences to emphasize individuality. Apart from the expressive value of egalitarian Sundanese which is similar to Tuscan and Baihua, egalitarian Sundanese has a strong influence on globalization. The authorities cannot prohibit the use of the word "Aing" on social media by non-native speakers. However, this can be a source of success for the efforts. In the case of Gramsci and Lu Xun, both intellectuals failed to convince the authorities to use vernacular language because of the authoritarianism of the rulers and elites and the closedness of vernacular language.

On the other hand, this study shows that globalization has led to the success of vernacular languages taking over elite languages. Dante succeeded in bringing the vernacular Tuscan as the main language of Italy because Tuscan was considered new and alive. That is, the novelty and life factors become very important. Life and novelty are also important aspects of globalization. People now live in the era of social media where the egalitarian Sundanese language is alive again and is considered new for people outside of Sunda.

As a result, the findings of this study contribute to the development of the Gramscian vernacular thesis, that vernacular language can successfully subvert hegemony due to the participation of globalization and social media. He lives in traditional society as well as in the younger generation, both Sundanese and non-Sundanese. It is new to non-Sundanese people. It can also become new in the future, as the older generation who adhere to hierarchical Sundanese changes with the younger generation who live in egalitarian Sundanese. In terms of the rulers themselves, the decentralized system in Indonesia has greatly helped the development of an egalitarian Sundanese language. The formal hierarchical Sundanese language is no longer needed because the Indonesian language, although formal, is relatively more egalitarian.

The practical implication of this research is that concrete steps in the real world need to be pursued in complementing the steps in the virtual world. These concrete steps include building relationships with vernacular communities who use the language the organization struggles within their daily lives, making joint projects whose funding is proposed to related institutions, both government and private institutions, holding social services to gather support and improve public awareness, participating in official and popular events as far as relevant, fostering intimacy among members through joint tourism and coffee activities, as well as promoting trade activities and souvenir transactions.

In addition, the message conveyed to the community must be carried out in a balanced, strategic manner and understood by all members. A balanced message emphasizes not only the use of language in an individualist context but also a collective context; in a positive tone, not just a negative tone; and promoted persuasively, not merely affirmatively.

Future research needs to document the egalitarian Sundanese, not to establish standardization but by looking at how the language is used in everyday life. In addition, there needs to be quantitative research that assesses the effectiveness of the various strategies found and recommended in this study. Further research can also study the perspective of the ruler who is the authority on language standardization. This means that there needs to be a large number of resource persons representing various parties who are directly involved in the language standardization program. The context studied in this study can also be investigated further with a wider range of sources so that it not only includes the Aing Tangerang Foundation, academicians, and writers but also local governments, especially in the fields of culture and public relations, writers of Sundanese dictionaries, compilers of the Sundanese curriculum, Sundanese language teacher, the participants of the Sundanese Language Congress, as well as representatives of the egalitarian Sundanese-speaking native community.

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