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Research Article

Discipline and Communities of Practice: Gender and Language Ideology in an Indian School

Deeksha Gautam *
Indian Institute of Technology Gandhinagar

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This paper explores how a school is a space through which different disciplining strategies reinforce and reproduce various ideologies of language and standards in relation to the gender and religious identities of the students. The study was conducted in a state-funded residential school, 'Vidya Niketan' in Moradabad district, Uttar Pradesh state in India. The methods used for data collection were participant observation, focus group discussions, and interviews. The sample size contains 78 students including 29 girls, and 49 boys belonging to the age group 13-15, studying in grade 9th. 41 students including 19 girls, and 22 boys participated in the interviews and focus group discussions. To begin with, the paper first examines the overall dynamics in the school premises and its impact on the formation of communities of practices amongst the students. In continuation, it examines the details of how peer interactions reinforce and (re)produce ideologies of standard and language amongst the students. It was observed that the constant monitoring induces a sense of consciousness amongst the students significantly affecting the formation of communities of practice amongst the girls. The restriction of movement and constant monitoring, at large, pushes the girls to 'homogenize' their speech adhering to the prevalent standardized variety of the school, while such was not the case with the boys. Using the standardized variety of Urdu stands out for many in their speech and hence marked with Muslim identity, thereby rejuvenating the discourses on ideologies of language and standard.

Keywords: community of practice; disciplining; ideology of language; Muslim speech; standardized variety

1. INTRODUCTION

Schools serve as sites of social and cultural reproduction (Bourdieu, 2018; Durkheim, 1956; Freire & Ramos, 1970; Parsons, 1949) and socialization (Parsons, 1949) (re)producing social and cultural inequalities and propagating ideologies of standards (Milroy, 2001) and language. As evidenced by existing literature, disciplining constitutes an important practice shaping social dynamics within schools (Chidsey, 2018; Phyak, 2023) while language ideologies within schools emerge from a myriad of factors including linguistic and ethnic divisions, and religion (Davis, 2020; Wortham, 2008). Schools in relation to gender are often understood as a space where gender differences are replicated and reinforced while religion has been a guiding force that shapes the overall functioning of the school such as events like celebration of festivals, type of prayer (chorus, bhajan or dua), and the overall environment (Froerer, 2017).

Various scholars have presented their testimonies from school ethnographies highlighting how disciplining significantly affects the students' participation by creating

* Deeksha Gautam, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Gandhinagar, Palaj, Gandhinagar, Gujarat, 382355, India, gautamdeeksha0501@gmail.com

stark distinctions amongst boys and girls. Scholars have given enough attention to teacher-student dynamics, physical punishments with regards to gender, and language teaching, instruction & language ideologies, however, very few, have looked into detail at the (re)production of language ideologies in relation to both gender and religious identities within the students' communities in northern India (Chidsey, 2018; Heller, 1999; Phyak, 2023)

Drawing from ethnographic explorations at Vidya Niketan, an English-medium residential school based in North-India, this paper investigates a school as a space which, through a variety of disciplining strategies, reproduces and influences different ideologies of language and standards in relation to gender and religious identities of the students. Using Foucault's (1977) idea of disciplining, I have studied how students are disciplined in the school premises through various strategies. In so doing, the paper first examines the overall dynamics in the school premises including the gendered disciplining and student-teacher behavior and its impact on the formation of communities of practice amongst the students. Subsequent sections explore in detail how peer interactions reinforce or (re)produce ideologies of standard and language with respect to the gender and religious identities of the students. Stereotypes organized around connections between language & discourses of standardization and religious & nationalist differences turn out to be key in processes of the reproduction of gendered practices in the school.

2. SCHOOL, LANGUAGE AND DISCIPLINE

To understand the peer-peer dynamics and the prevalent 'practice' amongst them, I have used the concept of "communities of practice", as proposed by Lave & Wenger (1991) in their co-authored book, *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. They talk about the significance of communities of practice in learning and how one becomes a prominent member of the community by gaining expertise on the concerned topic. However, Eckert and Ginet formally introduced it to linguistic anthropology in 1992 (Ahearn, 2011, p. 114). According to Eckert and Ginet (1995): division:

> A community of practice is an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor. (p. 2).

Scholars in the past have defended the 'binary models of language and gender' (Hall et al., 2020). There have been multiple approaches employed in studying male and female speech. One such work is the dominance and difference approach; another is the cooperative and competitive approach particularly ascribed to educational discourses. Tannen (1990) associates male and female speeches with rapport-report talk. Sheargues that "women speak and hear a language of connection and intimacy, while men speak and hear a language of status and independence" (Tannen, 1990, as cited in Valentine

2008, p. 439). However, in recent studies, linguistic anthropologists have argued that language usage and gender should not be seen as binary; they are highly subjective, based on context and performativity (Eckert, 1996; Hall et al., 2020; Swann, 2003). Prominent scholars like Butler (1999) and West & Zimmerman (1987) talks about the performative model of gender. Butler notes that "gender is performatively produced and compelled by the regulatory practices of gender coherence," such practices will eventually expand to language structure and verbal and non-verbal cues (Butler, 1999, p. 24). The gendered disciplining of the students involves "a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micropolitical activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine natures" (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 126). In the sections ahead, I will provide evidence as to how language usage amongst both the genders shows different patterns, which seem to converge at some points while diverge at others depending on the engagement. Eckert and Ginet (1995) in their text '*Constructing meaning, constructing selves: Snapshots of language, gender and class from Belten High'* looks at how communities of practice form in a Michigan high school. The text explains how communities are formed through the engagement with sports and how labels are created based on the participation of students in sports activities. The two broad labels they found during their study were 'jocks' and 'burnouts.' The paper further establishes how these labels were not merely limited to participation in sports, however, attributed to the socio-economic groups creating a sense of hierarchy and hence affecting the engagement within the different categories of the students.

Foucault (1977) in his book *Discipline and Punish*, mentions that institutions like prisons, schools and hospitals, through strict timetables, records, restriction of movements, keep the inmates under observation and surveillance and hence creates strict hierarchies. His concept of panopticon has been widely used by scholars to study disciplining in modern institutions. It talks about how the constant monitoring and surveillance in the prison infuses a sense of consciousness amongst the inmates. Though panopticism being a self- disciplined technique has been extended to 'post-panopticism' (Boyne, 2000; Courtney, 2014; Page, 2017) that is largely used for understanding modern institutions like hospitals, offices, and schools. Scholars have argued that surveillance in modern institutions has become more pervasive & subtle as the use of modern technologies have penetrated in the system, like CCTV cameras in schools, hospitals etc. Page (2017) talks about how the post-panoptic surveillance unfurls at varied levels in schools. This paper employs Foucault's panopticon and post-panopticism to delve further into how disciplining affects the formation of communities of practices amongst male and female students.

To further explore the stereotypes subscribed to gender & religious identities, and how discourses of nationalism, religion and ethnicity pervades into the linguistic repertoire of the students, I have looked at literature that focuses on disciplining, nationalism, ethnicity, language policies and ideologies. Heller (1999) also talks the interplay of language, identity and power in a school setting. She delves into the complexities of nationalism, globalization and creation of linguistic minority through language policies.

Dealing with adolescent children, she explains how schools, though claiming themselves as bilingual or multilingual, create linguistic divide by promoting values of monolingualisms, valuing mastery over a standard language. LaDousa (2022) in his book *Hindi is our ground, English is our sky: Education, language, and social class in contemporary India* exhaustively engages with similar themes. His work based on schools in Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh, India comments on the relationship of language, education and social status. He mentions how schooling foregrounds language difference as that between Hindi and English such that Hindi-medium schooling is often associated with the mother tongue, but also a lack of job opportunities with respect to English-medium schooling. Mother tongue, as evidently studied by scholars is a highly ideological concept influenced by multiple identities like ethnic, religious, regional and factors like migration, nationalism, education and many more (Davis & LaDousa, 2023; Ladousa, 2010).

Ahmad (2008) has conceptualized the use of stereotypes foregrounding aspects of the linguistic repertoire associated with Muslims in India to bring attention to the avoidance of stigmatized features in discursive interaction. He broadly talks about how Urdu has become indexical of the Muslim identity in post-partition India. Elaborating on how the third-generation Muslims of independent India hesitate to be associated with Urdu as their mother tongue in order to avoid being attributed to the 'stigmatized Muslim identity' and 'Muslim speech.' The paper is significant as it provides a theoretical and conceptual framework to decode the base of the stereotypes associated with the linguistic repertoire of the Muslims in India. Davis (2020) in her book, has documented the how schools in Sri Lanka manufactures instances of segregations amongst the students based on their ethnicity. The focus is on Tamil and Muslim youth and how they manage to negotiate through ethnic conflict and linguistic practices. She has presented the everyday struggles of students in schools while negotiating with the ideologies of language and standard. According to Irvine (2012) language ideologies are "conceptualizations about languages, speakers, and discursive practices, pervaded with political and moral interests and are shaped in a cultural setting" (p. 5).

3. SCHOOL, LANGUAGE, AND METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted in a residential school in Moradabad, a district in Uttar Pradesh state in the northern part of India. Itis situated 170 km from the national capital, New Delhi, with a total area of 79 km square and a sex ratio of 903 females per 1000 males. The average literacy rate of Moradabad is 56.77 % with male and female literacy being 64.83 % and 47.86 % respectively (Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, 2011). As the study focuses on religious identities and their association with certain linguistic features, Moradabad was preferred as it holds a relatively balanced ratio of Hindu and Muslim populations, making it an ideal site for my study. According to the 2011 census data, the followers of Hinduism constitute 52.14% of the population being the majority. However, the followers of Islam or the

Muslim population are no lesser. They constitute 47.12% of the district's total population (Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, 2011). The other significant reason for selecting it as the research site is my familiarity with the various dialects spoken there. Hindi and Urdu are recognized as two official languages by the state. The city was founded by Mughal governor Rustam Khan and was named after the youngest prince Murad Baksh, son of Mughal emperor Shah Jahan in the 17th century. Itis also known for renowned Urdu poet Jigar Moradabadi. Having a rich history of Mughal heritage and Urdu poets, Moradabad has had a great influence of Urdu amongst the people. The relationship between the Hindu-Muslim population, and other communities is seemingly peaceful and harmonious. However, the city in the past has witnessed a major riot in 1980s between the Muslims and the police which later transformed into a communal riot. Journalists and political leaders have claimed it to be a state sanctioned massacre on the Muslim population which was painted as a communal distress (Gandhi, 1980; Yadav, 2023).

I conducted my study in 'Vidya Niketan school.' It is funded and regulated by the Ministry of Education (MOE) of India, formerly known as the Ministry of Human Resource and Development (MHRD) and affiliated with the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE). It was primarily established to address the educational needs of rural students from disadvantaged sections of society. The school provides free education from classes 6th to 12th. Apart from education, it provides students with free lodging, food, books, uniforms, toiletries, slippers, etc.

Each year students from the same district apply to get admission to 6th grade. The intake for each academic year is 80. The students belong to villages all over the district. An exam is conducted, and admission is granted based on merit. The school follows a reservation policy where a portion of the seats are reserved for rural students as well as students belonging to the Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST), and Other Backward Castes (OBC) relative to the percentage of their population. The SC, ST and OBC are categories officially designated by the Indian constitution to historically underserved communities with low socio-economic status. Along with this, seats are reserved for the girl child and children with disabilities as well.

The study has been conducted with a qualitative approach primarily relying on ethnography. The fieldwork was done in January 2023. The methods used for data collection were participant observation, focus group discussions, and interviews. The sample size contains 78 students including 29 girls, and 49 boys belonging to the age group 13-15, studying in grade 9th. 41 students including 19 girls, and 22 boys participated in the interviews and focus group discussions. I spent around 3-4 hours daily in school for one month. For participant observation, I attended the lectures to observe student behavior: peer-to-peer interaction in the presence or absence of the teacher and teacher-student interactions. A semi-structured interview guide was prepared before conducting the individual interviews and focus group discussions. The most pertinent questions included questions about students' communities, their

practice, their unique register, and if all the members share the same register. The data collection was approved by the Institute Ethics Committee from the college I pursued my Masters. To maintain ethical standards, the participants were informed of the purpose of the study, and consent was obtained before data collection. The participants were allowed to halt the interview if they felt discomfort. To maintain the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants, pseudonyms are used throughout the paper. The interviews and group discussions have been transcribed using the module given by Ochs (1979) in her text 'Transcription as Theory' (provided in Appendix).

As I tried to reflect on my position as a researcher, I figured out that I am both of an insider and outsider, in the field. An insider, as an alumna which helped me to build a rapport with the students as we shared a mutual sense of belongingness with Vidya Niketan. On the contrary, an outsider as I pass out in 2017 while the current 9th grade students joined the school in 2019. The relation with teachers, was also quite interesting, as an expression of this would be that some teachers called me 'beta,' literally translates to son, however interchangeably used for both men and women, while some called me 'ma'am.' The ones who call me 'beta' were the old teachers and the others who called me 'ma'am' were the newly appointed ones.

This led to a hilarious incident where I was sitting on a chair in the school courtyard. The girls were outside, soaking up the sunlight and preparing for their exams, while some boys were inside the classroom. I left my chair to talk to the boys inside, but when I returned, I found that a newly appointed male teacher has occupied my chair. Having no other chair available, I decided to sit on the cement pavement with the students. Just as I was about to sit down, the teacher rushed over to offer me the chair, insisting that I should not sit on the floor, while he chose to stand instead.

4. REGULATING STUDENT BEHAVIOR: DISCIPLINING GENDER AND SURVEILLANCE

4.1 Languages and Mode of Instruction

When a state adopts a language as its official language, it creates a sense of hierarchy amongst the speakers of different languages. The language ideology creates linguistic minorities that is largely an outcome of nation building. Language models, when adopted in school curriculum, tend to significantly affect the learning, and subjugation of the linguistic minorities (Groff, 2017; Heller, 1999). Though, in India, as part of the formal curriculum, students are exposed to multiple languages to promote multilingualism. However, "what is valued the most is a set of monolingualism" and the "mastery of a standard language shared across boundaries and a marker of social status" (Heller, 1999, p. 5).

Vidya Niketan follows a three-language formula implemented by the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1956. The Three-Language Formula includes the following (according to the 1966 modifications): (i) the mother tongue or regional language, to be taught for 10 years (ii) the official language— Hindi or English, to be taught for 6 years, minimum (iii) another modern Indian or foreign language, to be taught for 3 years, minimum (Groff, 2017, p. 151).The three languages taught as subjects are Hindi, English, and Urdu as the L1, L2, and L3 respectively. The school's language model thus can be seen as a result of local traditions, 'national imaginations,' and language and social realities (LaDousa & Davis, 2018, p. 8). However, the administrative language of the school is Hindi. The daily notices, advisories, meeting reports, leave forms, and many other documents are strictly written in the standardized and 'sanskritised' Hindi. Despite the 'multilingual' environment in the school, Hindi is deemed to be of utmost importance and prestige by the teachers. This 'promotional' attitude towards Hindi was well evidenced throughout my fieldwork. On the second day of my fieldwork, I asked the class teachers of both sections to show me the attendance registers. I found that the names were arranged alphabetically according to the Roman script however, written in Devanagari script. In conversations with some staff members, I learned that the principal values Hindi language more than English and encourages students to use it more often. This resonates with the notion of *"Angrezi Pagalpan,"* as mentioned in the text by Ramanathan (2005), which focuses on language ideology in vernacular medium schools in Gujarat. *Angrezi Pagalpan,* or English madness, is used to criticize the domination of English in the public sphere. People from Hindi-speaking states like the principal situate Hindi with utmost prestige (LaDousa, 2022) as it is their first language. The principal's attempt to propagate Hindi, by practicing and promoting it more, could be also seen as his effort to protest against English dominance.

In her verbal protest against the principal and his ideologies, Ms. Bhardwaj, an English teacher, empathized with the students who struggled to speak or write in English. She mentioned:

> If the students speak Hindi all the time and the exposure to English remains limited to 30 mins in the classroom, how will their English improve? I am ready to write to the board if the results are bad and he (referring to the principal) says something to us.

The only exposure the students get, apart from regular classes, is through poetry elocution competitions, speeches on national holidays, or other prominent figures' anniversaries. Ms. Bhardwaj's concern was establishing the inconveniences the students might face in the future due to incompetence in English. As Proctor (2014) points out, "competence in English has become the single most important yardstick of a person's eligibility for negotiating the opportunity structure that can be availed of in a modern economy" (p. 299-300). This refurbishes the debate of how Hindi, treated with utmost pride and love being the first language is not considered in the career prospects by the society. English, being the global language, overpowers and subjugates Hindi when it comes to educational and career aspirations as denoted by LaDousa in his text as well

(LaDousa, 2022). As a result, the contrasting opinions of Ms. Bhardwaj and the principal shape the linguistic landscape of the school.

The mode of instruction in the classrooms is Hindi. For the convenience of the students, books are provided in both languages, i.e., Hindi and English, from class 6th to 8th. They can write their answers in Hindi or English. However, it was observed that this policy changes from 9th grade onwards. Students are advised to make themselves comfortable in English once they are promoted to 9th grade. The option to write answers in Hindi is no longer available. Therefore, to support students in overcoming their challenges in both standardized Hindi and English language, teachers used code-mixing in their classes. As an example, in a math class, the teacher dictated the definitions in English followed by their translations in Hindi for the convenience of the students who face difficulty comprehending in English. This indicates that both the teachers and students rely on 'safetalk' to communicate with each other. Safetalk refers to "students and teachers colluding in interactional routines so that they can engage in a language over which they have little control" (LaDousa, 2022, p. 155).

4.2 Disciplining and Gender

Foucault (1977) talks about how power is exercised through discipline in the prisons by organizing the space, time, and behavior of individuals. He has extended this approach to schools and mentioned how disciplining strategies like physical punishment or restricting movements affects the overall interactions amongst school children. In this section, I present the evidence on how this school reproduces the same pattern.

It was found that the school, through different rules and regulations, serves as a space that largely modulates the student-behavior on a regular basis. On a fine day, I was sitting at the last desk and could hear students giggling, murmuring, and walking around the class in the absence of the teacher. As I could see some ten boys clamped at the last benches, I wondered what was going on. Suddenly, the Physics teacher, Mr. Narendra entered and walked straight to those desks. Students stood up to greet him. Mr. Narendra found that some boys were playing cards in the absence of the teacher. Being disappointed with their conduct, he scolded them and commanded them to submit a letter of apology to him. Asking for an apology letter from the students, strongly advocates the hierarchy that pervades between the routine teacher-student interactions.

In Vidya Niketan, students are asked to submit an apology letter in case of any disobedience or indiscipline reported. These applications are kept as 'records' by either the Housemaster/mistress or the Vice Principal. In case, a student commits a 'serious mistake,' like jumping the boundary wall or committing physical violence, etc., all their previous records are carefully examined, and the student is suspended. Records, as Foucault (1977) mentions in his text, becomes a tool of surveillance and establishing

hierarchy which was also observed in the incident mentioned. As Foucault extends his approach to schools as institutions, we can say that schools act as an "enclosed, segmented space, observed at every point, in which the individuals are inserted in a fixed place, in which the slightest movements are supervised, in which all events are recorded" (p. 197). At times students, particularly boys, are given physical punishments as well.

Girls generally do not get the same treatment as boys in case of indiscipline reported. In an interview with a student named Farmaan, he stated,

> It is unfair that girls are not punished for their disobedience. If a boy is late for school, the teacher will probably slap him or insult him in front of the class. Meanwhile, the same is not done with the girls; they are scolded once and asked not to repeat it. Teachers are polite with girls while harsh with boys.

Corporal punishments and public shaming of students particularly boys has been in disciplining strategies of school culture in countries like India and Nepal (Phyak, 2023; Proctor, 2015). Not only Farmaan but many other students' responses were the same. However, the girls defended themselves by saying that they barely create any nuisance or destroy the school property. In contrast, some boys held pride in indulging in activities that are marked to be 'indiscipline' in the school. For instance, some boys fiercely reported that they often break the window glasses and kick the doors, neither they respect their elders nor obey the teachers. The girls stated, "they are left on warning as the teachers hold faith in them that they will not do it again." The testimonies were largely coherent with the already present literature on corporal punishments in schools. As Proctor (2015) mentioned in her paper that the disciplining of the students largely adheres to the social trends of violence and pervades the idea of 'controlling' the bodies of the individuals. However, here boys expressed their resistance towards physical punishment and public shaming, in contradiction to the younger boys who interpreted it as a form of 'affection' in Proctor's work.

While trying to understand the gender dynamics and disciplining strategies for girls, I learned something critical. On the other day, when I walked through the school corridor to reach the classrooms, I observed the girls sitting outside in the school courtyard on a big mat, preparing for their unit tests. I approached them to ask why they were sitting outside the classroom. They replied that as it is a sunny day, the teachers have asked us to sit outside the classroom and prepare for our exams. I could witness that the boys were sitting on another mat at a distance from them. I observed that, while some boys were sitting outside, many were inside the classrooms, while the girls were concentrated in a single place. The girls had no 'choice' but to sit outside the class. Girls are strictly advised to stay in groups in the school premises. The movement of an unaccompanied girl is not encouraged. They have appointed two hostel matrons, whom the girls generally referred to as 'Aunty,' to look after them. The matrons stay with the girls in their hostels and accompany them to the mess, playgrounds, and academic block. Earlier, I perceived it as the school's concern for the girls' safety. However, as I further

probe into this, I found that no such person with the same responsibility was employed for the boys. A staff position called 'MTS' (multi-tasking staff) is appointed by the institute for the boys. He has to ensure that the dormitories are locked, and no student is in the dormitory during school hours. Unlike matrons, they do not accompany students to the mess or to academic block, and neither do they stay in the hostels. This highlighted how the school, through records for boys and constant monitoring through different staff members for girls, "constantly locate, examine and distribute" (Foucault, 1977, p. 197) the students among other students. These selective disciplining strategies for boys and girls manifest and produce stark gender distinctions in the school on a daily basis.

The constant monitoring and surveillance at varying degrees for both boys and girls reproduce the notions of gender binary, and gender stereotypes affecting the overall participation of the students amongst themselves. The boys, being 'controlled' through physical punishments and records, face a different type of surveillance, while girls, on the other hand, through constant monitoring by the matrons, and other staff members, and restricted movements are supervised.

As the constant monitoring and surveillance penetrates through the consciousness of the girls, it compels to the formation of communities of practice within the closest proximity i.e. their hostel mates.

5. GIRLS AND THEIR CONVERSATIONS

To investigate further how surveillance and disciplining affects the linguistic repertoire of the girls, I tried to understand the dynamics of their communities. As Eckert & Ginet (1995) argue that language and gender cannot be studied without "detailed investigations of the social and linguistic activities of specific communities of practice" (p. 1) to understand the dynamics of language use within the gendered groups, I closely examined their 'practice.'

5.1 The Yellow Bees

As I observed different communities amongst the students, I came across a group of five girls named Kriti, Mohani, Sanam, Saima, and Pratima. They belonged to both sections A and B. The girls considered themselves as 'close friends' and always accompanied each other to the mess, playground, academic block, etc. On inquiring how they make it possible to stay together, despite being from different sections, they replied, "We stay in the same hostel." On further delving into what else they do together apart from studying and accompanying each other to the mess and other places, they replied, "We share food with each other, the delicacies that parents bring to parents' meetings, perform hostel cleaning duties together and do *'kambal parade,'* which literally translates to blanket

march, occasionally. 'Kambal parade' is an activity in which a group beats a student after covering them with a blanket. It generally happens to a student who has their birthday.

The girls revealed that they call each other by different names of political leaders. Pratima is called Hitler by her friends as she is quite strict. Mohani is called BR Ambedkar because she is very disciplined and rule-bound. The girls also call each other by their nicknames. They, as a group, prefer to call each other 'yellow bees' as they belong to the yellow house. The girls not only had a name for their group, but they had labels for other hostels. They shared that whenever they have to call someone *'janwar,'* which literally translates to an animal, they call them blue, referring to the blue house. Similarly, if they have to use a swear word or call the other person *'chutiya,'* which means idiot, they call them green.

According to them, students from the blue house were ill-mannered while the ones from greenhouse were stupid. They do not have any name for the red house. However, students refer to the yellow house as 'poop.' The girls' assignment of labels to the entire hostel community reflects how they as a community of yellow house perceives and put themselves at a higher level, creating subtle hierarchy amongst the students. Labeling, as defined by Eckert-Ginet, "is only part of a more complex sociolinguistic activity that contributes to constituting social categories and power relations among members of a community" (Eckert & Ginet, 1995, p. 2).

5.1.1 Her Speech is Fake

The girls affirmed that they share a common register[1] and can easily comprehend each other's talk. On further enquiring about mispronouncing certain words, they claimed that no one does that. For a group to claim that none of their members pronounce a word differently that too when they are coming from different corners of the district can be seen as a case of homogenization of speech or affirming to a prevalent standardized variety of the spoken language. However, they reported that some girls from their class do not match with their verbal conduct. According to them, Umama, their classmate, stresses a lot on specific words; "her speech is fake." This statement raises a relevant question of how certain intonations in the speech of an individual can be labeled as illegitimate or 'fake.'

This refutation of Umama's speech by the group is evidence that they reject her being a member of their community or that her speech is a significant hindrance to being a part of their community. This pride in their 'style,' which Eckert-Ginet explains as "how people use language- that include grammar, word choice, and pronunciation," (Eckert & Ginet, 1996, p. 2) is important evidence of one valorizing their self-constitution. This

[1] Registers are "ways of speaking whose grammatical configurations overlap, the register you use indexes properties of your present situation and social activity" (Irvine 2001, p. 27).

makes the group exclusive as one has to adapt to their way of speaking to be a community member.

When I further inquired about how they think Umama or Humaira's speech is different from theirs, the conversation went like this:

Table 1. Transcript 1

Line	Statement	Person
1	Toh kya wo (.) kuch words ko alag tareeke se bolti hai? (so, does she pronounce some words differently?)	Deeksha
2	Haan ma'am (.) bahut words (yes ma'am, many words)	Kriti
3	Kaun kaun se words? (Which words?)	Deeksha
4	Paer ko pae:er bolti hai (She says paer instead of paeer)	Mohani
5	Ari:i bhen chal lo (O sister, let's go)	Saima
6	Allah mere pae:er mein darad ho riaa hai (O god, my legs are hurting)	Pratima
7	Ma'am (.) wo aise baat karti hai thoda = (Ma'am she talks like this)	Kriti
8	Ma'am kyunki muslim hai (.) toh ese baat karti hai (Ma'am because she is a Muslim, she talks like that)	Pratima
9	Yeh bhi ese bolti (referring to Saima) (She also talks like that)	Mohani
10	Main Kahan bolti hun (When do I speak like that?)	Saima

If we closely examine this conversation, the students attributed Umama and Humaira's speech to their religion. Pratima's statement (line no. 8), "Because they are Muslim, they talk like that" put a label on their speech or what Ahmad (2008) would call "Muslim speech." Hence, this statement brings the discussion of language ideology to the fore. The girls did not merely categorize their speech as Muslim, they also mocked Umama

and Humaira's speech (lines no. 4 & 6), and Saima, a Muslim could be observed making her contribution as well (line no. 5). However, when Mohani tries to label Saima's speech as Muslim (line no. 9), she resisted. This resistance was to oppose the alignment with the Muslim speech that is a marker for the "stigmatized Muslim identity" (Ahmad, 2008, p. 8). The opposition is also indicative of claiming membership in her existing community of practice. Saima vehemently rejects being a part of any other community of practice labeled with a religious identity.

5.2 Charlie's Angels

The other group to be interviewed was Charlie's Angels. The girls were named Meenakshi, Iqra, Samreen, Kalpana, and Divya. They also tried naming their group 'Fav5'. The name Charlie's Angels has come from a game of pen fighting they used to play in 6th standard. However, no one refers to them by these names. The girls claimed to be a fun group. They prefer staying with each other. Divya, despite being a staff ward, spends her daytime in the girls' hostel. They all were from the same section, i.e., A. However, three of them were in the red hostel/house. Two of them, Kalpana and Samreen, were from the blue hostel/house.

Like the previous group, these girls also have their own register, which is exclusive to other communities of practice. The girls told me that they pronounce certain words in their own way. This 'self-modification' of certain words was a key feature of their group that I came across. They call lipstick 'libdistick,' please as 'plix,' oh my god [ˈgɑd]IPA as 'o my goood' stressing on 'o' of god. Interestingly, they call the mess siren *'chudail'* which translates to 'witch'. Whenever the mess bell/siren rings, they say *"chudail cheekh gyi," which* translates to 'the witch has screamed.' On questioning if any member of their community has a particular register or 'style' that is significantly different from other members, they shared the case of Divya.

Divya pronounces the j sound as z. For example, she pronounces page as 'paze' and sometimes pronounces singular objects as plural by adding the 'n' sound. For example, *'aayi'* (आयी) as *'aayin'* (आयीं). Similarly, Kalpana also adds an extra 'n' sound in her words while pronouncing certain words like suit (so͞ot) सूट as so͞ont. The group having an exclusive register that mediates linguistic and social behavior can be understood as an attempt to actively negotiate with the unratified and ratified hearers like wardens & teachers and creating an interactional space (Davis 2020, p. 101).

In my interaction with the groups, I understood that the groups have their unique registers, styles and self-modifications, however they all affirm the spoken language variety largely prevalent in the school. Meanwhile, if any member deviates from that or has a style that stands out, the fellow members build pressure in order to 'homogenize' the linguistic repertoire through mocking and shaming, asserting that it is unacceptable and wrong.

5.2.1 Are You an Indian?

To explore whether this group holds ideologies around language, I inquired if anyone has more Urdu words in their register. The conversation emerged as a crucial discussion on language ideology and nationalism.

Table 2. Transcript 2

Line	Statement	Person
1	Do Iqra and Samreen talk in a different way?	Deeksha
2	Yeh Urdu words zyada use karti hai = (She uses Urdu words more often) (referring to Iqra)	Kalpana
3	Iska alag hai (Her case is different) (referring to Samreen)	Meenakshi
4	Pata nahi kabhi kabhi yeh words kahan se lekar aati hai / do baar poochna padta hai (Don't know where she get these words from, have to ask twice to understand) (referring to Iqra)	Kalpana
5	Aur Samreen? (And Samreen?)	Deeksha
6	Yeh Indian hi lagti hai (She seems to be Indian)	Kalpana
7	Matlab main Indian nahi lagti ((LF)) (Do you mean I do not seem like an Indian?)	Iqra
8	Tu Pakistani hai ((LF)) (You are Pakistani)	Samreen

If we closely examine this conversation, I asked the students (line no. 1) if their other community members talk differently, particularly Iqra and Samreen. It was found that Iqra's verbal conduct involved immense engagement with Urdu words, which they found incomprehensible at times (line no. 4). However, such is not the case with Samreen's speech (line no. 2). Kalpana claims Samreen is Indian (line no. 6) as she rarely uses Urdu words that are incomprehensible, to which she smiles. Meanwhile, Iqra resists in a cordial manner by asking if she is not an Indian (line no. 7), asserting her identity that is being discarded simply on the basis of her linguistic repertoire. Samreen responded by calling her a Pakistani (line no. 8) and this is significant to understand.

Like in the previous group, 'yellow bees,' Saima resisted being associated with the Muslim speech identity. Samreen was happy not to be associated with the 'Muslim speech' and accepted as 'Indian.' However, her calling Iqra a Pakistani emerges to be of grave importance. It reflects the stigma associated with Muslim identity and the constant tussle to prove their nationality as 'Indian' paves through their linguistic repertoire and register and projected as a threat that Urdu brings to the dominant Indian languages and culture as also evidenced in multi-ethnic societies like Sri Lanka where using Tamil in school space is considered as a security threat (Davis, 2020, p. 100) Urdu being associated with Pakistan was surprising as the language has emerged from the Indian mainland. However, students still hold language ideologies that categorize Urdu as a Muslim language despite Urdu being taught to them as part of the formal curriculum.

Metcalf (2003) commenting on the socio-political and historical relevance of partition of India-Pakistan in 1947, suggested that the idea of religion, language and nation has coincided in the case of Urdu, making it more difficult to flourish in the nation where it was born (p. 32). A similar trend of religion-language-nation emerged as the students' marked Iqra's speech to Pakistan. Now, the relevant question that emerges is, why the students did not mark Samreen's speech to Pakistan. It can be understood as Kalpana (line no. 2 & 4) mentions that Iqra uses a lot of Urdu words that are incomprehensible while Samreen does not, though it would be difficult to claim that none of the other members including Samreen do not use registers from Persian. To conclude, we can say that Iqra uses a more standardized variety of Urdu, while others do not and hence, the distinction of being a Pakistani and Indian becomes a part of their discussion.

A similar case unfolded while I was interviewing a group of three girls named Nashra, Shreya, and Aparna. Shreya and Aparna made similar claims about Nashra's register and how incomprehensible it is at times. The following excerpt from their conversation highlights that.

Table 3. Transcript 3

Line	Statement	Person
1	Haan wo pakistani serials zyada dekhti hai(.) to uska bhi asar hai (She watches Pakistani serials a lot so that also has its influence) (referring to Nashra)	Shreya
2	Uske thoda sher-o-shayari aur urdu ke words hum kabhi kabhi samajh nahi paate (We are unable to understand her Urdu Poetry and words sometimes) (referring to Nashra)	Aparna

3	Haan aur iska talaffus (.) iska pronunciation bhi thoda accha hai (Yes, and her pronunciation is also good) (referring to Nashra)	Shreya
4	Lekin Urdu toh tum sab bhi padh rhe ho na 6th se? (But you all have been studying Urdu since grade 6th, right?)	Deeksha
5	Jaise kuch alfaz hota hain na urdu ke (Like if there is a word of Urdu) (Nashra interrupts)	Shreya
6	// Jaise humara family background different ho jata hai / Main ek muslim family se belong karti hun / Isliye farq aa jata hai] (Like our family backgrounds are different, I belong to a Muslim family, and that makes a difference)	Nashra

As mentioned by Nashra herself (line no. 6), she proudly associates her proficiency in Urdu with her religious identity. However, her idea of belonging to the Muslim community and the claim that it is the cultural setting at her home, reiterates the attribution of Urdu as an Islamic language. Scholars claim that Urdu is indexical of Muslim identity on the basis of "its script, its loanwords, and its distinctive phonemes are all borrowed from Arabic and Persian—languages associated with Islam and Muslims" (Ahmad, 2008, p. 2).

In line no. 4 I have countered that they too are studying Urdu in the school as an attempt to make them introspect well on their use of Urdu. Nevertheless, the other two girls, Shreya and Aparna did mention that they find it difficult to comprehend some Urdu registers, and unlike Pratima, or Kalpana, they did not associate it with Muslim identity or Muslim speech. However, they did mark her proficiency in Urdu with Pakistan claiming that it is an influence of Pakistani shows. Many Pakistani shows, largely accessible through YouTube for the Indian audience, employ a highly standardized variety of Urdu. As discussed in the case of Charlie's angels, the members of this community also use Urdu in their everyday conversations, however, it is the standard variety that creates the difference.

5.3 The Feminist Group

The last group that I had a discussion with, was a group of four girls. They claimed to be a 'feminist' group. The girls were named Umama, Humaira, Trisha, and Pallavi. They all belong to the 'A' section. Two belong to the blue house and two belong to the green house. The girls claim that they have their own unique 'styles' of talking. Umama speaks fast, Humaira giggles often in a strange manner, Pallavi burps loudly and does not care about the surroundings, while Trisha remains polite.

Like all other groups, Umama and Humaira admitted to using Urdu words more often. They associated it with watching a lot of Pakistani serials. Umama also claimed that she does not use swear words, instead, she prefers using words like *beshaur, belihaaz, and badmijaaz* which literally translates to indiscreet/graceless, mannerless, and ill-natured respectively. "I read a lot of Urdu poetry, particularly written by Amrita Pritam. I am a big fan of her works" mentioned Umama. It is interesting to note that the situation of Urdu is very different in India and Pakistan. In Pakistan, Urdu particularly the standardized variety is used as a political tool to discredit the linguistic minorities, however in India the scenario is completely inverted (Ahmad, 2008). Bollywood, when needed, relies on the standardized variety of Urdu as well to make it sound different from Hindi in the 'Muslim socials.' Socials is the subgenre of the melodrama movies. During my interaction with Umama, I observed her intonations do not follow the dominant register of the school which counters the linguistic expectations and code of conduct that she has to succumb to. This can be understood as potentially being the reason for the discreditation of her speech by the yellow bees.

6. BOYS AND THEIR CONVERSATIONS

After many detailed conversations with the communities amongst the girls regarding the ideologies of language and standardization, I began to look for communities of practice amongst the boys. Unlike girls, it was much more challenging to identify the communities amongst the boys as there was a lot of movement and interaction in the class and school corridors. It was easier for girls as their groups were smaller, broadly extending their community within hostel members.

6.1 We do Indiscipline

I began by interviewing a community of 9-10 boys. The boys shared that they do not have a unique register for anything, unlike some girls' communities. To my biggest surprise, as I questioned them about their 'practice,' a student named Mubashir confidently said, 'Indiscipline.' The other students nodded yes to his statement. As I probed further about the particular indiscipline activities, they replied, 'watching movies together on their smartphones, breaking glasses, windows,' and so on. It is noted that students are not allowed to keep mobile phones on the school premises, but they admitted that they keep them without any fear. No girl reported keeping mobile phones with them as the hostel matrons stay with them in the dormitories. The consciousness of being under surveillance was significantly low amongst the boys as they do not have hostel matrons. As a result, they have the courage to keep mobile phones with them.

The boys later said that they also play cricket together, apart from creating a 'nuisance.' They share their food and sit together in the mess despite being from different hostels. Such was not the case with girls; they only sat in their designated seats. The restriction

of movements of the girls were not only limited to their hostels or academic block, but also extended and manifested in very small decisions, like only sitting on their designated seats. Like girls, they also do a 'kambal parade' and call the teachers by the same nicknames. There are instances where boys and girls converge in certain activities.

6.1.1 Tu, Tum, and Aap

To gauge their attitudes toward 'gendered speech,' I asked them how they think girls talk. To which one of them replied, *"tehzeeb se"* which literally translates to 'with etiquette.' Another boy added that they use *'tum'* for each other. In Hindi, we use three pronouns- *'tu, tum, and aap,'* while referring to a person. *'Tu'* is generally used for younger ones, *'tum'* refers to people of the same age, and *'aap'* is used for elders to show respect. However, generally, friends use *'tu'* for each other. The boys mentioning that girls use *'tum'* for each other or to them reflects the idea that they have internalized this as a normative practice for their gender.

On asking the boys, how do they talk? They replied, *"tu-tadak se"* which means 'unmannerly.' The boys reported that they as a community share the same register, "but some boys talk differently like Zeeshan does." On hearing this, I wondered whether the boys hold the same ideologies of standard and language similar to the girls. As I asked them to explain how he talks, they told me that he pronounces certain words differently. An excerpt from the conversation is given below:

Table 4. Transcript 4

Line	Statement	Person
1	Kitaab ko kitaabbein (books as books (modified pronunciation))	Vasu
2	Thodi bahut khari boli hai iski (His speech is somewhat like khari boli)	Mubashir
3	Khari boli kisko bolte ho tum log? (What do you call as khari boli?)	Deeksha
4	Ma'am main nahi bolta (Ma'am I don't speak)	Mubashir
5	Thodi thodi haryanvi jaisi (Little bit like Hariyanvi)	Vasu
6	Ke kar raa(.) kahan ja raa (What are you doing? Where are you going?)	Mubashir

7	Kya ho raa (What's goin' on?)	Zeeshan
8	Mubashir ese nhi bolta? (Mubashir doesn't speak like this?)	Deeksha
9	Nhi ma'am ye poorav ki taraf ka hai /(referring to Mubashir) yeh zyada west ki taraf hai (referring to Zeeshan) (No ma'am he is from the east side, he is more towards the west side)	Vasu

It is to be noted (line no. 9) that the boys associated Zeeshan's speech with his dialect and an influence of the region he belonged to. Gumperz, in his study (1958) on dialects in North India, talks about three forms of speech- village dialect, regional dialect, and standard Hindi (Gumperz, 1958, p. 669). Zeeshan's speech is different as it has the influence of both the village dialect and the regional dialect. Considering the students come from all over the district, the regional influence on their speech was prominent and noticeable. Unlike girls, the boys did not fraternize his speech with his religious identity. This seemingly indicates that they do not hold the same ideologies of language as the girls do. It was interesting to note that the claims were only made for Zeeshan and did not expand to Mubashir's speech. When I asked how the boys think Mubashir talks, they could not count a single difference.

6.2 Only Three Friends

To examine further, if other boys hold similar perceptions as the girls, I interviewed a group of three boys named Shiv, Khush, and Mohit. They all were from the B section and belonged to the green hostel/house. They were an exclusive group and like to call themselves 'Only three friends.' As the name suggested the boys do not prefer to extend their community with other boys. Being from the same hostel, the boys spend most of their time studying and taking walks together. The group considers themselves a 'rule breaker,' as they prefer staying away from any kind of gossip like the other boys. The group wants themselves to be perceived as a secretive group and different from others so much that they have created their own code, based on the English alphabet (see Image 1 below).

On asking how they talk amongst themselves, I received the same reply, *'tu-tadak se.'* However, they believed that girls talk nicely. They mentioned that the girls use *'aap'* while talking to teachers as well. On the other hand, "boys are mannerless and swear unnecessarily"- added Shiv. He even mentioned that some boys use bad words in the classroom to show off in front of the girls. This statement potentially indicates that those boys seek validation in their masculinity by using slang words, abuses as evidenced in Chidsey's work (2018, p. 49). The boys also remarked, "Some boys think that not talking

respectfully to girls will make them cool, but this is not the case. That is why we stay away from them."

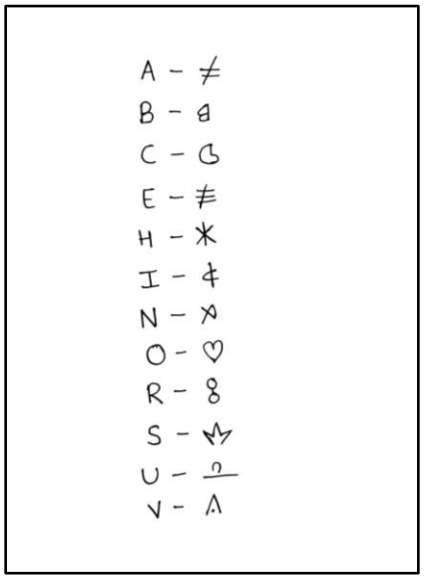

Image 1. 'Code' developed by 'only three friends'

When I questioned them if they found any differences amongst each other's speech, their answers pointed to the same dialectical difference discourse. Look at the following transcript:

Table 5. Transcript 5

Line	Statement	Person
1	Wo Bihar ka hai actually (referring to Mohit) (He's from Bihar, actually)	Shiv
2	/ / But uski language humko samajh mein aati hai] (referring to Mohit) (But we understand his language)	Khush
3	Toh alag accent hai=lekin samajh jate hain (It's a different accent but we understand)	Shiv
4	Toh Mohit(.) tumhari bhasha kya hai? (So Mohit, what is your language?)	Deeksha

5	Bhojpuri(.) ghar mein bhojpuri bolte hain(.) lekin yahan hindi bolta hun (Bhojpuri, we speak Bhojpuri at home but here, I speak Hindi.)	Mohit
6	Ma'am yeh hindi bolta hai(.) lekin bhojpuri accent mein bolta hai / Toh ese kuch words hain jo yeh alag tareeke se bolta hai / Yeh na kuch kuch words ko shudh hindi mein bolta hai / Jaise ek baar isne bola surya ki kirdein aa rhi hain (Ma'am he speaks Hindi, but in Bhojpuri accent So, there are few words that he speaks differently He speaks certain words in pure Hindi Like once he said sunrays are falling)	Shiv
7	Aur tum log kya bolte? (and what would you have said?)	Deeksha
8	Sooraj ki kirdein aa rhi hai=sooraj ki roshni aa rhi hai Yeh shuddh hindi ka kaafi prayog karta hai(.) iski Hindi kaafi acchi hai actually (Sunrays are coming, sunlight is coming He uses pure Hindi a lot, his Hindi is good actually)	Shiv

In this conversation, I asked the boys if someone from their community talks differently and they presented the case of Mohit. The boys mentioned (lines 1 & 3) that Mohit originally belongs to Bihar and has a 'Bihari' accent. Mohit too mentioned that he speaks Hindi here and Bhojpuri at home (line no. 5). This attempt is understood to be made to fit into the school setting and be a compatible member of the community. LaDousa (2022) has commented in his book about the relationship between Bhojpuri and Hindi. He mentioned that people treat Bhojpuri as *gaon ki bhasha* (language of village) or *ghar ki bhasha* (language of home) while Hindi is *rashtrabhasha* (national language) or *desh ki bhasha* (language of nation). People seemingly reject using Bhojpuri in formal settings with the fear of being ridiculed (LaDousa, 2022, p. 48).

Shiv's statement (line no. 6) about Mohit's speech that he speaks Hindi but in Bhojpuri accent brings into light the ideologies of language and standard the boys have. As Bhojpuri has not achieved the recognition of a language by the state, it is politically subordinated and marginalized by Hindi. Similarly, the chances of getting any employment opportunities are significantly reduced as it "provokes a crisis of linguistic legitimacy for the minority speakers" as also pointed out by LaDousa (2022).

The demand for legitimacy for minority speakers of Urdu and Bhojpuri can be traced back to the nationalists' struggle for creating a nation. In the post-independent post partition India, the need for building an identity for the nation was at the core. However, as we progressed India gave recognition to many languages including Hindi

and Urdu, while Bhojpuri still struggles for that. As pointed above, Urdu as a language in India faces opposition from the pro-establishment groups creating a sense of illegitimacy for the speaker. The nationalist movements from the right wing have created the illusion of hierarchy amongst the Hindi speakers that it is the language of the nation. The imposition also tags along the ideology to have shared values and practices that are largely imposed on the minority speakers which can be also understood by Heller's work (1999) on francophones in Canada. Bhojpuri being perceived as a non-prestigious non-standard variety by the majority population creates a lacuna for it to get recognised. As Milroy (2001) points out that the language does not hold prestige, it becomes prestigious when it is spoken by the lobby who has prestige associated with them. The dearth of pride amongst the Bhojpuri speaking audience makes its trajectory even more slow.

In line no. 8, Shiv referred to Mohit's Hindi as more *'shuddh'* (pure). The standardized variety of Hindi is commonly referred to as *'shuddh'* Hindi. However, he later mentioned that he pronounces the 'v' sound as 'bhi.' The former can be understood as an appreciation for his usage of more standardized Hindi. At the same time, it can be synonymously understood as his nonfluencies in using more colloquial words. On the other hand, Shiv mentioned that Mohit pronounces certain English alphabets differently. He connected it with his Bhojpuri diction. Shiv also presented the case of Khush who also says certain words differently. "For example- I will say, *'kahan ja raha hai'* as in my region we speak like that. But Khush will say, *'kahan jaa riaa hai'* as he belongs to a different corner of the district."

Both Khush and Shiv's claim that they can understand Mohit's 'accent' (lines 2 & 3) can be analyzed by the concept of 'density of communication' given by Bloomfield (Bloomfield, 1933, as cited in Gumperz, 1958, p. 668). As mentioned above, the boys dislike expanding their community as they wanted to be perceived as secretive. This has increased the chances of interaction amongst themselves, and hence this 'density of communication' has reduced the linguistic diversity among the community members.

6.3 The Genderlect

Later, one day as I was walking through the courtyard, a boy named Farmaan did a beckoning sign, a type of gesture in which one uses four fingers pointing down, with the palm facing the beckoner, intended to beckon or call over someone or something. I responded with an expression of lifted eyebrows. The boy then called me saying, *"aree, madam idhar toh aao"* which translates to 'Oh, madam come here.' I walked toward him. He expressed his wish to be a part of the study. I explained the research and completed the formalities. He did not open up much about his community, so I interviewed him about the distinguishing factors between boys' and girls' speeches. I got some notable responses. An excerpt from the conversation is given below:

Table 6. Transcript 6

Line	Statement	Person
1	Tumko lagta hai (.) ladke aur ladkiyon ko ek dhang se baat karni chahiye (Do you think boys and girls should talk in a certain way?)	Deeksha
2	Haan (Yes)	Farmaan
3	Kaise? Ladko ko kaise baat karni chahiye / (How? How should boys talk?)	Deeksha
4	Bas yeh hai (.) ki dono ko ek dusre ki izzat karni chahiye / Ladkiyan sincere zyada hoti hai (.) unhein apni wo khoni nhi chahiye / Jaise ladki hai (.) wo jawab dete huye acchi nahi lagti / Kuch galat bolte huye acchi nhi lagti (.) gaali dete huye acchi nahi lagti / Ese ladki ko shobha nhi deta (.) ladka bol sakta hai. (It's just that both (girls and boys) should respect each other Girls are more sincere, they should not lose their (sincerity) Like if there is a girl, arguing does not suit her saying something wrong does not suit her, swearing does not suit her This does not suit a girl, a boy can say(do) this)	Farmaan

From his statements (line no. 4), one can understand that Farmaan believes in a set of conventionally produced stereotypes that conform to strict gendered norms. Another group of three boys named Surya, Ajay, and Vipul responded similarly. I asked them how they think girls talk. They said girls are more cautious while speaking, often stressing and stretching words, and they speak in a shrieking voice. Meanwhile, boys talk freely. "Nowadays, it is all about equality, so girls shout about useless things," added Surya. When I questioned them about how girls should talk? Surya replied, "They should talk like us, simply and freely. But they should not talk like guys."

The statement that Surya made was quite paradoxical as he said that girls should talk like them but should not talk like boys. By this, he might have tried to convey that they should not be loud or rough, be polite, and avoid using pronouns that are used by individuals who identify as 'male.' Lakoff (1973) suggested, "the marginality and powerlessness of women are reflected in both the ways women are expected to speak, and the ways in which women are spoken of" (p. 45). She also adds that women are expected to speak like ladies, and when they fail to, they are ridiculed and criticized as 'unfeminine' (p. 48). It is worth noting that young boys carry these stereotypes in their minds at this age and they want girls to pick the 'right' characteristics of their speech and avoid 'genderlect.'

7. CONCLUSION

The research was intended to analyze how the school as a space, through different disciplining strategies, reproduces and influences different ideologies of language and standards in relation to gender and religious identity of the students. It was found that the students are always under surveillance, and observation by the authorities. Their actions are recorded and traced by people at different levels creating a sense of hierarchy amongst them. The strict restriction of movements and the placement of the matron in the hostels for the girls creates a stark gender distinction amongst the students. Boys are rewarded with physical punishments for their offense which is largely absent for girls. In this way school through various disciplining strategies reinforces gender distinction on a regular basis.

Specific interests like doing pranks, reading poetry, or indulging in indiscipline activities, etc. play a significant role in forming the different communities of practice. However, as we closely observe, the communities have a strong connection with the linguistic repertoire they share with the members. As the constant monitoring and surveillance induces a sense of consciousness of being watched, the formation of communities of practice amongst the girls is significantly affected. Their communities largely extend within their hostel members, are rigid and comparatively smaller as compared to those of boys. Being more visible in the school premises coerces them to stick to the standardized variety of the language prevalent in the school and the register that is largely followed.

Many groups amongst the girls have a register that is unique to their group, which could be seen as an attempt to resist the monitoring and being surveilled. It was also found that despite all the community members using Persian words, the standardized variety of Urdu stands out and becomes more visible and prominent which brings up the discourse of language ideology. The girls holding stereotypes about Muslim speech and Urdu significantly highlights the connection of religion-language-nation developing into strong discourses prevalent amongst them regarding nationalism, language and minority communities. In case if any member deviates from the linguistic norms or style of their concerned community of practice, they are reminded to adhere to them by mocking and laughing. This process of 'homogenizing' the community is evident and reflects in the ideologies of standard and language of the community members.

As the strategies of surveillance are quite different for boys and they do not have to adhere to any rules regarding their movements, their communities of practice are much more dynamic and larger in size extending beyond their hostels. They are elastic and change with time and events. Many boys possess ideologies of language regarding gender identity. However, the boys largely do not seem to follow the prevalent rules of standard language. The regional language influence acts as a point of difference among the speech of girls and boys. It can be understood that girls homogenize their speech and reduce the dialectic tensions among their speeches adhering to the standard variety

prevalent in the school as their movements are restricted and activities are constantly monitored.

Meanwhile the boys being free to move across the campus and hostels at any time of the day, and because they do not have matrons in their hostels who monitor them beyond school hours, the sense of being monitored and consciousness and the density of communication decreases (in most cases) and hence their speech does not necessarily adhere to the larger linguistic frame of the school. However, the community 'Only 3 friends,' are an exception case as they have restricted their interaction with other boys by choice.

It is notable how school as a space can create such linguistic divisions and categories amongst the students which are based on the gender dynamics. The need for the 'homogenisation' of the linguistic repertoire of the communities is manifested and forced through the constant monitoring and surveillance. The micro-manufacturing of the gender categories through disciplining- punishments and hierarchies establishes the need for the communities to regulate and adhere to the ideologies of language and standard amongst the girls. However, with boys the pressure of homogenizing is relatively low, the dialectical influence amongst their speech remains unchanged and hence their speech challenges the norm of homogenization.

THE AUTHOR

Deeksha Gautam is a Teaching Associate at the Writing Studio at Indian Institute of Technology Gandhinagar. She holds a master's degree in Society and Culture Program from the department of Humanities and Social Sciences, IIT Gandhinagar. Her research interests primarily lie at the intersections of language and gender in both formal and informal educational settings.

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APPENDIX

The Key for the Transcripts

Linguistic Marker	**Use**
/	Utterance boundary
=	Latching (no gap)
(.)	Pause
/ /]	Overlap
-	Self-interruption
, ? . !	Intonation prosodic quality
_	Stress
:	Long vowel
Capital letter	Volume
((LF))	Laugh