Bidialectalism and extended diglossia in Kanauji speakers

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Sociolinguistic variation in relation to the understudied and endangered language variety Kanauji has hitherto not been accorded due attention. Kanauji is a dialect of western Hindi spoken by around 9.5 million as of 2001. (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2021). This study scrutinizes how Kanauji speakers exhibit diglossia, bidialectalism, or both in the Kanpur district, Uttar Pradesh (India). Hindi and Urdu have a common parent language known as Hindustani, which is essentially a colloquial language (Verma 1933). Quantitative data collection involving 150 respondents: rural school-going teens (R) and urban college youth (U), has been used for this sociolinguistic study. The survey revealed that Kanauji speakers maintain their language in 'rural' regions more than in urban centers. Kanauji speakers switch between the standard dialect 'Standard Hindi' and the vernacular dialects 'Hindustani or Kanauji' in language variation patterns, exhibiting bidialectalism and extended diglossia. Native Kanauji speakers were found to be bidialectal in the vernacular varieties 'Kanauji' and 'Hindustani.'Back-and-forth code-switching between Hindustani and Kanauji varieties was also observed. Bildialectalism has been established in that it shares similar features with bilingualism such as language contact between L1 and L2, and motivations for learning L2. It was observed that native Kanauji speakers used all Hindi, Hindustani, and Kanauji in different and often overlapping domains of language use. Because each domain (social situation) in any bilingual community is "commonly associated with a particular variety of language." (Fishman 1972:44). Overlapping of domains in Kanauji speakers is the crucial reason for extended diglossia.

1. Introduction

According to Orsini (2009:4-5), sometime between 1920-1940, Hindi began to be identified as a language of national stature. The growth of literature and theatre in Bengal and the spread of education made Hindi appear backward by comparison. This motivated Hindi writers to assert their authority, and Hindi became a print language. Various Hindi organizations also promoted the use of Hindi in the public sphere. Writers like

Harishchandra and Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi surged in print language colloquialisms, regional usages, and Urdu words in their writing. Dwivedi played a significant part in the standardization of Hindi by standardizing the syntax along regular subject-object verb lines and making Sanskrit loanwords the norm.

Once India became an independent nation, recognition of the Hindi language as the official language of the union bolstered codification and standardization of the language. Speakers of several mutually intelligible varieties embraced Hindi as the means to social and economic development. Such a development has often made many varieties like Kanauji vulnerable and gradually curtailed their use domains.

The North-Central region of India, known as the Hindustani region (also known as the Hindi belt or Hindustani belt[1]), has varying degrees of diglossic complementation among many speech varieties (Khubchandani 1972a). Bilingual speakers in the North-Central region (characterized as the fluid zone, cf. Khubchandani 1972a, 1978) retain their regional or caste dialects of either Western Hindi or an altogether different language for informal communication within their speech group.[2] However, they prefer to use Khariboli (Standard Hindi) for formalized communication. Kanauji (a dialect of western Hindi) is one of the regional dialects spoken in this Hindustani region. Hindustani is the parent language of Hindi and Urdu, and is essentially a colloquial language (Verma 1933). This variety was adopted by Mahatma Gandhi and Indian National Congress during the struggle for Indian Independence; however, it was never used as the language of literature and high culture. Hindi and Urdu have been used as literary languages since the twelfth century (Kachru, B.; Kachru Y. & Sridhar 2008:81,83). The relationship of Kanauji with other related western-Hindi varieties was assessed through lexical similarity percentages by John & Varghese (2021). Kanauji and Hindustani had a high lexical similarity of 83% to 94%. Modern Standard Hindi is classified as one of the Hindustani registers, mainly used in official education and official documents.

Kanauji is spoken in Kanpur, Farrukhabad, Etawah, Hardoi, Shahjahanpur, Pilibhit, Kanauj, and other cities in Uttar Pradesh, India (Eberhard. et al. 2021). Kanauji is the term given by Grierson (1968) in the Linguistic Survey of India. Only a certain number of people from the district of Kanauj in Uttar Pradesh identify themselves as Kanauji speakers. Many Kanauji

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[1] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindi_Belt#cite_ref-12 (1st November 2022)
[2] Speech groups in India are small groups of a few thousand people who maintain their mother tongue in daily life. (Khubchandani 1983:3)

speakers identify themselves as speaking 'Dehati,' which means village variety.[3] (John & Varghese 2021:11) Kanauji has different names – Kanauji, Kannauji, Kannaujiya, and Dehati. As such, very few people claim to use a variety called 'Kannaujia,' but instead use one of the other names.

The primary aim of this study is to investigate the presence of bidialectalism and extended diglossia and bidialectalism in the native Kanauji speakers of the Kanpur district in Uttar Pradesh, India. Section 1 gives a background introduction to this study. Section 2 of this paper gives a literature review of the central concepts to be discussed in the following sections. Section 3 outlines the methodology of data collection along with the participant information. Bidialectalism as a concept is established in relation to bilingualism in section 4. A brief demonstration of the phenomenon of code-switching between Kanauji and Hindustani is made in section 5. Section 6 introduces the concept of extended diglossia and connects them with the varieties discussed ie. Kanauji, Hindustani and Modern Standard Hindi. The following section 7 is dedicated to giving the statistics of the different overlapping domains of language exhibiting extended diglossia in this survey. The conclusion follows in section 8.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Bidialectalism

Hazen (2001:92) assumes that bidialectalism is polarly contrasting with monolectalism. On one end of the spectrum, there is monolectalism; on the other, there is bidialectalism. This means there is a continuum that ranges from speaking only the standard dialect of a language (monolectal) to switching between the standard dialect and the vernacular dialects as coherent sets of language variation patterns (bidialectalism). This is represented by figure 1 below:
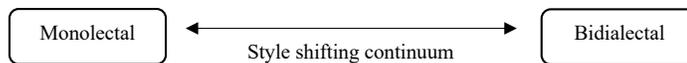

Figure 1. A potential theoretical space for bidialectalism (Hazen 2001:92)

So, there is always a continuum between two speakers speaking different dialects as shown in Figure 1 above. Hazen (2001) elaborates on the

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[3] 'Dehati' is the autonym for Kanauji/ Kannauji according to Eberhard et al. (2021)

criterion for bidialectalism: "If a Speaker A is representative of Dialect A, and Speaker B is representative of Dialect B, then for a speaker C to be bidialectalism between dialects A and B, Speaker C would need to produce the features of both A and B in a mutually exclusive manner. … For bidialectalism to be analogous to Bilingualism, it must be humanly possible to meet this criterion with two dialects of the same language." (Hazen 2001:92)

According to Hazen (2001:86), receptive multilingualism is recognized as a normal human ability. All humans can understand multiple dialects of their native languages, as they are usually mutually intelligible. In the present literature, some bidialectal studies exist in sociolinguistic and language acquisition and educational settings (Chisholm and Godley 2011, Boutte and Johnson Jr. 2012, Sharese 2016, Poplack 1978). Chisholm and Godley 2011 explore how bidialectal African American high school students learn about language variation, identity, and power through participation in a small group, inquiry-based discussion. Boutte and Johnson Jr. (2012) present strategies for learning among African American children who are biliterate and bidialectal. Sharese (2016) conducted a study investigating vocalic variation's social meaning in bidialectal African Americans of Bakersfield, California.How ever, no known recent study has been conducted, especially no sociolinguistic study to investigate bidialectal production in an Indian context.

2.2 Bidialectalism and Bilingualism

Hazen (2001:85) argues that the term 'Bidialectalism' has been metaphorically derived from Bilingualism; in both cases, one speaker can produce two varieties of languages/dialects in non-practiced conversation.

According to Hazen (2001:85), people shift their sociolinguistic styles in different contexts or domains. Fishman (1972: 43) used the term 'domain' as a cover term for 'a like set of social situations' and says speakers use language differently from one situation to the other. According to Fishman (1972), speech events can be categorized in terms of domains in any bilingual community. The significant domains identified by Fishman are family, friendship, religion, education, and employment, but there can be many more. Fishman explains that each domain in any bilingual community is commonly associated with a particular variety of languages. (Fishman 1972:44).

A similar situation happens in the case of bidialectalism as well. Other linguists have also pointed out the similarities between bidialectal/diglossia

and bilingualism. Bilinguals have two distinct languages and bidialectals have two language variants that comprise different lexical, phonetic, and syntactic systems. (Ross & Melinger 2017, Saeigh-Haddad & Joshi 2014). However, linguistically two variants of a language will always be more similar compared to two distinct languages in terms of their grammar, phonology, and vocabulary (Scaltritti et al. 2017).

Antoniou et al. (2016) compare the linguistic and cognitive performance of bilingual and bilectal[4] children and conclude that these functions are quite similar, supporting the idea of comparative bilingualism. Comparative bilingualism means language proximity plays a role in similar development and acquisition of bi and multilingual (Grohmann 2014b).

Thus, Bilingualism is very much similar to bidialectalism with the following differences. Firstly, the varieties used in Bilingualism are languages, and in Bidialectalism they are mutually intelligible and closely related dialects. In Bidialectalism, one of the dialects is the standard dialect, while the other is often a regional dialect, such as Italian and Venetian (Scaltritti et al. 2017). Secondly, bidialectalism is generally motivated by social factors, with precisely one dialect being 'socially stigmatized' (typically the low one) while the other is prestigious. However, in bilingualism, the two languages likely have the same social status, although, in countries like Asia and Africa, the use of a second language is associated with prestige (Mejía 2002). One of the crucial differences between bidialectalism/diglossia and bilingualism is that bilinguals code-switch two languages in the same context, while in bidialectal/diglossia the code-switching of language variants occurs in different contexts (e.g., at work or at home). Scaltritti et al. 2017).

Scotton (2006:64) says that speakers often add a second language to their repertoire through schooling in a second language. Whatever language is the official medium of instruction in the school, teens will undoubtedly attain some ability in that language. By ability, we mean proficiency in reading, writing, speaking, and comprehension skills. Sometimes, the language of the home or home dialect is very different from the dialect/language used for instruction in schools.

Scotton (2006:82) points out that sometimes there is not a bipartite division, but that three languages can figure in the allocation. Different dialects of the same language can exist along with the language, known as Extended Diglossia. In such cases, code-switching between the H and L varieties

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[4] Grohmann (2011) refers 'bilectal' as an indeterminate term covering bilingual-bidialectal-bivarietal etc.

occurs. (cf. Scotton 1986). Code-switching (C.S.) refers to the mixing by bilinguals (or multilingual) of two or more languages in discourse, often with no change of interlocutor or topic. Such mixing may take place at any level of linguistic structure. When the switching occurs within the same sentence or clause, it is known as intra-sentential code-switching. Intra-sentential code-switching is considered to be grammatically constrained. (Poplack 2001:1)

Britain (2009: 224-225) says that no causal social processes distinguish between the 'urban' and 'rural' areas. He argues that the same sorts of sociolinguistically complex processes determining language variation and change are seen in rural areas and cosmopolitan cities. In the Indian context, 'urban' refers to towns and cities with a high population, which are densely populated, while 'rural' refers to the less populated villages and hamlets. Urban people are engaged in non-agricultural work like- trade, commerce, and industry, while the primary occupation of rural people is agriculture and animal husbandry.[5]

2.3 Diglossia and overlapping domains

Ferguson (1959) introduced the term 'diglossia' to define a community with two genetically related varieties of the same language, but their use is strictly allocated to different situations. Originally, diglossia was known as 'classic diglossia.' It had the following features (a) Everyone in the bilingual/bidialectal community has the same L1 and acquires it in the home environment. However, the second variety (L2) is strictly learned through formal education. (b) The two language varieties are always used in mutually exclusive social situations.

Fishman (1967: 31) refined and extended Ferguson's (1959) notion of diglossia to include two or more languages or Bilingualism for internal communication. He argued that both varieties express different behaviors, attitudes, and values. Diglossia can exist in multilingual societies employing multiple dialects, registers, and functionally differentiated varieties of various kinds. Fishman talked about 'functionally differentiated' societal bilingualism. Fishman (1972) argued that the primary feature of extended diglossia is that the two varieties of language in diglossia need not be genetically related or mutually intelligible. H and L can be different languages. The H is used in status-raising and prestige situations like -public speeches, higher education, written texts, broadcasts,

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[5] https://mygate.com/blog/rural-vs-urban-living/ (5th November, 2022)

etc. In contrast, the L is used in casual conversations, shopping, and informal settings.

Various researchers claim that there are essential differences in the dynamics of the societies categorized under the two basic kinds of diglossia. Kloss (1966: 138) proposed the terms 'in-diglossia' (for the kind where the two varieties are closely related) and 'out-diglossia' (for situations where the two languages are unrelated or at best, distantly related). Scotton (1986) proposed the terms 'narrow' for classic diglossia and 'broad' for extended diglossia. According to Scotton, few truly diglossic (in the 1959 sense) communities exist. The two conditions of classic diglossia rarely exist-everyone should use L as the mother tongue, and H should never be used in informal conversations. Britto (1986) proposes the terms 'use-oriented' (or diatypical) and 'user-oriented' (or dialectal) diglossia to refer roughly to the classic and extended diglossia, respectively.

The notion that the two varieties in diglossia are 'discrete' entities with very little overlap is a common assumption among sociolinguistic scholars such as Romaine and Myers-Scotton (Mejdall 2018). Watts (1997:279) observes a periodically occurring 'dialect wave,' which was earlier defined by (Fasold 1984) as a leakage of function, i.e. an increased encroachment of the dialect into the domains reserved for the standard variety. However, a careful reading of Ferguson (1959) shows that there is a mention of shared phonology and shared lexicon between the two varieties. Thus, Mejdall (2018: 342) concludes that overlapping, common ground, and lack of discreteness among the diglossic varieties should be part of the linguistic framework. Some studies which exhibit overlapping domains include (Nercissians 2001), which explores common patterns of usage by the ethnic minorities in Tehran. Vaish (2007) studied language use in school, family and friends, media, public space, and religion among the Indian community in Singapore. He concludes it is a case of bilingualism without diglossia in the sense of Fishman (1972), where some domains exhibit language shift and others show language maintenance. Sayahi (2017) explores the diglossia in varieties of North Africa- vernacular Arabic varieties and Standard Arabic. He concludes that domains of language use are not strictly separate, especially in digital communication modes. Diglossic code-switching suggests the encroaching of vernacular Arabic on the domains of Standard Arabic.

3. Methodology for quantitative fieldwork & data collection

This survey was conducted with a group of 150 school-going-teens from a Hindi-medium school in the Araul village (Kanpur Dehat/ rural Kanpur)

and urban college students (urban Kanpur) of the Kanpur district in Uttar Pradesh, India. It was limited to students in their final two years of secondary education. Informants, primarily adolescents, and youth from both 'rural' and 'urban' Kanpur, were selected for the data collection.[6] Both rural and urban informants were chosen to analyze whether factors such as medium of education, socio-economic class, and first language acquisition, which vary in the rural and urban Kanpur, impact the percentages of language variation patterns in extended diglossia. These factors will be discussed in section 6 below. Consider Table 1 below for the demography of urban and rural Kanpur based on the 2011 census:

District Name	Total population	Sex Ratio	Density	Child Population	Literacy Rate M/F
Kanpur Nagar	1,795,092	852	1449	484,529	85.27/76.89
Kanpur Dehat	4,572,951	862	594	243,919	85.07/68.48

Table 1. Demographic summary of district Kanpur
(Dwivedi & Kar 2016:104, Table 1)

For the data collection, the researcher prepared a multiple-choice questionnaire that included informed consent and background information at the beginning. Multiple-choice questions were used to evaluate the language use of the varieties of western Hindi: Kanauji-Hindustani, and Modern Standard Hindi in different formal and informal domains and the associated attitudes with these varieties. Also, questions related to official recognition, prestige, literary heritage, and standardization were used to compare different varieties. A ten-student group discussion followed the survey for clarification and further feedback.

This study involves 150 participants with 80 rural school-going teens (60 girls and 20 boys) and 70 urban college-going youth (30 girls and 40 boys). Among the rural teens, all 80 participants (100%) reported that 'Dehati' (Kanauji) was their L1, Hindustani was their L2, while Modern Standard Hindi was the H variety. Hindustani is always the L2 for the rural school-going teens who have learned it through exposure to social media and television, while Modern Standard Hindi is the H variety learned through formal schooling and education. Among the urban youth, only 15 urban college youth (21.5%) attested their L1 to be Kanauji. These 15 urban youth involved a mixture of those that have migrated to urban Kanpur from 'Kanpur Dehat' for higher education, and those living in villages on the

outskirts of urban Kanpur. Hindustani is reported to be the L1 for the remaining 55 urban youth (78.5%) that live in urban Kanpur, while Standard Hindi was the H variety of the urban college-going youth (100%) learned through schooling. Hence, the (L) varieties vary in rural and urban settings, while the (H) variety remains the same.

I realized that there were not only two but three codes being used in the repertoire of Kanauji native speakers in different domains (social situations). Thus, a questionnaire was created that involved choices to be tick-marked between the three varieties of Kanauji, Hindustani, and Modern Standard Hindi. Each respondent had to tick the options as per their perceptions. More than one variety choice could be ticked as most of the questions were multiple-choice. Tables were used for a neat presentation.

Kanauji

(1) hʊm   IIT-Kanpʊr   mã̃   pədhət̪   hən
1SG   IIT-Kanpur   in   study. PROG   be.PRS.1SG
'I am studying at IIT Kanpur.'

Hindustani

(2) mɛ̃   IIT-Kanpʊr   mẽ   pədh   rəhi   hʊn
1SG   IIT-Kanpur   in   study   PROG.FSG   be.1SG
'I am studying at IIT Kanpur.'

Standard Hindi

(3) mɛ̃   bhart̪ijə   prɔd̪ogɪkɪ   sənst̪han   Kanpʊr
1SG   Indian   technology   institute   Kanpur

mɛ̃   ʃod̪hkərt̪a   hʊn
in   researcher   be.1SG
'I am a researcher at the Indian Institute of Technology Kanpur.'

In the examples (1-3) above, note the lexical differences between the three varieties. In the Standard Hindi example (3) observe the acronym IIT is fully spelled out as *bhart̪ijə prɔd̪ogɪk sənst̪han* 'Indian Institute of Technology' as compared to the usage of acronym IIT in (1,2). Moreover, note that the English-named college has the words changed to the Standard Hindi lexicon. Similarly, the progressive verb form- *pədhət̪* 'studying' in (1) and *pədh rəhi* 'studying' in (2) is replaced by the noun *ʃod̪hkərt̪a* 'researcher' in (3). These lexical differences arise because Standard Hindi or formal Hindi has a highly Sanskritized lexicon that draws rich technical vocabulary from Sanskrit and is written in the Devanagari script. Urdu is written in Arabic, and literary Urdu is highly Islamicized. On the other hand, Hindustani, the

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parent language of both Hindi and Urdu, is accepted as a vernacular speech form that is neither highly Sanskritized or Islamicized (Shapiro 2003:5).

4. Is Bidialectalism analogous to Bilingualism in Kanauji?

Kanauji speakers are bidialectal rather than bilingual in Kanauji and Hindustani. Kanauji and Hindustani both are closely related to Western Hindi varieties. We prefer the term bidialectal because both varieties are highly mutually intelligible, with 85-90% lexical similarity, which suggests they are language variants rather than two different languages. Hindustani is the colloquial Hindi spoken across north-central India and is considered more prestigious than the regional dialect Kanauji; this feature of one the more prestigious than the other is peculiar to bidialectalism.

Speakers in many parts of the world expand their linguistic repertoire by learning a national language, enabling the speakers towards socio-economic advancement by getting or retaining a better job. All these motivations fall under the 'instrumental motivation' (Scotton 2006:61). Hence, native speakers of Kanauji have the instrumental motivation to learn Standard Hindi as it is the language of education, business, and government offices. They believe that Hindi will enable their socioeconomic advancement.

Scotton (2006:63-4) claims that people may learn an L2 for several psychological reasons. One of them is 'psychological displacement,' where once the speakers of L1 are exposed to L2 and a new culture, they may want to associate with it for its cultural associations. For instance, a speaker of a rural community might want to learn the language of the urban city because of its association with modernity. Kanauji native speakers have enough 'psychological motivation' to learn Standard Hindi because it enables them to intermingle with Hindi speakers of nearby urban cities.

However, since most of the Kanauji speakers are lower-class workers like-maids, vendors, clerks, farmers, etc., they need to switch to the colloquial Hindustani when communicating with higher-class officials such as bosses, managers, etc., in the city, which uses Hindustani L1 for everyday conversations. This is one of the primary motivations for psychological displacement between the Kanauji (L1) and Hindustani (L2).

According to Scotton (2006:45), bilingualism is the result of language contact between speakers of L1 (language variety 1) and L2 (language variety 2). I claim that the bidialectal varieties undergo similar consequences in language contact as the bilingual varieties, for instance, Kanauji and Hindustani. These varieties are used as spoken languages of

the rural and urban Kanpur compared to Modern Standard Hindi, which is used only for formal and written communication. Thus, these varieties directly come in contact with everyday communication rather than Modern Standard Hindi. This section will discuss the language contact outcomes between the bidialectal varieties Kanauji and Hindustani.

(a) Proximit*y*: These include conditions of language contact where the speakers of L1 come into proximity with the speakers of L2. In such cases, the group with the 'language variety' of lower power and prestige usually attempts to learn the language of another group with more power and status. Kanauji native speakers are near Hindustani speakers. Most Kanauji-speaking regions are in districts of Uttar Pradesh, India, where Hindustani is the official state language. It is also the colloquial variety of a large population segment and the language with more power and status, unlike Kanauji, with less power or status. There is abundant language contact between the two varieties.

(b) Displacement: Displacement is understood as a physical displacement or psychological displacement. Certain conditions that fall under the rubric of displacement are; speakers moving voluntarily/involuntarily into a different state/nation (migration), speakers admiring the traits of the other language group, education in L2 as a prerequisite for socio-econ, the group with the 'language variety' of lower power and prestige usually especially the youth, for better jobs and education. There are no schools in which Kanauji is taught the language of instruction. Hindustani (L2) or English is most schools' instruction medium. Thus, both physical and psychological displacement is prevalent in these bidialectalism varieties.

We conclude that Kanauji (L1) and Hindustani (L2) represent a clear case of language contact and demonstrate the true outcomes of proximity and displacement for any bilingual community. Formal education and exposure to print and electronic media also greatly influence bidialectalism.

5. Code-switching between Kanauji and Hindustani

'Congruent lexicalization' is a code-switching situation where the two languages share a grammatical structure that can be filled lexically with elements from either language (Muysken 2001:6). Many cases of congruent lexicalization involve related and similar languages. Structural and lexical parallels between languages are observed. Bidirectional and back-and-forth switching between the two languages are common features of congruent lexicalization (Muysken 2001:129-32).

Different dialects of a language can exist along with the language, known as Extended Diglossia. In such cases, code-switching between the H and L varieties occurs in any domain (Moag 1986). Kanauji is a western-Hindi dialect, and Hindustani is the colloquial Hindi spoken in north-central Indian cities (like Kanpur), exhibiting diglossic complementation. Both language varieties have similar grammar and lexicon, and no matrix language exists.[6] Kanauji and Hindustani exhibit intra-sentential code-switching of the 'congruent lexicalization' type. Bidirectional and back and forth switching within the same sentence is frequently seen, as shown with examples below:[7]

(4)   je   ʈjohɑr   čɑːr   d̪ɪn   t̪ək   ***mənava***
        This   festival   four   day   till   celebrate.PST

        ɟaːt̪   hɛ
        go.PRF.MSG   be.3SG

        'This festival is celebrated for four days.'

(5)   t̪ʊm   roɟ   ***sʊbere***   ***kɪt̪t̪e***   bəɟe
        2SG   everyday   morning   howmuch.PL   time

        sokər   ***ʊt̪hət̪***   ho?
        sleep.PTPL   getup.HAB   be.PRS.2SG

        'You get up at what time every day?'

In (4) and (5), we can observe back-and-forth intra-sentential code-switching among the Kanauji and Hindustani lexical items. In (4), *mənava ɟaːt̪* 'celebrate.PST. go.PRF.MSG' is in the Kanauji lexicon, preceded by Hindustani lexical items. In (5), *sʊbere kɪt̪t̪e* 'morning how much.PL' and *ʊt̪hət̪* 'getup.HAB.' is Kanauji, while the rest of the sentence is in Hindustani.

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[6] Myers Scotton's 'The Matrix Language frame model' (1993b, 1995) outlines that in codeswitching, there is a base language called matrix language in which the embedded language is inserted.
[7] Bold italic text- *Kanauji*, non-bold text- *Hindustani*

6. Extended diglossia in Kanauji, Hindustani & Standard Hindi

According to Schiffman (1997), Fishman (1967) introduced "extended diglossia" and also made a distinction between the case of "consensually different languages" and "consensually different dialects." The notion of consensually different dialects applies to situations in South Asia where some L varieties are associated with H varieties without being their close ancestor, like eastern varieties of Hindi (Bihari dialects) have descended from *eastern apabhramsas* but are treated as dialects of Standard Hindi. (Schiffman 1997:209). Similarly, western Hindi dialects such as Kanauji and Braj Bhasha have a different historical lineage but are treated as dialects of Standard Hindi. Hindustani and Modern Standard Hindi also share a classical diglossic relationship. When Hindustani was chosen as the national language of Independent India as it was the widely used lingua franca, steps were taken to develop the highly Sanskritized Modern Standard Hindi as the H variety in contrast to Hindustani (L variety) as the vernaculars of Hindi were considered too "low" by many citizens of the country (Schiffman 1997:212).
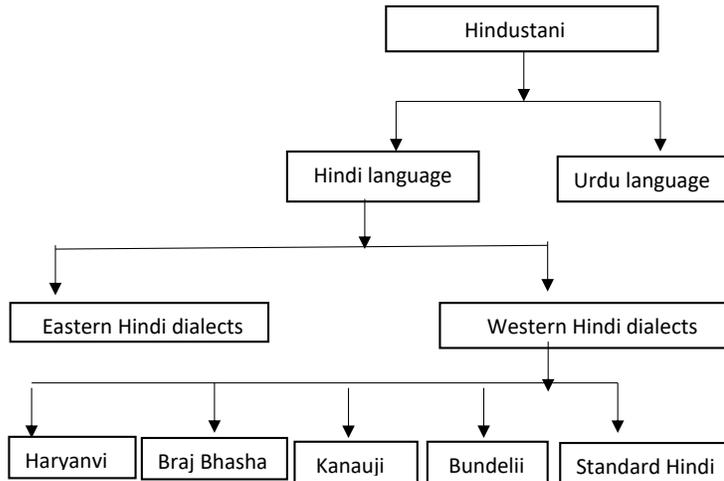

Figure 2. Genealogical relationships between Hindustani and western Hindi varieties.

Kanauji, Hindustani, and Modern Standard Hindi form an extended Diglossia. They are genetically related western-Hindi varieties/dialects with mostly overlapping domains. Look at figure 2 above for an illustration of the language relationships.

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 Grierson (1968) divided Hindi into two distinct groups: Eastern and Western Hindi. The eastern group of Hindi consists of three dialects: Awadhi, Bagheli, and Chattisgarhi. While the western group consists of five dialects: Haryanvi, Braj bhasha, Kanauji, Bundeli, and Hindustani. (Grierson 1968: Vol IX, Part I). Hindi and Urdu have a common form known as Hindustani, a Hindi-Urdu mixed language. Hindustani emerged as a lingua-franca of major areas of northern India and Pakistan long before the Independence due to various historical and cultural processes. In the 21st century, Hindustani continues to be used as a lingua-franca in major cities of India for ordinary communication. Approximately; 550 million people speak Hindi, especially those living in cities who use Hindustani rather than Sanskritized Hindi in everyday speech. Thus, Hindustani continues to thrive as the vernacular, and Modern Standard Hindi is the literary language.[8]

7. Overlapping of domains in extended diglossia

It is noted that many Kanauji speakers show compartmentalization of linguistic roles based on different values and domains of activity. However, this is not extremely strict, with several overlapping domains. According to Schiffman (1997: 212), "in some linguistic cultures, all speakers exhibit diglossia behavior (i.e., use both H and L varieties in complementary distribution), while in others, only some members of the society do."

"in many bilingual and multilingual situations one encounters not only a complementarity of languages but also a type of use which is best described as *overlapping or intermeshing*." (Sridhar, 1996:56). Look at the tables below, which outline the overlapping domains of language use among Kanauji, Hindustani, and Modern Standard Hindi.

7.1 Personal thoughts, activities, and feelings

	Kanauji		Hindustani		Modern Standard Hindi	
	(R)	(U)	(R)	(U)	(R)	(U)
Thinking	47.56%	33.33%	32.92%	52.94%	19.51% 13.72%	
Dreaming	50%	30.95%	30%	61.90%	20%	7.14%

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[8] https://www.britannica.com/topic/Hindustani-language (5th November, 2022)

Counting	27.6%	18.18%	52.3%	68.18%	20%	13.63%
Joking	57.53%	49.05%	32.87%	43.39%	9.5%	7.54%
Storytelling	27.11%	31.91%	59.32%	53.19%	13.55%	14.89%
Praising	22.22%	23.52%	61.11%	62.74%	16.6%	13.72%
accusing	35.8%	38.29%	43.28%	51.06%	20.89%	10.63%

Table 2. Personal thoughts, activities, and feelings. (R-rural school-going teens, u-urban college youth)

From table 2 above, we can see that personal thoughts we observe the following percentages among the rural school-going teens– thinking (47.56% Kanauji), dreaming (50% Kanauji), etc. There is maximum usage of Kanauji followed by Hindustani and most minor usage of Standard Hindi). The L1 dialect for rural students is Kanauji; hence they feel more comfortable thinking personal thoughts like thinking and dreaming in their L1. While rural school-going teens preferred Hindustani the most for carrying out verbal activities such as storytelling (59.32% Hindustani), praising (61.11% Hindustani), and accusing (43.28% Hindustani). Fewer teens reported using Hindustani and Standard Hindi for these verbal activities in rural school-going teens.

However, since Hindustani is the native language of many urban college students and Kanauji is spoken less in the city, Hindustani was the most preferred variety for thinking (52.94%), and dreaming (61.90%) among the urban college students. Table 1 above shows that urban college youth claim that Hindustani is the most preferred variety for verbal activities: counting (52.3%-R, 68.18% U), storytelling (59.32%-R, 53.19% U), praising (61.11%-R, 62.74%-U), and accusing (43.28%-R, 51.06%-U) as compared to less preferred Kanauji and least preferred Standard Hindi. One of the reasons can be that both of these varieties, Kanauji and Hindustani, are preferred for informal verbal interactions by Kanauji speakers. In contrast, Standard Hindi is the preferred language in formal communication.

The above analysis suggests that informal domains of personal thinking, dreaming, and verbal activities like storytelling, counting, praising, accusing, and joking are preferably done in the (L) low varieties of Kanauji or Hindustani and Standard Hindi (H variety) was minimally used as is typical to a diglossic relationship. Among the rural school-going teens, Kanauji (L1) was preferred over Hindustani (L2), and Modern Standard

Hindi was least used. On the other hand, among the urban college youth, 'Hindustani' (L1 of 78.5% of youth) was preferred over Kanauji (L1 of 21.5% of youth,) and Modern Standard Hindi (H of 100% of youth) was used the st for these informal activities as shown in table 2 above.

	Kanauji		Hindustani		Modern Standard Hindi	
	(R)	(U)	(R)	(U)	(R)	(U)
Praying to God	25.97%	21.05%	55.84%	57.89%	18.18%	21.05%
Singing aarti/Bhajan	17.5%	14.8%	57.5%	55.5%	25%	29.6%
Religious/God discussion	15.78%	22.5%	55.26%	52.7%	28.94%	25%

Table 3. Domain of God and religion (R-rural school-going teens, U-urban college-going youth)

Table 3 above demonstrates that 25.97% of rural school-going teens said Hindustani, and 55.84% claimed that Kanauji is the preferred language for solo prayer to God. While 57.5% of rural school-going teens said that Hindustani, and 25% said that Modern Standard Hindi is used for the aarti and bhajan songs. 55.26% of the rural school-going teens (R) in the survey believed that they use Hindustani, and 28.9% think they use Standard Hindi for religious discussions.

A similar usage pattern was observed among the urban college-going youth. While 57.89% of urban college-going youth argued using Hindustani, only 21.05% preferred Kanauji or Standard Hindi for solo prayers. Hindustani was preferred among the urban college-going youth for chanting a bhajan (55.5% Hindustani) or any other religious discussion (52.7% Hindustani). Modern Standard Hindi and Kanauji were used the least for these religious activities among the college urban youth.

The above statistics show that when praying is done to ask for blessings or self-protection from God by an individual, it becomes a personal/informal activity, and hence Kanauji or Hindustani (L) varieties are used for this purpose. However, religion (sermon/prayer) is a mix of formal and informal domains (Verma 1976:164). Hence, religious scriptures, aarti/bhajan, etc., are written using a mixture of Hindustani and Standard Hindi. Chanting a bhajan alone or along-with family and having religious discussions is a

mixed activity (formal and informal) using both Hindustani and Modern Standard Hindi.

7.3 Conversations at home with family

	Kanauji		Hindustani		Standard Hindi	
	(R)	(U)	(R)	(U)	(R)	(U)
With grandparents	78.66%	82.2%	14.6%	17.7%	6.66%	0%
With parents	33.33.%	37.77%	56%	60%	10.66%	2.22%
With siblings	34.72%	36.92%	52.77%	58.6%	12.5%	4.34%
With relatives	6.94%	33.33%	75%	62.7%	18.05%	3.92%
With cattle	38.09%	43.7%	46.03%	53.12%	15.87%	3.12%

Table 4. Conversations at home with family (R-rural school-going teens, u-urban college youth)

As shown in Table 4 above, 78.66% of rural school-going teens claim that the older generation speaks Kanauji, and 14.6% say they used more Hindustani. 56% of rural school-going teens in the survey said that Hindustani is their preferred language with parents, and 52.77% of rural school-going teens attested to using Hindustani with their siblings. Nevertheless, Kanauji was also used according to 33.33% of respondents by parents and 34.7% with siblings. About 46% of rural school-going teens use Hindustani and 38% Kanauji with cattle like cows, goats, etc. About 75% of rural school-going teens claimed that Hindustani was used with relatives compared to 34.72% vouching for Kanauji.

82.2% of urban college-going youth claimed that Kanauji was the preferred variety by older people in the city. They are one of the prominent members sustaining the language, especially in the case of migration, where a shift to L2 is in progress. In a similar pattern of usage, the urban college-going youth claims that Hindustani is their most preferred variety with parents (60%), siblings (58.6%), and relatives (62.7%).

These statistics show that the older generation prefers to use Kanauji with their family members in both the rural and the urban settings as compared to the teens and youth who prefer to use Hindustani with their family members (parents and siblings), signifying a shift from Kanauji (L1) to Hindustani (L2) among the younger generations. However, Hindustani (L2)

dominates interpersonal relationships with relatives. It shows a slightly pessimistic attitude towards Kanauji in outgroup situations, as Hindustani is preferred to project a persona among relatives. These numbers are not surprising since informal conversations, such as at home, belong to the informal domain. (Verma 1976:164), where the (L) varieties with family members are ideally preferred, and the (H) variety 'Modern Standard Hindi' is not used at all.

7.4 Conversations at school (formality as a factor)

	Kanauji		Hindustani		Standard Hindi	
	(R)	(U)	(R)	(U)	(R)	(U)
With peers (class)	12.85%	10.63%	68.5%	78.72%	18.57%	10.63%
With peers (lunchbreak)	29.33%	18.36%	62.66%	69.38%	6.0%	12.24%
With teacher (lunchbreak)	1.81%	0%	49.04%	74.41%	49.09%	25.58%
With teacher (class)	0%	0%	64.9%	67.5%	35.6%	32.5%

Table 5. Conversations at school & college with teachers and peers (R-rural school-going teens, U-urban college youth)

Table 5 shows that the rural school-going teens in the survey said that Hindustani was the preferred language during conversations with their peers in class (68.5% of teens) and the lunch break (62.66% of teens). However, 12.85% also used Kanauji with peers in class, and 29.33% claimed that they used Kanauji during lunch breaks. In the conversation of rural school-going teens with the teacher in the class, no one used Kanauji; with the teacher during the lunch break, 1.81% used Kanauji.

Around 78.72% of urban college-going youth used Hindustani with peers in the college, and 69.38% of college-going youth used Hindustani during their lunch break. Like rural school-going teens, Hindustani was the maximally used variety by the teacher, followed by Standard Hindi by the urban college-going youth. The survey revealed that 74.41% of urban college-going youth used Hindustani, and 25.58% used Standard Hindi with their instructor during a break. In contrast, 67.5% of urban college-going youth used Hindustani, and 32.5% of urban college-going youth used Standard Hindi with the instructor in the class.

The level of formality with the teacher/instructor is greater than the formality with peers. Hence, more Modern Standard Hindi is used with teachers and more Hindustani with peers. Kanauji was spoken in conversations with peers, but more during the lunch break than in the class. No Kanauji was used with the teacher during class because it is a formal communication situation. Hence, the situational factor of 'formality vs. informality' plays a significant role in the interactions at school.

7.5 Conversations in the marketplace (class as a factor)

	Kanauji		Hindustani		Standard Hindi	
	(R)	(U)	(R)	(U)	(R)	(U)
With the shopkeeper	16.42%	26%	75%	66%	6.57%	8%
With the vendor	46.66%	35.7%	46.66%	64.28%	6.66%	0%

Table 6. Conversations in the marketplace (R-rural school-going teens, u-urban college-going youth)

Table 6 shows that the type of variety preferred by the shopkeeper (upper-social-class worker) was Hindustani according to 75% of rural school-going teens, whereas only 16.42% used Kanauji. On the other hand, rural school-going teens reported equal usage of Kanauji and Hindustani (46.66%) with a vendor. Around 66% of the urban college-going youth claimed to used Hindustani and 26% Kanauji with a shopkeeper at the marketplace. While 64.28% of urban college-going youth said, they used Hindustani with a vendor and less preferably Kanauji (35.7%). The urban college-going students maximally used Hindustani, while Kanauji was used least by the college youth in the city, pointing towards a rapid intergenerational shift towards Hindustani in cities.

The type of variety preferred in conversations depends on the domain and other social/situational factors. Upper social-class/higher-wage officers/ the elite typically had some education or urbanity and preferred to use Hindustani. While the lower-wage/lower-class workers, especially in rural regions, speak Kanauji as their preferred everyday language and, less preferably, Hindustani. Verma (1976:164) states that 'transactional contexts' can be either formal or informal. In the case of diglossia with bilingualism, accessing informal social situations where L is appropriate is

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more universal to people of all classes. However, access to the formal situations in which H is suitable is reserved for the higher socio-economic class, literate, or educationally privileged classes of the society. (Hudson 2002:6).

7.6 Kanauji folk songs in marriages & festivals

As per Dwivedi & Kar (2016:104), Kanauji has little to no written down literature. Folk songs and folk literature are preserved by people of local oral-literary traditions (Trivedi, 1997). Contemporary folk songs are found in Kanauji and sung in rituals, festivals, and marriages in the various regions of Uttar Pradesh, such as Kanpur, Itawa, Auraiya, Kanauj, and Mainpuri, etc., and in both the rural and urban areas. Women sing many Kanauji folk songs of the village in festivals like Guriya, Chahht puja, and weddings. The data in our survey confirmed this. According to 55.69% of rural school-going teens, folksongs are sung in Kanauji and are known as 'Dehatii Lokgeet' in a rural wedding. Only 37.6% of rural school-going teens claimed the presence of 'Dehaati lokgit' in a city/urban area wedding. There was a consensus among 86% of rural school-going teens that they used other songs, primarily Bollywood songs, in rural marriages. However, around 10-14% of rural school-going teens believed that Dehati or Kanauji was also used in Bollywood songs.

About 69.76% of urban college-going youth attested to the presence of Kanauji-folksongs in rural weddings, and 45.45% of urban college-going youth said that Kanauji- folksongs are sung in urban weddings too. 54.16% of urban college-going youth have the perception that Bollywood songs in rural regions are sung in Kanauji, and only 29.16% think that Hindustani is used instead for this purpose. 55.8% of the urban college-going youth claimed that Hindustani was the preferable language for Bollywood songs in the city, followed by Kanauji (23.52%). Moreover, 16.66% of urban-college youth perceive Modern Standard Hindi was also used in the Bollywood songs at rural weddings, and 20.58% of urban college-going youth thought Modern Standard Hindi is used in urban weddings.

Ramleela or Ramlila is a Hindu mythological play celebrated in cities across India in honor of Lord Ram. It is a musical play that reenacts the life of Lord Rama according to the epic Ramayana. Based on our survey, 64.78% of rural school-going teens said that in religious functions like 'Ramleela' in rural Kanpur, the language used is 'Hindustani'.While 19.7% of rural school-going teens reported usage of 'Modern Standard Hindi' and 15.49% of rural school-going teens reported using Kanauji during 'Ramleela.'

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Folksongs are always sung in Kanauji (regional dialect), are predominant in rural marriages, and are comparatively less used in urban marriages. Bollywood songs in rural weddings were reported to be primarily Hindustani, while sometimes Kanauji and Modern Standard Hindi were used. In contrast, marriages in the city preferably comprise Bollywood songs sung in Hindustani and are reported to use Kanauji and Modern Standard Hindi at times. However, these claims are wrong as Bollywood songs composed in the Bollywood industry in Mumbai, India, and listened to all over India are sung in the Hindustani lingua franca only. They hardly use Kanauji/Dehati, and Standard Hindi, if at all, is used minimally. Religious events like 'Ramleela' are primarily carried out in 'Hindustani' as it is a public event, and the colloquial variety 'Hindustani' is preferred; nevertheless, usage of 'Modern Standard Hindi' and 'Kanauji' has also been attested.

7.7 Mobiles & social-media

Conversation over mobiles, including voice and video calls, is typical in today's digital age, and so is chatting over social media like WhatsApp, Facebook, etc. Questions were posed in the survey to investigate the variety of Hindi that the rural-school-going teens used on social media and telephonic calls. Around 73.23% of rural school-going teens claimed to use Hindustani, and 15.23% used Kanauji/Dehati over voice calls on the phone. Similar data were found for chatting/messaging over mobile chat or social media like WhatsApp and Facebook, as 56.33% and 43.28% of rural school-going teens claimed to use Hindustani on mobile chats and social media, respectively. Only 5.6% and 4.7% of rural school-going teens claimed to use Kanauji over mobile and social media chats, respectively.

The urban college youth (U) statistics suggest that Hindustani is the most popular language used on social media and mobiles: mobile voice calls (67.3%), mobile messaging (70.2%), and social media apps Facebook, WhatsApp, etc. (64%). Modern Standard Hindi was also used in large numbers- social media apps (32%) and mobile messaging (23.4%). Except for mobile voice calls, where 19.2% of college youth claimed Kanauji, the use of Kanauji for messaging and social media apps was quite limited.

The informal conversations over mobiles (voice calls, video calls, chats, social media) preferred the use of Hindustani, followed by Kanauji among the rural school-going teens. This shows Kanauji is the variety that is less popular in digital media use in rural Kanpur. Among the urban college youth, Hindustani, the lingua franca of Kanpur city, was preferred for verbal

mobile calls and writing over social media apps. Nevertheless, Modern Standard Hindi and Kanauji are sometimes used over social media apps and messaging in cities. By and large, mobile conversations are informal activities, whether in spoken (calls) or written communication (messaging and social media) that exhibit greater use of the (L) variety over the (H) variety in this extended diglossia situation.

7.8 Formal written communication

33.82 % of rural school-going teens said books and magazines are written in Hindustani. While 66.17% of rural school-going teens said, there are magazines, letters, and books in Modern Standard Hindi. Modern Standard Hindi is the officially recognized language of India and the official language of the state of Uttar Pradesh. 72.05% of rural school-going teens said that for official work in school, the language of the documents, such as circulars and notices, was Modern Standard Hindi, and 27.9% of rural school-going teens thought that Hindustani was also somewhat used in the official documents. 72.3% of rural school-going teens reported using Modern Standard Hindi in urban weddings. 78.2% of rural school-going teens attested to the use of Modern Standard Hindi for rural weddings, and 12-13% of them believed that Hindustani was also used in rural wedding cards. Surprisingly, around 15.3 % of rural school-going teens said that Kanauji/Dehati was also used in the rural-wedding cards.

 48.93% of urban college-going youth said books and magazines are written in Hindustani. While 51.06% of urban college-going youth said, there are magazines, letters, and books in Modern Standard Hindi. 81.18% of youth said that for official work in school, the language of the documents, such as circulars and notices, was Modern Standard Hindi, and 81.18% of urban college-going youth said that Modern Standard Hindi is also used. About 18.18% of urban college-going youth thought that Hindustani was also somewhat used in the official documents. None of the urban college-going youth attested to using Kanauji in official written documents. 67.44% of urban college-going youth reported using Modern Standard Hindi in urban weddings, and 62.16% of urban college-going youth reported this for rural weddings. 24-25% of urban college-going youth believed Hindustani, and 13.51% said that Kanauji/Dehati was also used in the rural-wedding cards.

Books, letters, and magazines are primarily written in Modern Standard Hindi (H), the literary variety, while Hindustani was also equally used. However, Modern Standard Hindi is preferred over Hindustani in official documents as official work is a formal domain that primarily uses the high (H) variety in diglossic settings. Modern Standard Hindi and Hindustani

have written grammar, so they could be used as literary sources, unlike Kanauji, which does not have a standardized grammar. Weddings in India have the tradition of giving or sending invitation cards to guests. Wedding-card being a formal invitation, rural school-going teens and urban college-going youth in the survey agreed that most cards used Modern Standard Hindi, while less use of Hindustani and Kanauji is also seen in rural and urban wedding cards. This shows how the low (L) variety is encroaching on the formal domains relegated to the high (H) variety.

7.9 Schooling and higher education

76.62% of rural school-going teens said that they think 'Dehati' was preferred by the uneducated or less educated rural folk; they also used 13.5% Hindustani but hardly any Standard Hindi. The statistics for using the varying varieties in the educated class of people were different. Around 73.6 % of rural school-going teens think that the educated rural folk speak Hindustani and, 25% prefer using Standard Hindi, only 1.3% of educated rural speakers used Kanauji.

51.02% of urban college-going youth believed that Dehati was preferred by the uneducated and less educated city people. 46.93% of urban college-going youth attested to using Hindustani and 2.04% to Standard Hindi among illiterate urban dwellers. 75.51% of college-going youth thought educated masses use Hindustani, and only 18.36% used Modern Standard Hindi. A small number of 6.12% of college youth also claimed that educated people in the city sometimes used Kanauji.

Per the survey, Kanauji is frequently used by the uneducated population segment of Kanpur Dehat or Kanpur village. Books, magazines, and newspapers were read by speakers who could read and write Modern Standard Hindi. Many highly educated Kanauji speakers shift to using Hindustani but speak their L1 Kanauji in the home environment. We can predict a similar situation for other Kanauji-speaking regions like Itawa, Auraiya, Mainpuri, Kannauj, etc. We can conclude that the perception is that the level of education has an impact on the access and use of a variety of languages among rural and urban speakers.

(a) Verbal communication vs. non-verbal communication

A clear distinction can be drawn in language between written/non-verbal communication and verbal communication. When the rural school-going teens had to choose on the multiple-choice survey which variety they used for reading-writing (nonverbal communication), the following was

reported- 81.99% preferred Modern Standard Hindi, and only 15.66% of rural school-going teens said they also used Hindustani. Only 2.4% of rural school-going teens attested that they used 'Dehati or Kanauji' during reading-writing. However, for the case of verbal communication, 68.57% of rural school-going teens confirmed that they preferred to use Hindustani, and 18.57% preferred Standard Hindi.

Among the urban college-going youth, 70.83% said they prefer Hindustani for verbal communication. 20.83% used Kanauji, and only 8.33% used Modern Standard Hindi for verbal communication. In the case of nonverbal communication (reading-writing), the urban college-going youth claimed that 50.74% preferred Standard Hindi, and around 37.31% used English. Only 7.46% and 4.47% used Hindustani and Kanauji, respectively.

Therefore, we can conclude that Modern Standard Hindi (H) and English are the most preferred for non-verbal (reading) and written communication in educational settings. While Hindustani is the preferred variety for verbal communication. Kanauji is used sparsely as a literary language. Walters (1996) explains this situation as follows- "the existence of diglossia hinges on a tradition of restricted literacy involving the written variety of a language that becomes increasingly distant (and therefore distinct) from the native variety of language spoken in a speech community that is overwhelmingly illiterate." (Walters 1996: 161-162)

(b) Hindi as a medium of instruction and subject in schools/colleges

The language used as a medium of instruction for teaching books in Hindi medium schools was claimed to be a mixture of 80% Modern Standard Hindi and 20% Hindustani by the teens. Kanauji was not reported to be used as a medium of instruction by rural school-going teens. Around 70.66% of teens said that the language used by the teacher/professor in class was Modern Standard Hindi. At least 1.3% of rural school-going teens said the instructor could lapse into Kanauji during classroom instruction. 28% of rural school-going teens said that Hindustani was also used.

In contrast, the medium of instruction of books was Hindustani as reported by 48% of urban college youth, and Modern Standard Hindi by 50% of urban college-going youth. 2% of urban college youth said that Kanauji is used as a medium of instruction. 32.5% of college youth said that the language used by the teacher/professor in class was Modern Standard Hindi. 67.44% of urban college-going youth said that Hindustani was also used.

This shows that Modern Standard Hindi (H) is the medium of instruction in many Hindi medium schools, while a combination of both Modern Standard

Hindi (H) and Hindustani(L) is taught as a subject in these schools in Hindi medium schools until intermediate secondary education (class 12th). Learning (H) as a subject might be necessary for national integration or socio-economic mobility. Verma (1976:164) argues that university lectures and speech on technical subjects falls under the formal domain. Hence, the H variety (here, Modern Standard Hindi) is used maximally as the medium of instruction and as a taught subject. However, Hindustani is also used partially as a subject taught in schools.

7.10 Radio/TV broadcasts

52.7% of rural school-going teens said they listen to Hindustani on radio programs and 80.5% on T.V. On the other hand, 39.18% of rural school-going teens heard Modern Standard Hindi on the Radio and 16.6% on T.V. These numbers are very much as expected since Hindustani is most commonly used in T.V. and Bollywood. Modern Standard Hindi is used sparsely in National news and very few programs. Around 8.10% of rural school-going teens gave feedback during the survey that there are some radio programs in Dehati-Hindi or Kanauji, and 2.7% of rural school-going teens claimed to find some Kanauji programs on T.V. A radio program, 'Sakhi-Saheli' at 3:00 pm every day is broadcasted on the Radio in Dehati language /Kanauji where women conversate in Kanauji. One program – 'Hawa Mahal,' is broadcasted on the radio at 8:30 pm every day in Kanauji rural regions.

68.8% of the urban college-going youth claimed Hindustani to be the preferred variety for radio broadcasts, and 67.39% reported Hindustani usage on T.V. 31.1% of urban college-going youth said that Modern Standard Hindi is used for radio broadcasts, and 30.43% said that Modern Standard Hindi is used on T.V. The use of Kanauji in the city was reported to be negligible for T.V. and radio broadcasts by the urban college-going youth.

In conclusion, Hindustani (L1) is reported to be the preferred variety for radio/TV broadcasts (mass media) as it is the lingua franca of northern and central India and is more popular among the masses as compared to a regional dialect like Kanauji. Modern Standard Hindi (H) is also used less, preferably in radio/tv broadcasts. However, Kanauji is hardly used because it is considered less prestigious and a language with a very low identity.(Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2013).

7.11 Language acquisition & standardization

Ferguson (1959) outlined 'acquisition and standardization' as common denominators separating the (H) and (L) variety of language in a diglossia. In the survey, 55% of rural school-going teens acquired Kanauji at home first, while 45% claimed to acquire Hindustani at home. 0% of rural school-going teens attested to acquiring Modern Standard Hindi at home. On the other hand, 60% of urban college-going youth reported that they acquired Hindustani at home, and 40% said they acquired Kanauji at home. 0% of urban college-going youth said Modern Standard Hindi was acquired at home and argued that it was learned in school.

Kanauji and Hindustani are the (L) variety that teens/youth acquire from their parents at home or interaction with friends and acquaintances. Standard Hindi is the (H) variety that the child might hear from time to time in his/her surroundings but is learned formally in school for many Kanauji speakers. There is a difference in the acquisition method, which is typical of a diglossia setting. In diglossia, there is a unique kind of functional differentiation of registers, where the H variety cannot be anybody's mother tongue. (Joseph 1987:17)

With respect to standardization, the (H) variety here, i.e, Modern Standard Hindi, has a long tradition of grammatical study. It includes grammar, dictionaries, treatises on pronunciation, and style. These have standardized and codified rules which do not allow variation, except in certain limits. By contrast, the (L) variety, i.e., Kanauji, has hardly any existing descriptive or normative studies. No standardization of Kanauji has been done. Hindustani is a lingua franca spoken across northern India, but it is also used in popular literature books, magazines, and newspapers. Modern Standard Hindi is mainly used in official education and official documents. According to Ferguson (1959:332), the H variety in diglossia is always standardized and gets a fixed pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary compared to the L variety. However, here we see that not only Modern Standard Hindi (H) is codified, but Hindustani (L) is also a codified variety, unlike Kanauji (L).

8. Conclusion

This quantitative study establishes a case of 'fluid diglossia' (Pauwels 1986), where Kanauji speakers exhibit overlapping domains of language use with Hindustani and Modern Standard Hindi (no rigid functional differentiation) among rural school-going teens and urban college-going youth. Statistics reveal that although a preference for Kanauji prevails in informal   domains   like   thinking,   dreaming,   and   interpersonal

communication with family and friends, Hindustani is rapidly encroaching on this space. In rural areas, the youth is comfortable with Kanauji in their personal space. In contrast, urban youth are conscious that Kanauji is socially stigmatized as the language of the aged population and prefer Hindustani over Kanauji for overt verbal communication. Exposure to Standard Hindi begins with formal education and is the sole option for written, formal, and formal verbal communication. Although, Kanauji is preferred in intimate celebratory events like festivals and weddings, stage performances like Ramlila are inclined towards Hindustani with some peppering of Standard Hindi. Digital communication is again attributed to being a social skill that is learned rather than acquired and hence accorded a relatively more formal status through the preference of Hindustani over Kanauji. Mass communication involves using the three language varieties discussed in this article. Radio and television programs are predominantly in Hindustani; news broadcasts use Standard Hindi. A few radio broadcasts in rural areas are in Kanauji as part of the state-owned radio broadcaster's initiative to cater to the local population.

 Although Kanauji speakers have a positive attitude towards their language, they are also reconciled to the inevitability of using Hindustani for verbal communication and Standard Hindi for formal and written communication. The use of Kanauji in the public domain is understood as a marker of lower status implying rural background and lack of formal education. Nonetheless, rural youth aspire to be able to expand the domains of use of Kanauji, their first language vis-à-vis the formal varieties that they acquire through socialization beyond their homes and formal education. While Hindustani aids Kanauji speakers to blend in with the urban environment and enable them to communicate effectively with other speakers of mutually intelligible varieties who are not from the same region, Modern Standard Hindi is perceived as the means to economic gains and higher prestige. Hence Kanauji is restricted to intimate set-ups like home and neighborhood and is not preferred in public and formal situations.

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