A Diglossia Study of Sundanese Varieties among Sundanese Students: A Case Study of the Use of Sundanese Variety among University Students in the City of Bandung

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ABSTRACT

Sundanese Language is divided into two main varieties: high Sundanese variety (*lemes*) and low Sundanese variety (*loma*), each used in specific contexts. This study investigates the use of Sundanese varieties by Sundanese students in the city of Bandung. This research aims to identify and analyze the Sundanese language varieties and the factors influencing its use among students in the city of Bandung. A qualitative research was applied in this research. The data in this research were obtained from two *WhatsApp* groups: the English Literature class and the English student association group, with a total of 192 members. The data collected in this research were in the form of *WhatsApp* conversations among Sundanese students. Based on the analyses, this research explored 34 instances of H (high) and 216 of L (low) of Sundanese variety. The H variety is typically appeared in conversations correlated with academic contexts or when the speaker is addressing a respected person. In contrast, the L variety is tend to be used in a more casual conversation with close friends and unrelated to academic contexts. The findings can serve as an important reference for the preservation of local languages, particularly in the digital communication era. Future researchers may explore other digital platforms or local languages, compare different age groups, or analyze how the language use patterns evolve and change over time.

1. Introduction

Diglossia is a phenomenon where one kind of standardization language has two or more sub-varieties of the same language that exist side by side throughout the community, with each language having a definite role to play (Sahayi, 2019). The concept of diglossia was first introduced by Ferguson (1959), who identified Arabic alongside Greek, Swiss German, and Haitian Creole as examples of diglossic phenomenon. According to Kharitonova (2015), a language with more than one variety within its speaking community will have a superposed variety that dominates the others; the high variety (H) dominates the low variety (L). Tézil (2024), provide examples of the use of H and L varieties in several countries around the world, such as in Haiti, where the national languages are Haitian Creole and French. Furthermore, in Switzerland used German Switzerland and Standard German; Greece used Katharevousa and Modern Greece (Demotic variety). Despite the H and L varieties, Seli and Syafitri (2024) further explained that each language plays a significant role in how society uses them for communication, with the H variety used in formal situation and the L variety in informal situation.

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Diglossia also appears in Indonesian contexts. According to Sneddon (2003) the Indonesian language consists of an H variety (official, standard, or formal) and an L variety (informal, everyday, or non-standard). The H variety is the language use in education, literature, government, administration, and the law of formal situations, such as in speeches and lectures. Also, the H variety is usually used in the language of literature, including poetry and novels, most of the mass media. Meanwhile, the L variety is the language used by most people at home and in their daily conversation. Ghoni (2022) stated that both high (H) and low (L) varieties of Sundanese may naturally occur in daily interactions, depending on the context, participants, and level of formality. His study on bilingualism and diglossia in Sundanese learning in Bandung revealed that both varieties predominantly co-occur in the same discourse. Almost all Indonesians used the H variety in sermons, speeches in parliament, university lectures, news broadcasts, newspapers editorials and new stories, and poetry. On the other hand, the L variety is the language for instructions to servants, conversation with family, friends, and colleagues, and writing personal letters/messages.

This situation reflects the country's extensive linguistic diversity, with 703 living indigenous languages recorded by Ethnologue (2025) and further classifications provided by Glottolog (2025), This diversity indicates that diglossia can also occur in local languages, such as Sundanese. However, diglossia is not only limited to local languages. In many countries, it also involve national or colonial languages. For instance, diglossia occurs between Haitian Creole and French, while in Switzerland it involves Swiss German and Standard German (Ferguson, 1959). Sundanese is the dominant language in West Java Province, which is its homeland (Ghufar & Suhandano, 2024; Mubarok et al., 2024). Furthermore, this language is a regional language with a significant number of speakers (Rusyana & Rohmah, 2024). Diglossia in Sundanese can be found in everyday conversations, local mass media, and local TV shows. In addition, the phenomenon of diglossia can also be found on social media, particularly on widely used platforms, such as *WhatsApp*. People often use *WhatsApp* for their daily communication, which encourages the of use H and L language varieties. Therefore, this study examines the diglossia of Sundanese variety used by Sundanese students in the city of Bandung, along with the factors that influence it.

There have been several studies that have addressed the topic of the diglossia phenomenon (for instances: Iryani, 2017; Istiqomah, 2022; Saddiyah & Rochman, 2018; Suryaningsih & Ngalim, 2018; Zuhry, 2022). Iryani (2017) explored diglossia in Javanese and Sundanese in Lemah Abang, Cirebon, and found that speakers alternate between the two languages based on the interlocutor and context. Her study is focused on community interactions. Istiqomah (2022) investigated Arabic diglossia in two Islamic boarding schools and succesfully identified clear distinction between formal (H) and informal (L) varieties in education, but the analysis was limited to the educational domain. Suryaningsih and Ngalim (2018) examined daily interaction in Tegalsari village and found that the L variety is predominantly used in informal peer interactions, while the H variety is used in more formal settings. However, their study does not focus to the digital communication. Zuhry (2022) analyzed Javanese-Sundanese diglossia in Bengbulang village. His study highlights code choice based on interlocutor status in daily interactions.

There are two studies that have similar main focuses to this research. The first study was conducted by Saddiyah and Rochman (2018). The research used in her study was qualitative descriptive approach. Saddiyah used conversation method to collect the data. The participants were selected from students at SMA 1 Wanureja, SMA 1 Suradadi, and SMA 1 Slawi. The purposes of her study were to analyze the diglossic patterns of Javanese and Indonesian languages in Senior High School (SMA) Education in Tegal. In her research, she found diglossic patterns of Javanese Indonesian based on (1) formal context and (2) non-formal context. In the formal context, the diglossic pattern is known as the high variety (H). Meanwhile, in the non-formal context, the diglossic pattern is known as the low variety (L). Another study was conducted by Nasrullah (2017). A qualitative approach was applied in his research. The aims of his research were to: (1) analyze the phenomenon of Sundanese diglossia on the *Facebook* platform, and (2) analyze in which genres Sundanese diglossia occurs on *Facebook* platform. Therefore, the result of his research were: (1) Sundanese diglossia occurs through a combination of H and L variety, and (2) the phenomenon of diglossia does not occur in all *Facebook*

genres; it only occurs in genres such as humor, community, social, and general information. In contrast, in educational genres, magazines, and official accounts, no diglossic phenomenon were found.

Based on the previous studies, several gaps can be identified in studies regarding diglossia phenomenon in the context of social media in Indonesia. Although some researchers (Muxlisaxon & Elmuradova, 2024; Nasrullah, 2017; Nisa et al., 2022) have uncovered the diglossia phenomenon, especially on social media platform such as *Facebook* and *Twitter*, further research is still needed on wider range of social media platforms, including widely used platforms such as *WhatsApp*. These study are relevant to the present study as it highlights how the genre of digital communication influence the use of H and L language varieties. In addition, the *WhatsApp* platform has been popular for many years, its role in shaping language use and diglossic patterns has not been explored as extensively as other platforms. While Nasrullah focused on *Facebook,* this research conducts an analysis of *WhatsApp*, where the interactions are more personal, immediate, and conversational.

Furthermore, existing studies primarily focuses on forms of diglossia study, without investigating deeper regarding the factors influencing this phenomenon. Therefore, this current research aims to investigate: (i) the varieties of Sundanese students used in the *WhatsApp* group; (ii) the comparison of the usage of High (H) and Low (L) varieties in Sundanese used by Sundanese students in the city of Bandung, and (iii) the sociolinguistics factors influencing the choice of these varieties, including the interlocutor's social status, the level of formality, the topic of conversation, and the setting. Furthermore, the findings can serve as an important reference for the preservation of local langauges, particularly in the digital communication era. Additionally, future researchers may explore other digital platforms or local languages, compare different age groups, or analyze how the language use patterns evolve and change over time.

2. Methods

This research used a qualitative approach to observe the use of Sundanese variety among university students in the city of Bandung. The qualitative approach is used to illuminate an in-depth analysis on a diglossia phenomenon on social media.

2.1 Data Collection

To shed light on diglossia used by Sundanese students, data were collected through the *WhatsApp* platform using the conversation method. *WhatsApp* was chosen as the platform for data collection because it is one of the most widely used communication tools among the university students for their daily basis (Gasaymeh, 2017; Hussain et al., 2017). This method involves conversations between researcher and the informants. The data collection focuses on observing the interactions obtained from participants in the *WhatsApp* groups of Sundanese students in the city of Bandung. Data were collected from two *WhatsApp* groups:
a. Group I: 48 participants (35 females and 13 males)
b. Group II: 144 participants (95 females and 49 males)

In total, 192 students were taken as a participant in this research, representing a mix genders, classes, and academic years. Before the data were collected, informed consent was obtained from the group administrators and members. The researcher was also a member of both groups but did not initiate or influence any of the conversations, ensuring the natural flow of interaction among participants.

The participants in these groups predominantly used Sundanese, although code-mixing with Indonesian occasionally occurred. This sample is considered as a representative of the daily communication practices of Sundanese University in Bandung, where the Sundanese is frequently used with different varieties alongside with Indonesian. The purposive sampling was employed to ensure that the data reflects both the natural frequency of Sundanese usage and the sociolinguistics diversity

in student community. Data were collected from 11 March 2023 to 19 February 2024, consisting of screenshots of conversations through the *WhatsApp* platform.

2.2 Data Analysis

After collecting the data, the researcher analyzes it through the following steps: (1) classifying the Sundanese language used by the students into two categories: high (H) and low (L) variety. The classification follows Ferguson's (1959) classical diglossia framework, which distinguishes between high and low varieties within the same speech community; (2) calculating the frequency of the data statistically and presenting it in tables; (3) marking the words that fall into the diglossia category to clarify the data; (4) conducting observations of the conversation context to fully identify the sociolinguistic factors. This step involved examining the interlocutor's social status, the topic of conversation, the formality of the situation, and the setting; (5) finally, drawing conclusions based on the findings to identify the most widely used language variety and analyze the factors that influence it. As a result, this systematic approach ensures a comprehensive understanding of the Sundanese variety use among Sundanese students in the city of Bandung.

3. Results and Discussion

There are 34 instances of high variety (H) and 216 instances of low variety (L) used by the Sundanese students in the city of Bandung. The analyzed data is presented in table form to enhance the clarity of data.

Table 1. The H Variety of Sundanese

Original Conversation	English Translated	Sundanese word	English word	Context
Sharing Information *A: Praktisi mengajar mah buat dosen sama kaprodi* *B: Ok a **nuhun***	A: Teaching practitioners is only for lecturers and the head of the study program B: Ok, **thank you**.	*nuhun*	thank you	Academic
Sharing Information *A: **Punteun** guys, disini ada anak Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris yang ga jadi siding tapi belum bayar UKT ga?? Ditanyain bu Anggi prodi soalnya suruh PC lagi katanya*	A: **Excuse me** guys, is there anyone from the English Language and Literature department who hasn't paid the tuition fees and isn't graduating? MS. Anggi from the department is asking and said to contact her again	*punteun*	excuse me	Academic
Sharing Information *A: kalo ada yg merasa dengan username atau*	A: if anyone recognizes the username or the letter, please let us know	*duka*	no idea, do not know	Academic

surat tersebut kabari	B: too lazy for that			
B: hoream kitu	C: **no idea** who			
C: duka saha	D: who is that?			
D: saha eta?	E: **no idea** either			
E: duka san				
Open Discussion	A: there is already a screenshot, and you can just check the account yourself.	[1]*wios*	[1]fine	
A: sudah ada ss, dan boleh cek sendiri aja we akunnya		[2]*abi*	[2]I	
		[3]*lepat*	[3]fault/wrong	Talking to a senior student
B: [1]wios a [2]abi nu [3]lepat	B: [1]**Fine**, [2]**I'm** [3]**wrong**	[4]*mangga*	[4]please	
B: [4]mangga ku aa [5]selesaikeun ai [6]sakirana abi lepat mah	B: [4]**Please**, [5]**handle** it if I'm [6]**indeed at fault**	[5]*selesaikeun*	[5]handle	
		[6]*sakirana*	[6]indeed	
B: abi mah [7]rieut	B: **I'm** [7]**confused**	[7]*rieut*	[7]confused	

Table 1 shows several examples of Sundanese high variety (H) used by the university students in the city of Bandung. Based on data collected from *WhatsApp* group chats, students use H variety to comment, ask questions, or respond to specific topics. According to Asteka et al. (2024) and Komalasari et al. (2020) the classification of varieties on each Sundanese word has been followed by the classification from *Undak Usuk Basa* (Sundanese Language Hierarchy System). Although the examples presented here were taken from Academic *WhatsApp* group*, the overall data also includes non-academic interactions or topics such as casual chats, jokes, and event planning. This indicates that the data are representative of students' daily digital communication, not limited only to academic domain.*

Data 1:

A: Praktisi mengajar mah buat dosen sama kaprodi
(A: Teaching practitioners is only for lecturers and the head of the study program).
B: "Ok a nuhun".
(B: Ok, **thank you**).

Based on the example expression above, the Sundanese word *nuhun* is one example of a polite Sundanese variety. The meaning of the word is as a polite form of expression used when acknowledging a gift, service, or compliment. The word is considered a version of a formal Sundanese word variety that does consider the position of the speech partner highly. Therefore, the word *nuhun* can be classified as an H Sundanese variety.

Its use in this context is when the topic relates to academic responsibility (*praktisi mengajar* or teaching practice), and it also reinforces the formality of the interaction. This finding support Ghoni's (2022) statement that the H variety is used in more formal and respectful contexts. In addition, it also confirms a previous study conducted by Akhtin (2020), who found that the H varieties are typically used to express respect and politeness in formal interactions.

Data 2:

*A: "**Punteun** guys, disini ada anak Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris yang ga jadi siding tapi belum bayar UKT ga?? Ditanyain bu Anggi prodi soalnya suruh PC lagi katanya".*

(A: **Excuse me** guys, is there anyone here from the English Language and Literature study program who hasn't had their thesis defense but also hasn't paid the tuition fee yet? Ms. Anggi from the study program is asking because she said to contact her again)

The utterance above contains a word in Sundanese language, namely *punteun*. The word categorized into the Sundanese *lemes* (H variety). This message was sent in one of the study *WhatsApp* groups where students and student-representatives exchange information. Although the speaker is addressing fellow students, the message carries an academic context and references a figure of authority. The word *"excuse me"* in the utterance used as an interjection to draw attention or introduce an apology before delivering an important message or question. In this situation, *punteun* serves to draw attention in a respectful way before delivering an important message, which reflects the formality of the context. The use of H forms here demonstrates how students adjust their language to fit the communicative purpose and social dynamics of the group interaction, even within digital platforms like *WhatsApp*.

Data 3:

A: kalo ada yg merasa dengan username atau surat tersebut kabari
*(*A: if anyone recognizes the username or the letter, please let us know)
B: hoream kitu
(B: too lazy for that)
*C: **duka** saha*
(C: **no idea** who)
D: saha eta?
(D: who is that?)
*E: **duka** san*
(E: **no idea** either)

The utterance in the data 3 contains the Sundanese expression *duka*. This expression categorized into the Sundanese *lemes* variety. The word used to convey ignorance of something. It is part of formal Sundanese language that pays great attention to the position of the interlocutor (Khairas et al., 2022). It reflects the speaker's awareness of linguistic politeness norms, particularly in contexts where showing respect to the interlocutor. In Sundanese, language choice reflects the social relationship between speakers, and *duka* is generally preferred in situations that require politeness or formality. Conversely, the L variety equivalent of this expression is *teuing*, which is more casual and commonly used among close peers or in informal contexts. The use of *duka* in this interaction indicates that the speaker is positioning the response within a more formal register, which may be influenced by the social dynamics of the group or the perceived status of the interlocutor.

Data 4:

*B: **wios** a **abi** nu **lepat***
(B: **fine**, **I**'m **wrong**)
*B: **mangga** ku aa **selesaikeun** ai **sakirana abi lepat** mah*
(B: **please**, **handle** it if I'm **indeed** at **fault**)
*B: **abi** mah **rieut***
(B: **I**'m **confused**)

In the conversation in the data 4 above, there are several words in Sundanese (*wios, mangga,* and *abi*) that belong to the polite category. These words are commonly used to respect the interlocutor

when communicating (Khairas et al., 2022). In this context, the speaker uses these polite forms to acknowledge a mistake expression to the interlocutors. It is indicating that they are willing to let the other person take control of the situation. This reflects the cultural importance of politeness strategies in Sundanese communication, where language choice functions as a tool to navigate social relationships.

This interaction takes place in a student *WhatsApp* group, where the interlocutors share a relatively close relationship but still adhere to politeness norms, especially during potentially sensitive situations. The use of *wios* (fine), *mangga* (please/go ahead), and *abi* (a humble first-person pronoun) shows that the speaker is intentionally using the H variety to soften the message and show respect. Such usage illustrates how Sundanese speakers employ different varieties depending on the context, purpose, and relationship between participants, even in digital communication. The meaning and classification of each word are presented in **Table 1**.

Table 2. The L Variety of Sundanese

Original Conversation	English Translated	Sundanese word	English word	Context
Lectures Discussion *A: riell udh diobrolin ke bapak jadwal baru content writing tehh? @C* *B: **Ulah** dianggap riel, da belajar sendiri etanah* *C: Wah **heeh**? Oke atuh* *Iya **siah** bentrok semua* *Mau dikabarin aja ini teh ke pak Riesky?*	A: Riell, have you talked to the lecturer about the new content writing schedule? @C B: **Don't** take it seriously, Riel, since it's self-study C: Oh **really**? Okay then Yeah, it's clashes **though** Should we inform Mr. Riesky about this?	[1]*ulah* [2]*heeh* [3]*siah*	[1]do/does not [2]really [3]though	Small Talk with Friends
Sharing Information *A: ada yang mau bukber?* *A: kalo mau mah, **sok** jauh-jauh ti **ayeuna** euy*	A: Anyone want to break the fast together? A: If you want to, **please** do it in advance **now**	[1]*sok* [2]*ayeuna*	[1]please [2]now	Event Discussion
Talking about Sport *A: masuk goa dulu yh* *A: Nanti koar lg kalo udah membaik*	A: say goodbye to your team A: we'll shout again when it's improved	[1]*mun* [2]*deui*	[1]if [2]again	Small Talk with Friends

*B: **mun** MU meunang bakal sepi **deui** sih grup na*	B: **if** MU wins, the group will probably quiet **again**			
Asking for Help	A: Guys, please help me graduate by filling out the questionnaire form, please			
A: Guys bantu saya lulus dengan mengisi kuesionernya				
*B: **nggeus** rel*	B: **done**, Rel	*nggeus*	done	Small Talk with Friends
A: anjay mantap	A: wow, awesome			
A: jangan lupa sebar juga ke temen mahasiswanya	A: don't forget to share it with your friends guys			

Table 2 shows several examples of Sundanese low variety (L) used by the university students in the city of Bandung. Based on the data collected from *WhatsApp* group chats, the students use L variety to comment, chat, or respond to specific topics. The following are the discussion of each data above in details.

Data 5:
*B: **Ulah** dianggap riel, da belajar sendiri etanah*
(B: **Don't** take it seriously, Riel, since it's self-study)
*C: Wah **heeh**? Oke atuh*
(C: Oh **really**? Okay then)
*C: Iya **siah** bentrok semua*
(C: Yeah, it's clashes **though**)

In the **Data 5** above, there are several Sundanese words (the words are bolded) that categorized into *Basa Loma* or L variety. These words are typically found in non-formal situations, such as communication with peers, casual settings, or with individuals perceived to have a close relationship with the speaker (Sutedi et al., 2020). The casual tone of this conversation and the peer-to-peer relationship make the use of the L variety appropriate and natural.

The use of these L variety reflects the relaxed social atmosphere among the group members and the absence of the hierarchical distance between the participants. In this context, language serves as a tool for building solidarity and closeness rather than signaling respect or formality. This patterns illustrates how Sundanese students switch to L variety when the topic is casual. Therefore, these words can be classified as the L variety.

Data 6:
A: ada yang mau bukber?
(A: Anyone want to break the fast together?)
*A: kalo mau mah, **sok** jauh-jauh ti **ayeuna** euy*
(A: If you want to, **please** do it in advance **now**)

In the data 6 above, there are words in Sundanese *"sok"* and *"ayeuna"* which mean "please" and "now" in English. These words are considered as casual version (non-formal) used for informal, such as in everyday communication with peers. The context here involves a student casually inviting

others to arrange a group event. The use of *sok* and *ayeuna* reflects a relaxed and familiar tone, which is characteristic of peer communication in non-formal settings (Maghfiroh et al., 2024).

In this situation, the speaker and the interlocutors are fellow students communicating within a *WhatsApp* group. There is no hierarchical relationship involved. The choice of the L variety expressions aligns with the informal nature of the invitation, where the focus is on practicality and shared understanding rather than formality or deference. This example illustrates how Sundanese students naturally incorporate casual Sundanese expressions into everyday digital interactions, reinforcing solidarity and ease within their peer group.

Data 7:
A: masuk goa dulu yh
(A: say goodbye to your team)
A: Nanti koar lg kalo udah membaik
(A: we'll shout again when it's improved)
*B: **mun** MU meunang bakal sepi **deui** sih grup na*
(B: **if** MU wins, this group will probably quiet **again**)

In the data 7, there are words in Sundanese *meunang* and *deui* which mean "win" and "again" in English. These words are considered as casual version (non-formal) used by speakers who have a close relationship with their interlocutors. Sundanese *loma* (non-formal) language forms are used in everyday conversations between speakers reflecting the values of politeness and familiarity in Sundanese culture (Ramadhyanti & Arimi, 2024).

The context involves a casual discussion about a football team, which naturally invites playful language and familiar expressions. The use of these words reflects the speakers' close relationship and shared cultural references, which contribute to group solidarity. The playful tone, use of casual language, and topic all support the choice of the L variety, which functions to maintain a sense of familiarity and ease within the group.

Data 8:
A: Guys bantu saya lulus dengan mengisi kuesionernya
(A: Guys, please help me graduate by filling out the questionnaire form, please)
*B: **nggeus** rel*
(B: **done**, Rel)
A: anjay mantap
(A: wow, awesome)
A: jangan lupa sebar juga ke temen mahasiswanya
(A: don't forget to share it with your friends guys)
*B: **nggeus** rel*
(B: **done**, Rel)

The conversation in the data 8 above demonstrates a casual group chat where one student asks others to help fill out a questionnaire for graduation purposes. The response contains the Sundanese words *nggeus*, which means "done" in English. This word is typically used to indicate that something has already been completed. It appears in everyday informal conversations and carries a relaxed, non-formal tone (Auni, 2018). The use of *nggeus* in this context reflects a quick and casual response to a peer's request, typical of interactions among students within digital communication platforms like WhatsApp.

This exchange occurs between peers who share an equal social position, with no hierarchical distance between the speaker and the interlocutor. The repetition of *nggeus* reinforces its pragmatic function as a brief acknowledgment in casual conversation. The choice of the Sundanese L variety

demonstrates how informal Sundanese expressions are used in digital peer interactions to maintain a friendly, efficient, and natural flow of communication. This reflects the sociolinguistics norms of the student community, where informal language use is common in supportive, task-oriented exchanges.

Sundanese H variety

Based on the findings above, the researcher identified several similarities in the topics or context of the conversations conducted by the speakers and their interlocutors. Most of them were talking about academic topics and situation when speaking with interlocutors who are older or have a higher position than the speakers. This forms a certain pattern in language use that reflects social hierarchy and familiarity. Academic topics such as discussion about assignments, exams, and research often involve the use of the H variety, especially when communicating with lecturers or seniors.

In data [1] to [3] of table 1, students use polite Sundanese words when discussing academic topics. The Sundanese word *"nuhun"* in data [1] is used when acknowledging a gift, service, or compliment. Students use the word *"nuhun"* with their peers, indicating mutual respect among them, even though this conversation takes place in a more informal environment, such as among their peers.

In data [2] of Table 1, students use the word *"punteun"* when they ask for permission to do or to send something in a *WhatsApp* group. In this context, students have used the H variety of Sundanese language in the conversation to inform something to other members of the *WhatsApp* group. The use of *"punteun"* indicates high politeness and etiquette, which is highly valued in Sundanese culture, especially in digital communication media that are increasingly used in the academic field.

The Sundanese word *"duka"* in data [3] of Table 1 is used to express feeling ignorance about something. The student uses *"duka"* to respond another student's question about academic information. This respond indicates that the interlocutor holds a higher or senior role compared to the speaker. The use of *"duka"* reflects politeness in communication, showing that the speaker acknowledges the authority or greater knowledge held by the interlocutor, which is often required in formal situations.

In data [4] of Table 1, the speaker uses the H variety of Sundanese when communicating with someone older or respected by them. In this data, it shows that the speaker almost exclusively uses the H variety of Sundanese language in communication. This shows that the role of the interlocutor greatly influences the language variety used by the speaker. In this case, the interlocutor holds a higher position or rank compared to the speaker. Therefore, the speaker uses the H variety in communication.

These findings are confirming the previous research conducted by Akhtin (2020) that speakers use the H variety when they want to show respect to their interlocutor. Similarly, Iriyansah (2019), who found that the H variety is not only found in formal situations but also can be found in informal situations, such as when communicating with peers. This reflects the flexibility and adaptability of Sundanese speakers in adjusting their linguistic choices framework, which emphasizes that the use of H and L varieties is strongly influenced by function and context. Another study conducted by Androutsopoulos (2015) observed that online interaction frequently reinforce existing linguistic hierarchies rather than diminishing them.

Based on these studies, current findings show that the use of H varieties by Sundanese students on *WhatsApp* does not merely reflect linguistic habits, but rather conscious or semi-conscious actions to adapt to cultural expectations and social structures. Even in informal digital environments, linguistic choices are influenced by considerations of politeness, hierarchy, and context. This shows that digital communication platforms such as *WhatsApp* do not neutralize social differences, but rather provide a new space in which these differences are reproduced and negotiated. In this way, these findings contribute to a broader understanding of how the use of variety H, which is often used in informal contexts and with peers.

Sundanese L variety

Based on the findings, researchers found several similarities in the topics or context of the conversations conducted among students and their interlocutors. Researchers found that in the data of Table 2, the conversation contexts often involve chatting with peers and planning activities together.

In the data of Table 2, students use Sundanese *Basa Loma* when chatting with other students in non-formal situations. In Data [5], the students use the words *ulah, heeh,* and *siah* to communicate with their peers. In this context, the students have used the Sundanese L variety in response to another student's joke while they were discussing something in the group chat.

In Data [6] of Table 2, students use the Sundanese words *sok* and *ayeuna* when planning activities with other students. The use of the word *sok* (please) indicates an invitation or encouragement to participate in the event, while the word *ayeuna* (now) indicates an urgency to discuss immediately. Therefore, the use of Sundanese in this context shows the familiarity among the students and creates a warmer atmosphere between them.

The Sundanese words *mun* and *deui* in Data [7] are used for a supposition. The words *mun* (if) and *deui* (again) are forms of the Sundanese L variety often used by Sundanese speakers when communicating with interlocutors who have a close relationship with the speaker. Furthermore, the word *nggeus* in Data [8] indicates a state or situation that has already occurred. The use of the word *nggeus* in daily conversation reflects similarity and simplicity in conveying information.

The findings on the *Basa Loma* (L variety) in Sundanese language confirm preliminary research conducted by Suryaningsih and Ngalim (2018), who found that the use of the L variety can be identified when speakers communicate in everyday interaction with their peers. The Sundanese L variety cannot be identified in formal or official communication contexts due to it concerns the norms of politeness prevailing in Sundanese society.

Moreover, the use of L variety in digital interaction reflects broader sociolinguistics patterns. Holmes & Wilson (2022) and Wardhaugh & Fuller (2021), investigated that the L variety are predominantly chosen to reduce social distance within the group identity. While the H variety indicates formality and respect, the use of the L variety on *WhatsApp* allows students to maintain a relaxed tone and show closeness to others. This pattern illustrates how digital platforms serve as spaces where linguistic choices mirror and reinforce existing social relationships.

Comparison of the Use of High (H) and Low (L) Varieties

Based on the findings, there are significant differences in the frequency and context of Sundanese high (H) and low (L) varieties used by the Sundanese university student in Bandung. A total of 34 instances of the H variety and 216 instances of the L variety were identified. It shows that the L variety is more dominant used the students' in everyday communication, while the H variety appears in more specific and restricted contexts.

The H variety is generally used when students engage in academic-related discussion or when interacting with higher status individual, such as lecturer, seniors, or respected peers. The words such as *nuhun* ("thank you"), *punteun* ("excuse me"), and *wios* ("fine") illustrate the importance of politeness and respect in Sundanese culture. These findings confirm Akhtin (2020), who investigated that H varieties are used to show respect to others. In addition, the findings also align with Iriyansah (2019), who demonstrated that H varieties can also occur in peer interactions depending on the situational context.

On the other hand, the L variety is predominantly used in more casual conversations, such as chatting with peers, joking, or planning an event. Sundanese words such as *ulah* ("don't"), *heeh* ("yes"), *sok ("please"), and nggeus ("done")* illustrate the L variety is used more casual situation. These findings emphasized the previous research conducted by Suryaningsih and Ngalim (2018), who investigated the L varieties predominantly occurred in informal peer-to-peer communication, but less appropriate in a formal context due to prevailing the politeness norms

The data highlights that students switch between H and L varieties depending on context, relationship, and topic. The H varieties indicating people social hierarchy, politeness, and respect,

meanwhile L varieties used as tools of solidarity, intimacy, and closeness expression. This pattern shows that the diglossic nature of Sundanese society is strongly influenced by social norms and the interlocutor's status. In daily conversations, students naturally adjust their language depending on the person and the topic of conversation. This kind of switching happens almost unconsciously, showing that their language choices are shaped by cultural habits and social awareness rather than by rigid rules.

In conclusion, the analysis emphasizes that Sundanese University students in Bandung predominantly use the L variety in daily communication on *WhatsApp* group. However, there are several cases the H variety is use to show respect, politeness, or formality. These phenomenon typically occur when students interact with lecturers, seniors, or individuals with higher status. This reflects the persistence of linguistic hierarchy even in casual digital platforms such as *WhatsApp*. Furthermore, it shows that Sundanese diglossia remains deeply embedded in students' communication practices, bridging both traditional cultural norms and modern modes of interactions.

Sociolinguistics Factors Influencing the Choice of High (H) and Low (L) Varieties

The analysis indicates that the choice between High (H) and Low (L) varieties of Sundanese is influenced by several factors. The situational context plays a crucial role of this phenomenon. The H varieties are typically occurred in formal or semi-formal situations, such as in academic discussion, or conveying an important information. Meanwhile, the L varieties are more casual or non formal situations, such as in casual chats. This is in line with

In addition, the status and social is also strongly influence the variety use by the students. They tend to tend to use H variety when communicating with lecturers, seniors, or individuals of higher status to show respect. On the other hand, students prefer to use L variety when interacting with peers or close friends to show solidarity and familiarity. This is in line with Khairas et al. (2022), his findings shows that during interactions between lecturers or assistant lecturers and students in the classroom, they tend to use *lemes* Sundanese (the H variety) terms of address within the Sundanese linguistic system. They maintain a level of distance as a way to show respect toward others.

Another factor contributing the use of H and L Sundanese varieties is the topic of conversation. Students dominantly use the H variety when the topic is related to academic domain. Meanwhile, the L variety is used when the topic is more casual such as sports, entertainment, or daily activities. The choice of language variety helps students align their speech with the level of formality required by the topic. It also reflects their ability to adapt their linguistic behavior to different communicative contexts, demonstrating both linguistic competence and cultural awareness.

Cultural norms are also highly influential in shaping the way students use Sundanese in their daily interactions. The Sundanese system of *undak usuk basa* illustrates that there are strict politeness strategies even in online interactions, as the language contains multiple levels of hierarchy that are maintained even in digital communication. It shows that the strong culture of Sundanese to show respect and social awareness through language use, regardless of the medium. In this study, when students communicate with their lecturers or peers whom they feel should be respected, they tend to switch to the H variety. Conversely, when they talk with close friends or peers of the same age, they shift to the L variety to reflect familiarity and solidarity.

Lastly, the medium of communication also contributes to the predominance of L varieties. Since the *WhatsApp* platform is generally used for casual conversations with friends rather than for more formal purposes such as emails, the occurrence of L varieties on this platform tends to be higher. This supports the findings of Pang and Woo (2020), which indicate that informal digital platforms often encourage the use of less formal language varieties. In his study, he emphasizes that *WhatsApp* is also widely used for informal conversations or what they refer to as "de-politicized conversations." This means that much of *WhatsApp* usage is casual and informal, even when discussing social/public issue.

4. Conclusion

This study was conducted to analyze the phenomenon of diglossia on social media, specifically on the *WhatsApp* platform. The results of this study describing the Sundanese language varieties and the factors influencing its usage among Sundanese students in the city of Bandung.

This study investigated that the university students in the *WhatsApp* groups use both high (H) and low (L) Sundanese variety. Specifically, this study identified 34 instances of H variety and 216 of L variety. The factors influencing the use of these varieties are the participants and the conversation topics. The high variety (H) is typically found in conversations related to the academic environment. Additionally, students use H variety when speaking with older or respected people, such as lecturers, senior students, or academic staffs. On the other hand, the low variety (L) is usually identified in more casual conversations unrelated to academic contexts, such as chatting with fellow students and discussing their own activities.

In addition, the results indicates that the type of language variety used by students is based on the social context and the relationship between the speakers. The L variety indicates that students are in casual and comfortable interactions when communicating, such as in their peer group discussion. In contrast, the use of H variety in formal contexts indicates the role of language in maintaining social hierarchy and politeness. These different situations reflecting students' adaptability in switching language codes to suit in different social interactions.

A new finding of this study is that the use of H variety is not strictly limited to formal situations. In some cases, it frequently appears in informal contexts and is used among peers. This phenomenon suggests that the choice of H variety is not solely determined by the formality of the situation but also by cultural values. Students may use H forms to show mutual respect, maintain a polite tone, or index shared academic identity within their peer groups, even in casual digital interactions. It demonstrates flexibility and adaptability of speakers in making linguistic choices, highlighting that the use of H and L varieties is primarily based on its function and contextual factors.

In conclusion, the findings of this study highlight the importance of fostering an appreciation for regional languages, such as Sundanese. Despite the current era of globalization, many students still use Sundanese in their daily conversation on social media. In fact, even people who are not Sundanese want to learn the language. Therefore, educational institutions could preserve other regional languages cultures. Furthermore, this study provides an opportunity for future researchers to delve deeper into the dynamics of the use of Sundanese language varieties in a wider communication space. As well as exploring the positive and negative impacts on identity formation among students when using regional languages.

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