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Nepali-English code-switching in the conversations of Nepalese people
A sociolinguistic study

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Nepali-English Code-switching in the Conversations of Nepalese People: A Sociolinguistic Study

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of PhD

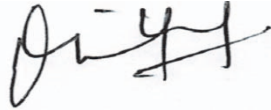Department of
Media, Culture and Language

University of Roehampton

2018

Declaration

I, Dinesh Gurung, confirm that this is my own work and the use of all materials from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged and the material has not been submitted previously, either in whole or in part, for a Degree at any other University.

Dinesh Gurung

Abstract

This thesis investigates and documents the mixing of English elements at various levels in the conversation of the Nepalese people irrespective of their age groups, gender, education level, professions and geographical locations. The objectives of this research are to find out- the extent of mixing English in the conversation of the Nepalese people; groups of people by social variables mixing English more; the reasons for mixing English; the role of media and education in mixing English and finally the impact of Nepali-English language contact on Nepali language.

I employed both primary and secondary data for this research; questionnaire survey with individual and group interview followed by the recording of the natural conversation of the people, the first hand empirical evidence of mixing English in the natural settings. Furthermore, I observed and analysed relevant Nepali-English mixed data from various domains such as print media, broadcasting media and education institutions.

The structural analysis of the Nepali-English code-switching data from both primary and secondary sources evinces that the English elements from lexical level, clausal and phrasal level to sentence level are mixed in the conversation of the Nepalese people. The Nepali-English code-switching data are dominated more at lexical levels specifically by English nouns indicatiing contact-induced potential lexical loss of Nepali retaining the morpho-syntactic rules of the Nepali language. Intra-sentential and inter-sentential code-switching are evident in the code-switching data of Nepali-English language pairs. The English embedded language island is placed in a mixed sentence according to the Nepali grammar without violating the English grammar structure. The main reason for mixing the English elements is to facilitate conversation. This research identified mixing English elements in the conversation of the Nepalese people is influenced by professions,

education level and geographical locations. However, no significant difference was identified among the age group and gender group in mixing English in their conversations. Nepali-English mixed language has emerged as a dialect in the Nepali speech community through the recurrent use of the English elements in the Nepali conversation.

This research adds Nepali-English code-switching study carried out based on the existing code-switching theories studied outside Nepal to the literature of the world code-switching study.

The documentation of Nepali-English CS in this thesis bears significance at the time when teaching English has become global and has no more limited to its first language speakers. This study further provides platform to discuss the idea of trans-languaging in English language pedagogy. Similarly, this study provides empirical evidences to show that English is gradually developing as a second language in Nepal.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Overview

1.1   Introduction

This thesis investigates Nepali-English code-switching in the conversations of Nepalese people in relation to selected social variables. Code-switching (hereafter CS) is the linguistic behaviour of producing or comprehending language which is composed from lexical items and grammatical structures from two (or more) languages. The social variables selected for this study are age, gender, level of education, profession and geographical location. This chapter presents the background to the study; the methodological background, including the aims and objectives of the research; the specific research questions; the rationale and methodology; and finally, the organisation of the thesis.

1.2   Background to the Study

Nepal is situated between two large countries – China and India – in southern Asia. It spans an area of 187,181 square kilometres, with a length of 885 kilometres from east to west and a width of 193 kilometres from north to south. This country is inhabited by about 100 caste and ethnic groups speaking 92 officially recognised languages (Yadava, 2003). The caste groups include Brahmin, Chhetri and Dalit ("untouchables") whose first language is Nepali, while the ethnic groups are all other groups who have their own first language. There are 123 languages spoken as first language according to the 2011 census. This study mainly focuses on Nepali and English. However, it is essential to understand the social structure of Nepalese society in terms of caste. This makes clear why I use the terms caste and ethnicity in this study for background information. The Nepali legal code (Muluki Ain) introduced in 1854 by Jung Bahadur Rana, the first Rana Prime Minister,

divided Nepalese society into different hierarchies of the Hindu caste system. According to Muluki Ain, the hierarchies of major caste and ethnic groups are: '*Tagadhari*' (holy cord wearers), including Khas Brahmin, Terai Brahmin, Thakuri and Chhetri (warriors); '*Namasinya Matwali'* (non-enslavable alcohol drinkers),including Newar, Gurung, Magar, Sunuwar, Rai and Limbu; '*Masinya Matwali*' (enslavable alcohol drinkers),including Bhote (Tamang and Sherpa), Thakali, Chepang, Gharti, Kuimal and Tharu; '*Pani Nachalne Choichhito Halna Naparne'* (impure but touchable),including Newar lower occupational castes- Manandhar and Dhobi, Muslimes and Mlecch (Europeans); and finally, '*Pani Nachalne Choichhito Halna Parne*' (impure and untouchable),including Khas occupational castes- Kami, Sarki and Damai (Höfer, 1979:45). These ethnically diverse groups of people (whose mother language is other than Nepali - see Chapter 2) were integrated into the caste system (Höfer, 1979:52; Gurung, 1997:501) for the purposes of nation building. This caste system was used to promote a homogenous Nepalese society based on Hinduism and caste differentiation.

Nepal is a linguistic *mega centre* (Turin, 2005:4), a home to multilingual, multicultural and multiethnic communities. For inter-caste and inter-ethnic communication, Nepali is the *lingua franca*, i.e. a common language used by two or more groups with different mother tongues (Trudgill, 2003:80). That is, Nepali is used as a means of communication between Nepalese people speaking different mother tongues (Dahal, 2000:167; Hilderbrandt, 2014:405). The Constitution of Nepal of 1991 identifies Nepali as the national and state language and other ethnic languages as "languages of the nation". But the Constitution of Nepal of 2015 identifies *all* of the languages spoken in Nepal as national languages, with Nepali named as the national language with official status. "All the languages spoken as mother tongues in Nepal shall be the national language" (Constitution of Nepal, 2015, Part 1, Article 6); "Nepali shall be the language of official

business in Nepal" (Article 7.1). Thus, ethnic language speakers must speak Nepali in order to have access to government services and facilities.

Due to its wider usage in government and social institutions, Nepali comes into contact with the outside world more than other ethnic languages. The more Nepali comes into contact with the outside world, the more it is influenced by foreign languages, notably English. This contact situation facilitates Nepali-English CS practice as a common linguistic phenomenon. Those ethnic groups that do not have an opportunity to use their native languages as official languages tend to be bilingualand trilingual due to sheer *practical necessity* (Trudgill, 1995:122). In other words, ethnic languages such as Gurung, Magar and Tamangs, which are restricted to the home domain, are not useful for communicating in out-group speech events, in which the Nepali language is more dominant. English also plays a significant role in the socioeconomic life of these ethnic groups.

The Nepalese people, irrespective of age, gender, level of education, profession and geographical location, mix English words in their conversation. This linguistic phenomenon has become so widespread that no facet of Nepalese social life remains untouched or unaffected by it. The only difference in mixing between different ethnic, age and educational groups seems to lie in the amount and type of mixing (Sharma, 2006:25), where *mixing* is used as an umbrella term for all language contact phenomena, including CS, code-mixing and borrowing. Urban elites, for example, have been shown to mix more English in their conversation than rural speakers (Rana, 2008:92). This thesis reports on my investigation of the mixing of English in Nepali conversation and its impact on the Nepali language.

The language policy of Nepal establishes Nepali and English as the media of instruction in the curriculum from primary to tertiary education level. English was first introduced to Nepal by the Rana dynasty (1846-1951) to educate their own family members. After the introduction of democracy in 1951, urban elites also had access to English-medium education. Since then, Nepalese people have been more attracted to English than to other local languages, because English provides them with opportunities to obtain employment in various international organisations. Although the constitution of Nepal allocates no official status to English, its use has, in practice, become more widespread in various domains, such as government and non-government organisations, the mass media and academic institutions (Sapkota, 2010:215).

The perception of English has varied throughout the history of Nepal. Previously, English was not considered an official language, nor an intranational language (neither a language of wider communication, nor a language of group identification). Furthermore, it is the principal "library" language used as a medium of instruction (Shrestha, 1983:48). In the middle of the twentieth century, English was accepted as the language of international communication. More recently, Giri (2014:193) claims that, in contemporary Nepal, English has become a lingua franca across various social and economic sectors and domains, including education.

Hence, English is now used as a medium of instruction in many private schools, colleges and universities. But it has not received the same status in public institutions of higher learning in Nepal. Therefore, it is not surprising that nowadays a large segment of the Nepalese population speaks English with varying levels of competence (Eagle, 2006:34). Teaching in ethnic languages at the primary education level has also been introduced in

order to promote those languages (Yadava, 1992:178). Despite this effort, the use of ethnic languages is still restricted to pupils' own speech communities.

Hitherto, research into Nepali-English CS has been carried out in the Nepali context mostly based on secondary data. Examples include Subedi's (2001) 'English code mixing in Gorkhapatra', Pangeni's (2005) 'Code mixing used in Kantipur and Classic FM', Luitel's (2005) 'Code mixing in Nepali stories', Baral's (2005) 'Code mixing in Nepalese cinemas', and Dahal's (2006) 'English code mixing in Gorkhapatra and Kantipur daily'. All these studies are based on secondary data. This study, by contrast, is based on first-hand data: audio recordings of conversations of Nepalese people in different settings. Nepali-English CS has not been studied as extensively as code-switching involving other languages paired with English. In addition, this study links Nepali-English CS (the micro level) to CS in other contexts around the world (the macro level). This linkage is scarcely found in the research studies carried out so far on Nepali-English code-switching.

At a time when there is a dearth of Nepali-English CS research on informal conversations of Nepalese people, this study can serve as a reference point or cornerstone for future investigations into Nepali-English CS. The Nepali-English CS corpus collected for this study can be important for future research on the topic of the diachronic study of the Nepali-English CS linguistic phenomenon.

1.3   Research Objectives and Methods

This section outlines the aims and objectives of the project, including the research questions, and explains the background to the methodology of the research under investigation.

1.3.1 Aims and Objectives of the Research

The Nepali language is used in both rural and urban areas and across different age groups, genders, professions and levels of education. Nowadays, the use of English words in Nepali conversations is increasing. Hence, this study was carried out focusing on several objectives. The first was to examine the frequency of English mixing at various linguistic levels in the Nepali-English CS data corpus; this includes how English words from the lexical, clause, phrase and sentence levels are embedded in the grammatical structure of Nepali. The second objective was to determine reasons/motivations for such Nepali-English CS. The third objective was to determine which groups of people in terms of social variables - age, gender, education level, profession and geographical location - mix English more in their conversation than others. The fourth was to determine the role of the media, trade and tourism, education and foreign employment in promoting Nepali-English CS. Finally, the fifth objective was to examine whether Nepali-English language contact may lead to language change. This study addresses the following research questions corresponding to the above objectives.

1.3.2 Research Questions

Informal observation suggests that there are different types of code-switching behaviour in Nepal. Highly educated people switch to English to communicate, using whole sentences or clauses at the inter-sentential level. When mixing languages, they keep the appropriate linguistic environment in mind. In contrast, there are less educated people who code-switch more randomly without considering the linguistic environment. Anecdotal evidence shows that this type of mixing has impacted on the Nepali language.

To empirically investigate these informal observations, this study addresses the following specific research questions:

- To what extent do Nepali bilinguals code-switch in their conversations?

- Why do the Nepali people mix English in their conversations?

- Which people, in terms of age, gender, education, profession and geographical location, mix English more in their conversations than others?

- What role do the media, educational institutions, trade and tourism, and foreign employment play in Nepali-English code-switching?

- What is the impact of Nepali-English language contact on the Nepali language?

1.3.3 Rationale of the Research

The study reported on in this thesis is the first to have been conducted on bilingual behaviour of Nepalese people in their home country by contextualising code-switching phenomena and theories described in the international literature.

In the context of Nepal, a small number of studies have been conducted on bilingual Nepali-English behaviour in formal contexts, such as offices, classroom settings and the media. This research study of the sociolinguistic situation of Nepal, by contrast, focuses on Nepali-English code-switching in informal conversations. As a result, this investigation contributes new academic knowledge to the field of sociolinguistics in Nepal by revealing the most recent overall linguistic practices of the Nepalese community in informal settings. It is believed that this study of Nepali-English CS in conversation can furthermore make a concrete contribution to future research on Nepali-English CS by providing a systematically sampled corpus of natural spoken interactions, and an analysis thereof from a current structural and sociolinguistic perspective.

1.3.4 Research Methodology

This study has adopted both qualitative and quantitative methods. Its research tools include interviews, focus group discussions, questionnaires and the recording of conversations. The speech data were collected from the spoken interactions of participants in different settings. The obtained data were transcribed in the CAT/LIDES system (Barnett, Codo, Eppler et al.,2000). For the quantitative analysis, Computerized Language Analysis (CLAN) and SPSS software were used. The qualitative analysis was conducted in Myers-Scotton's (1993, 1995, 2002) Matrix Language Frame model (henceforth MLF) and a classic variationist sociolinguistic framework (Labov, 1966; Sankoff & Labov, 1979; Trudgill, 1974; Tagliamonte, 2001). Details of the choice of research methodology and methods of data gathering and analysis are presented in Chapter 4.

1.3.5 Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is comprised of eight chapters. The first introduces the research background, aims and objectives; the research questions; and the significance of the study. The second chapter provides an overview of the sociolinguistic background of Nepal, which includes the development of the Nepali language and its contact with English. The third chapter presents a conceptual review of the study. It reviews previous research related to this study. The fourth chapter presents the methodology used. Chapters 5 and 6 present data collected using the above-mentioned research techniques. The data presented and analysed in Chapter 5 focus on the first three research questions, i.e. those related to the linguistic and extra-linguistic aspects of Nepali-English CS. Chapter 6 analyses and presents data to address the next two research questions, i.e. those related to the sociolinguistics aspect under investigation in this project. Chapter 7 discusses and interprets the findings presented and analysed in Chapters 5 and 6. The last chapter

concludes the study with the research findings of the overall research questions, followed by a discussion of the limitations of the study and an outlook towards research questions that emerge from it.

Chapter 2: The Sociolinguistics of Multilingualism in Nepal

2.1   Introduction

Chapter 2 explores the multilingual and ethnically diverse situation in Nepal from a historical and sociolinguistic perspective. The chapter begins with a presentation of languages spoken in Nepal and their status, followed by a section presenting the Nepali language within its historical and political context. The next section describes Nepali in contact with foreign languages. This is followed by a section which discusses the factors facilitating Nepali-English language contact to develop the Nepali-English CS phenomenon. I will focus on the usage of and switching between Nepali and English, with emphasis on the historical and social factors that have contributed to the development of code-switching between Nepali, English and present-day spoken 'Nenglish'. The next section presents the development of 'Nenglish', the version of English influenced by Nepali as a result of Nepali-English language contact, and the chapter ends with some concluding remarks.

2.2   Languages Spoken in Nepal and Their Status

Section 2.2 gives a synopsis of Nepal's caste and ethnic languages that arespoken by more than 1% of the population, and their status vis-à-vis the Nepali language. This is background information to understand why Nepali is both dominant and the language that interacts most with English in Nepal. All the languages listed in the 2001 and 2011 censuses fall into one of four families: Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian (Yadava, 2007:5; Abbi, 2008:167; Yadava, 2014:53).

Nepali belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European language family. The Indo-Aryan language sub-family furthermore includes Maithili, Bhojpuri, Tharu and Awadhi. With 82.1%, this group forms the largest group of languages in terms of speakers, according to the 2011 census. The Indo-Aryan languages are mainly spoken in the western and eastern hills, and in the Terai. The Tibeto-Burman group, which belongs to the Sino-Tibetan language family, ranks second with a smaller number of speakers, 17.3%, but a greater number of languages: 63 according to the 2011 census, 57 according to that of 2001. The Tibeto-Burman languages are mainly spoken in the eastern, central and western mountains and hills. The Austro-Asiatic (Munda) languages, which include Santhali and Sathar, rank third with 0.19% of speakers. The Austro-Asiatic languages are mainly spoken in the southern parts of the Jhapa and Morang districts. The Dravidian (Northern Kurux) language family, which includes Dhangar and Jhangar, ranks fourth with 0.13% of speakers, according to the 2011 census. These Dravidian languages are mainly spoken in the Sunsari, Siraha and Jhapa districts.

To contextualise these percentages, Table 2.1 lists the language families that are dominant in terms of populations of speakers of the Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman groups.Languages spoken by less than 1% of the total population, including some of those belonging to the Tibeto-Burman language sub-family and all of those belonging to the Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian language families, have not been included in the table because they have less influence within the Nepali speech community.

Table 2.1: Population of Nepal by mother tongue (CBS 2001 and 2011)

S N	Indo-Aryan language family					Tibeto-Burman language family				
	Language	Number CBS 2001	%	Number CBS 2011	%	Language	Number CBS 2001	%	Number CBS 2011	%
	Total	22,736,934	100	26,494,504	100	Total	22,736,934	100	26,494,504	100
1	Nepali	11,053,255	48.61	11,826,953	44.63	Newari	825,458	3.63	846,557	3.72
2	Maithili	2,797,582	12.30	3,092,530	11.67	Tamang	1,179,145	5.18	1,353,311	5.10
3	Bhojpuri	1,712,536	7.53	1,584,958	5.98	Magar	770,116	3.38	788,530	2.97
4	Tharu	1,331,546	5.85	1,52,9875	5.77	Bantawa (Rai)	371,056	1.63	132,583	0.5
5	Awadhi	560,744	2.46	501,752	1.89	Limbu	333,633	1.58	343,603	1.29
6						Gurung	338,925	1.49	325,622	1.22

Table 2.1 shows that the Indo-Aryan language sub-family has a larger population of speakers than the Tibeto-Burman.

As shown in Table 2.1, Nepali is spoken as the first language by almost 50% of the total population. This percentage comprises the Brahmin, Chhetri and Dalit ("untouchable") castes, who are native speakers of Nepali, and ethnic languages speakers who have their own first languages but have shifted to Nepali. According to Toba, Toba &Rai (2005), many language communities are shifting towards speaking Nepali. Dan Raj Regmi (2017:139) likewise states that "mostly speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages are gradually shifting mainly to Nepali, the language of wider communication".

The remaining population also speaks Nepali as a second language in inter-group communication in addition to their own mother tongue, which they predominantly use in intra-ethnic group communication.

2.2.1 Caste and Ethnic Languages

Caste and ethnic languages are closely linked to the makeup of Nepali society, both culturally and linguistically. Pradhan & Shrestha (2005:3) found significant cultural differences between speakers of caste and ethnic groups. On the one hand, there are caste groups, or *jatas,* such as Brahmin, Chhetri and Dalit. Then there are ethnic groups known as *Janajatis*, or nationalities, which include Tamang, Gurung, Newar and Magar. Among the castes, there exists a hierarchical structure of unequal groups, such as the "pure" Brahmin and Chhetri and the "impure/untouchable" Kami, Sarki and Damai. In contrast, ethnic groups are devoid of this "pure" and "impure" dichotomy (Pradhan & Shrestha, 2005:3).

Caste groups perform their religious rituals in Sanskrit, an ancient language of the Indo-Iranian sub-family, which is the origin of Nepali, the dominant language in Nepal and one of the source languages for Nepali-English CS. During the Rana regime (1846-1951), ethnic languages were subjected to domination through "Hinduisation or Sanskritisation - a process of welding together of a pluralistic society into a single nation through Hindu rituals and rites" (Sharma, 1977:293). Many Nepali Hindus are still in favour of promoting the Nepali language along with English, but not other ethnic languages.

Most ethnic languages in Nepal are named after the ethnic groups or people who speak them. For instance, Gurung, Magar and Tamang are the languages spoken by the ethnic groups Gurung, Magar and Tamang respectively. Not all of these ethnic languages are of equal status. According to Hymes (1992), "all languages are potentially equal; they are, for social reasons, not always so" (cited in Hornberger, 2006:27). In Nepal, the Nepali language has a higher status than ethnic languages due to its wider usage in government offices and the media. Speakers of ethnic languages compete among themselves to gain

domains for their languages by developing their own grammars and scripts. Most of the languages belonging to ethnic groups have only oral traditions. Very few have previously had written traditions with their own scripts.

Though my research topic deals with Nepali and English in the colloquial context, I will nevertheless discuss written and spoken ethnic languages in the following sections to explain why I have chosen Nepali for my study.

2.2.1.1 Spoken Caste and Ethnic Languages

Caste and ethnic languages are spoken across much of the country, i.e., Nepali, Hindi, Bhojpuri, Awadhia and Urdu by non-Nepali speaking Madhesis in the Terai (the southern part of Nepal); Nepali, Gurung, Magar, Rai, Limbu, Chepang, etc., are spoken in the hill area (the northern part of Nepal); and Nepali and Newari spoken by Newar in the Kathmandu valley (Bista,1991:18). Not all members of ethnic groups necessarily speak their native ethnic languages. This may be caused by migration. People move from rural (their original places or origin) to urban centres for education, employment etc. They often settle there and do not return home. This wave of rural migrants no longer feels the need to use their ethnic languages in the new speech community, as their past language repertoire has been replaced by the new linguistic habit of using later acquired or learned second languages, such as Nepali and English. This naturally makes it difficult for their children to learn their ethnic languages. Young generations from almost all ethnic groups speak the Nepali language with no trace of their ethnic languages. Many ethnic groups show little interest in preserving their languages (Toba, Toba & Rai, 2005:23), The reason could be that young generations assume that Nepali and English are enough for them to communicate; they therefore show less interest in their mother tongues. Eventually, they choose the Nepali and English languages at their disposal at the expense of their mother

tongues (Giri, 2009:35). Attitudes towards ethnic languages are, however, slowly changing, as demonstrated by the rise in the number of speakers of ethnic languages and decline of Nepali in the 2011 census (see also Yadava, 2014).

2.2.1.2 Written Caste and Ethnic Languages

The tradition of writing and publishing literary works in ethnic languages is far behind in comparison to that of Nepali. The reason is that not all ethnic languages have their own scripts/writing traditions.

According to Turin (2004), languages such as Newari, Maithili, Limbu, Bhojpuri, Awadi, Hindi, Urdu and Bhote (Sherpa) have scripts as a way to develop their languages through literature. For instance, the Newari ethnic group, who lead the campaign for a language policy that protects, supports and develops ethnic languages through use as a medium of instruction in primary level education, use the Ranjana script. Speakers of other ethnic languages, such as Maithili and Bhojpuri, which belong to the Indo-Aryan language sub-family, have established and developed their mother tongues in written traditions parallel to the Nepali language through publications (e.g. educational materials) in their respective languages.

However, ethnic languages such as Tharu, Tamang, Magar, Gurung, Thulung, Bantawa, Chamling, Khaling, Thakali, Sherpa and Rajbanshi are yet to be codified and standardised. Speakers of such languages as Tamang, Gurung, Rai and others which belong to the Tibeto-Burman language sub-family have been working to get their respective languages documented (Yadav, 2007:7). The Tamang, Tharu and Gurung, for example, do not have their own scripts and therefore use the Devanagari script instead.

Codifications of other ethnic languages, such as Santhali and Munda from the Austro-Asiatic family, have not yet been developed (Turin, 2004:6; Yadava, 2007:7).

Despite linguistic and cultural suppression in the past, especially during the Rana oligarchy of 1847-1951 (Lienhard, 1992:3), there is still a chance of long-term survival for some ethnic languages, such as Newari and Maithili, due to their long literary tradition. Newari and Maithili are richer than others in terms of literary tradition; and have gained the formal status to be taught at degree level at Tribhuvan University in Kathmandu. In contrast, other ethnic languages are weaker in this respect, as they lack scripts for their literary development (Riccardi, 2003:593).

This linguistic scenario of ethnic languages in Nepal positions the Nepali language above other languages; it has wider domains of usage and has gained prestige over other minor ethnic languages (Yadava, 2014). However, the dominant position of the Nepali language needs to be reviewed, considering that the English language has been encroaching on the linguistic landscape of Nepal.

2.3   The Nepali Language

The term Nepali, i.e. the language, is associated with neither castes nor ethnic groups. It is a very wide and all-encompassing term intended to allow identification by all Nepali citizens.

As stated above, Nepali is the dominant language in Nepal. Almost 50% of the total population speaks it as a first language. The remaining population also speaks Nepali as a second language in inter-group communication in addition to their own ethnic languages, which they predominantly use in intra-ethnic group communication. Thus, the

aforementioned percentage of speakers speaking Nepali as a first language is a combination of the speakers from all the caste and ethnic groups.

If we look in more detail at who speaks Nepali, it can be noted that the Chhetri comprise 15.80% and the Brahmin 12.70% of the total Nepalese population (according to the census of 2001). Together, therefore, these groups make up nearly 28% of the total population who speak Nepali as a first language. The remaining 22% of the population who speak Nepali as a first language come from other ethnic groups and the lowest Hindu caste, the Dalit. This brings the total to nearly 50% of the population of Nepal speaking Nepali as a first language. Proportionally, however, the number of Nepali speakers has fallen by almost ten percent (48.6% of a total population of 23 million in 2001) compared to the census of 1991 (58.4% of a total population of 15 million). Yogendra Yadava (2014) sees two reasons for this. First, varieties treated as dialects of Nepali in the 2001 and earlier censuses, such as Doteli, Baitadeli, Achchami, Bajhangi, Dailekhi, Darchuleli, Jumli, Dadeldhuri and Gadhwali, have been recorded as separate languages in the later census of 2011. Second, various ethnic and other minority communities have campaigned to have their mother tongues recognised as separate languages owing to the growth of their ethno-linguistic awareness (Yadava, 2014:56).

2.3.1   Historical and Political Context of the Nepali Language

The Nepali language is linked to the Khas, an ancient Indo-Aryan tribe that migrated from the northwest to the southeast in the central Himalaya region and established the Khas empire in the twelfth century. This empire ranged from Tibet to Sinja of Jumla in the Karnali Zone of Nepal (Riccardi, 2003:594). Hence, Nepali is believed to have originated from Sinja. The Khas kingdom broke up into small principalities in the fourteenth century (Bandhu, 1989:124). Four centuries later, Prithvi Narayan Shah (1723–1775) the Khas

king of Gorkha, started a campaign of reunification of the small principalities into one, from his principality of Gorkha. He conquered Kathmandu valley (Kantipur) on September 26, 1768. At the time, the Kathmandu valley was ruled by the Malla king, who spoke Newari, the official language of that region. After the conquest of the Kathmandu valley, Newari was replaced by Khas Kura, also known as Parbatiya (the language of hill people) or Gorkhali (until 1933). This is why "many Nepalese, especially those for whom it is not a mother tongue, still use terms such as *gorkhali, parbatiya* and even *khas kura* for the Nepali language" (Hutt, 1988:34). After the unification of Nepal in 1768, the Khas language became Nepali, the common language for all Nepalese people. The spread of Nepali thus seems to have depended on the Shah dynasty (Dahal, 2000:167). That is, through migration, conquest and displacement, Nepali has come to serve as the lingua franca and now as the national language of Nepal.

Following the conquest of the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal enteredthe modern era, as determined by the "unification" of the small principalities and ethnic territories that gave birth to a national territory of Nepal during the second half of the eighteenth century. In the newly formed state, Nepali was promoted as necessary for unifying all Nepalese people, irrespective of their different languages and cultures, as Giri argues (2009:41). The Shah rulers rejected the mosaic of ethnic languages and cultures and imposed linguistic dominance by placing ethnic groups under Nepali-speaking elites through internal colonisation (Riaz & Basu, 2007:70).

Ethnic groups and their languages experienced linguistic and cultural oppression during the rules of the Shah dynasty (1768-2008), the Rana oligarchy (1846-1951) and the Panchayat system (1960-1990). These rulers spread nationalism to the Nepali people at the expense of the languages and cultures of other ethnic groups. "During the Panchayat

period (1960-1990), minorities' cultures were certainly neglected, if not suppressed; if ethnic culture was present in the public arena at all, it was folklorised" (Bhattarai, 2004:303).

Only after Nepal entered the international arena (after receiving membership of the UN on December 14, 1955) was the Nepali government compelled to make a commitment principally regarding the preservation and promotion of these languages and cultures.This history means that, in order to communicate with outside groups, ethnic language speakers today use Nepali as a lingua franca. According to Chudamani Banchu, Nepali has found a niche "as a lingua franca first, then as an official language and national language" (Bandhu, 1989:121).

2.3.2   Factors Supporting Nepali as the National Language

The establishment of Nepali as the national language can be traced back to a number of political, religious and economic factors. These will be outlined in the following subsections.

2.3.2.1 Political Factors

The Shah dynasty imposed the Nepali language and the Hindu religion on small ethnic states with their own distinctive cultures, languages and religions, which had been annexed by invasion. All the ethnic subjects were forced by the Shah and his successors to obey four fundamental principles: Nepalese subjects were prohibited from questioning the authority of the Hindu king of Gorkha, the Hindu culture, the Hindu hierarchical caste systems and Nepali as the language of administration and education (Tumbahang, 2009:7). On the latter principle, for example, Prithvi Narayan Shah's successor, King

Rana Bahadur Shah (1775-1806), ordered the Limbus to correspond in Nepali in government offices.

Ethnic groups continued facing linguistic suppression during the next two regimes, the Rana oligarchy (1846-1951) and the Panchayat system (1960-1990). The latter regime imposed the policy of 'One nation, one culture, one language' on Nepal from 1962 to 1989. During these and following decades the government became indifferent to ethnic languages (Yadava& Turin, 2006:33; Paudel, 2009:3). Ethnic languages in Nepal did not have the same political capital as Nepali. Carol Myers-Scotton (2002:35) argues that "those languages with the greatest capital are the languages of government business and the medium of higher education". Elites such as the government and educated language policy-makers did not allocate official and public functions to ethnic languages, and excluded them from national language policy. The following statement supports the argument that throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries languages other than Nepali were not only sidelined but destroyed.

> Ram Mani Acharya Dixit, a member of the Gorkha (Nepali) Language
> Publication Committee established in 1913 A.D., destroyed the
> genealogies, and copper and stone written inscriptions of ethnic people,
> along with burning 30,000 hand written documents related to language,
> script, culture and religion (Gurung,1985:47; Neupane, 2010:82-83).

Language policy in Nepal, made in 1905, established Nepali as the official language of law and government with the declaration that only documents written in Nepali were legal for use in courts (Eagle, 1999).

2.3.3.2 Religious Factors

All the rulers of Nepal during the Shah (1768-2008) and Rana (1846-1951) rules were Hindus and belonged to the Khas, later known as Chhetri and Brahmins. These rulers did not want to preserve and promote Nepal's ethnic languages (Tumbahang, 2009:14). Hutt (2004:2) states:

> The Ranas perpetuated a policy of Hinduisation which systematised the incorporation of Nepal's many disparate ethno-linguistic groups into a national hierarchy of castes and ethnic groups headed by the Khas (later called Chetri and Bahuns or Brahmins) of the Gorkhali elites (Hutt, 2004:2).

A recent verdict of the Supreme Court reveals how actively contemporary Nepali governments have been involved in a planned effort to eliminate ethnic languages. In the 1990s three municipalities declared languages other than Nepali to be official: Kathmandu declaring Nepal Bhasa, the Newari language, and Dhanusha and Rajbiraj declaring Maithili. But on June 1, 1999 the Supreme Court of Nepal issued a verdict denouncing the decision of the three municipalities. Even though the declarations were in accordance with the legal provisions of the Self-Governance Act of 1999, they lost the legal battle against the government. This brief outline shows that Hinduisation or Sanskritisation played a huge role in suppressing Nepal's ethnic languages and cultures.

2.3.3.3 Economic Factors

The internal migration of people must also be taken into consideration when discussing the linguistic situation in Nepal. Nepal has been experiencing increasing internal migration after the control of endemic malaria in the Terai (southern plains area) and the

Kathmandu Valley since the early 1950s.People have been migrating from one place to another for various reasons such as employment, education and health facilities.

Members of the Brahmin and Chhetri caste groups, whose mother tongue is Nepali, do not experience language problems in places where the Nepali language is already recognised as a medium of communication. Only those ethnic groups who speak their own mother tongues experience language problems. Maintaining mother tongues in the newly relocated areas demands extra effort but may potentially bring economic advantage. For these people, learning to speak Nepali became associated with status, not ethnic identity (Eagle, 2000:21). Likewise, Gautam (2012:40) states: "Nepali became the language of power and prestige for over two centuries in Nepal". Learning Nepali became inevitable for all those ethnic groups who wished to be involved in economic activities that require inter-ethnic communication. Their own mother tongues proved insufficient for economic survival in the mainly urban areas.

Most ethnic groups traditionally resided in the hilly area. As in many Western countries, the prospect of economic improvement has enticed many people from the mountainous areas of Nepal to migrate to cities on the plains in the south. Especially since 1991, this has led to a wave of economic migration to the cities, where original ethno-linguistic habits have changed, including a language shift to Nepali. Rural depopulation has changed the original ethno-linguistic habits of those people whose mother tongues are other than Nepali.

2.3.4   The Spoken Nepali Language

Nepali varies from place to place; it is spoken differently as one moves from the western part of Nepal to the east. The dialects of the Nepali language can be divided in terms of

geography, as follows:Para Paschima (around the Seti and Mahakali zone of the far western part of Nepal), Majha Paschima (around the Karnali and Bheri zone in the mid-western part), Wora Paschima (around the Gandaki zone), Majhali (around the Bagmati zone) and Purveli (around the Sagarmatha and Koshi zone in the east) (Dahal, 2000:164). Not all these varieties/dialects of Nepali are mutually intelligible.

Nepali is spoken not only inside Nepal but also in diaspora groups such as those inIndia, the USA and the UK. The Nepalese have shifted from speaking their native languages for the sake of national identity to the use of Nepali as a lingua franca when communicating among themselves in the diaspora (Subba, 1992:38). The Nepali language also varies within the diasporic Nepali speaking community.

The dialects of Nepali are formed not only by geography, but also by ethno-linguistic diversity. The Nepali spoken bypeople with mother tongues belonging to the Tibeto-Burman language family differs from that of the Brahmin and Chhetri castes, in both grammar and pronunciation. Likewise, the Maithili, Bhojpuri, etc, in the plains bordering onto India in the south, speak Nepali differently to the Brahmin and Chhetri castes. That is, the varieties of spoken Nepali can be traced back to the phonological, lexical and grammatical influences of the mother tongues of each ethnic group.

To substantiate the claim that the grammar of the Nepali spoken by ethnic groups is different from that of the Brahmins and Chhetri, I provide two illustrative examples from the Gurung variety of Nepali. Unlike "standard" Nepali, which has honorific verbs/suffixes such as the–*nus* in *kha-nus* 'please eat', the Gurung variety has no honorific verbs; *kha* 'eat' is used in all situations. To put this into an example: in Nepali, one says *Dai khana khanus* 'Brother, please have lunch', whereas in Gurung one says *Dai, kana*

kha 'Brother, take lunch'. Similarly, there is no gender identification/agreement in the Gurung language as there is in Nepali. The form of verbs in Nepali is determined by the gender of the subject of a sentence: *Geeta* [female given name] *khana khanche* 'Geeta eats rice' versus *Ram* [male given name] *khana kancha* 'Ram eats rice'. In these sentences, the verb *khancha* 'to eat' has two different forms: *khanche* for female and *khancha* for male. These female and male verb forms are not found in the Gurung variety of Nepali. Nowadays, however, many educated Gurung people speak grammatically correct Nepali.

The Nepali varieties spoken by ethnic groups are different from the standard Nepali variety spoken by the Brahmin and Chhetri caste groups in formal situations, and the influence of ethnic languages can be traced in the varieties of the Nepali language spoken by the different ethnic groups. These varieties and the ethnic identities they are associated with are barely reflected in the media.

By contrast, the standard variety of Nepali, as spoken by the educated Brahmin and Chhetri caste groups, is used in both government and private-run media for broadcasting the news and government notices. However, since the 1990s some ethnic languages have been allowed access to the media for a limited time with a view to offering news and entertainment to ethnic groups as a recognition of their identity. For instance, in August 1994 the news was broadcast over Radio Nepal in eight languages: Rai-Bantawa, Limbu, Tharu, Bhojpuri, Tamang, Magar, Gurung and Awadi (these are national languages without official status according to the Constitution of Nepal of 2015) (Eagle, 2000:43).

2.3.5 The Written Nepali Language

Nepali shares the same script, Devanagari, used in Sanskrit and Hindi (Saxena, 2008:127). *Sanskrit* literally means "cultured and civilised language". Just as Latin

changed over time to "give birth to" the various languages belonging to the Romance language family, so Sanskrit changed over the course of time, resulting in the emergence of various *Prakrit* or "original, natural and ordinary" languages. These languages all belong to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-Iranian language family (see illustration below), and Nepali is included within them (Bandhu, 1989:123).

Figure 2.1: Indo-Iranian Language Family


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                    ┌──────────────┐
                    │ Indo-Iranian │
                    │  languages   │
                    └──────────────┘
        ┌───────────────┬───────────────────────┐
┌──────────────┐  ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────────────┐
│  Indo-Aryan  │  │   Iranian    │      │    Indo-Iranian      │
│  languages   │  │  languages   │      │  languages, n.i.e.   │
└──────────────┘  └──────────────┘      └──────────────────────┘
  — Bengali         — Kurdish
  — Gujarati        — Pashto
  — Hindi           — Persian (Farsi)
  — Konkani
  — Marathi
  — Panjabi (Punjabi)
  — Sindhi
  — Sinhala (Sinhalese)
  — Urdu
  — Nepali
```
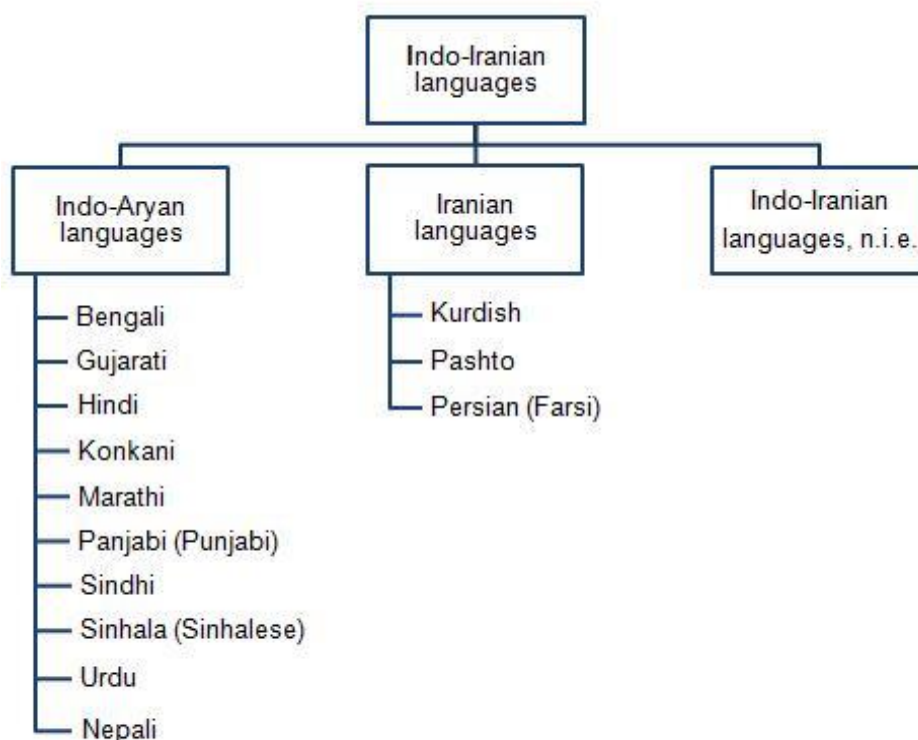
n.i.e. = not included elsewhere
n.o.s. = not otherwise specified

(Taken from https://anthrogenica.com/showthread.php?10449-Split-Indo-Aryan-Classification-amp-Scythian-Influences/page2.)

Nepali is richer and more advanced in codification than the other ethnic languages of Nepal (see section 2.2). It has reached this position because it is used in both spoken and written modes, in many different domains and in the media. This is further evidenced by the argument that:

Language maintains its vitality through speech, writing in it, working

in it, governing in it, publishing books in it and finally using it as a

medium in radio and television (Wardaugh, 1987:2).

The publication by Moti Ram Bhatta (1866-1896) of the *Ramayana,* a religious volume rendered by Bhanu Bhakta Acharya (1814-1869) from Sanskrit to colloquial Nepali, was a milestone in the history of Nepali language development. With this publication, the Nepali language entered the domain of printing. Simultaneously, Nepalese writers pro-actively involved themselves in the creation of literary works of large and small volumes in various literary genres, such as poetry, novels and essays. The Nepalese writers Dharanidhar Koirala, Parasmani Pradhan and Surya Bikram Gyawali, among others, were notable contributors to the development of the Nepali language. Koirala contributed collections of poems such as 'Naibedhya' and 'Spandan'; Pradhan contributed to the development, diffusion and recognition of the Nepali language in India; and Gyawali contributed a biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah and placed Bhanubhakta's works at the head of Nepal's literary canon.

Written Nepali, however, faced some obstacles and restrictions by the Rana oligarchy. The Rana rulers wanted to restrict education - in both English and Nepali – to just their family and the elite group around them; they considered educating the common people to be a threat to their regime (Sharma, 1990:3). All publication of literature was banned in Nepal during the Rana regime, and Nepalese writers used publishers in foreign lands, such as Banaras and Darjeeling in India, to publish their works. Disregarding the threat posed by the autocratic Rana oligarchy, these writers relentlessly involved themselves in revealing the suppression and injustice of the Rana regime through their publications.

The launch of the *Gorkhapatra* (the first daily newspaper in Nepal) in 1901 was another foundation stone of modern written Nepali (Bandhu, 1989:125-126). This publication supported the Nepali language reaching the Nepalese people. Nepali became the medium of instruction and also of advocacy and administration in the law courts and government offices. The publication of Muluki Ain - the legal code - in Nepali in 1854 widened the use of Nepali in the public sphere (Riccardi, 2003:595). All government correspondence is now carried out in Nepali. Since the advent of democracy in 1950, Nepal has opened up to the outside world. This has increased the number of Nepali publications dramatically (Riccardi, 2003:596). Then in 1964, the Nepali Company Act was passed, directing companies to keep records in Nepali or English. This phenomenon facilitated the presence of English in the linguistic landscape of Nepal.

2.4   The Nepali Language in Contact with Foreign Languages

Nepal is bordered on its east, west and south sides by India, a *sociolinguistic giant* (Khubchandani, 1978:553) representing the languages and cultures of diverse linguistic and ethnic groups. Hindi, however, is the strongest language in terms of number of speakers. Nepali has had direct contact with Hindi. Since the Treaty of Peace and Friendship was agreed and signed between Nepal and India in 1950, there has been free movement of people and goods between the two countries. This language contact is facilitated not only by geographical proximity, but also by genealogical relatedness. Nepali and Hindi both belong to the Indo-Aryan language family. The orthographic and grammatical systems of Hindi and Nepali are similar, because they both go back to Sanskrit (Kachru, 2008:85). Though there are some shared lexical items between Nepali and Hindi, they are not varieties or dialects of the same language but two different languages. To summarise, Hindi and Nepali belong to the same language family, and because they are neighbouring languages across a transparent border, they have further

influenced each other, leading to striking or remarkable similarities and many common features. This naturally facilitates language contact.

In the north, Nepal shares a border with China. There are geographical and legal constraints to crossing the border in either direction. Hence, it is unsurprising that the Nepali language comes into contact with Chinese less frequently than with Hindi. Consequently, the use of Hindi words in Nepali is more prominent than the use of Chinese words, which are rarely found. Due to the many English loanwords in Hindi, English language elements have also entered Nepali via Hindi (this will be discussed in more detail in the next sections).

These are but two examples of Nepali in contact with languages of the Indian subcontinent. However, they illustrate that Nepali speech communities exemplify Gumperz's (1968) definition of a speech community based on interaction and multilingualism: groups of Nepali people interact with other speech communities using not a single but a variety of languages. Though there are other foreign languages in use in Nepal, such as French, German and Italian, they are used in limited domains, such as language institutes and the tourism trade. These languages are not sociolinguistically tied to the Nepali language to the same extent as Hindi and English. Hence, "other European languages have exerted less linguistic influence on the Nepali language" (Riccardi, 2003:598) than English. Sociolinguistically, Hindi is a regional language which is spoken as lingua franca among people from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal. English, by contrast, is a global language which is used as a lingua franca among people speaking different languages from all over the world.

2.4.1 The Nepali Language in Contact with English

The following section discusses the Nepali-English language situation.

2.4.1.1 The English Language in Nepal

The status of the English language in Nepal is different from that of Nepali. The Nepali language was imposed by the government top down (Simpson, 2007:15). In contrast, English was developed gradually through the language contact situation and its use by growing numbers of Nepalese citizens.

To find out when Nepali-speaking people first came into contact with English-speaking people, one has to look back to the arrival of the first British missionaries, Father Craybrawl in 1628, and Fathers Grover and Dorbil in 1661. Their primary mission was to preach the Christian gospel and convert the Nepalese people to Christianity (Sharma, 2000:33). These missionaries, who were allowed to stay in the Kathmandu valley by the Malla rulers, left the country after the Malla kings surrendered to Prithvi Narayan Shah in the early eighteenth century. The expulsion of these missionaries has been attributed (Kafle, 2008:139) to the antagonistic policy toward foreign nationals adopted by Prithvi Narayan Shah, as stated in the *DivyaUpadesh* (the Divine Counsel). Though the stay of the missionaries in the Kathmandu valley was short, it was the first contact of Nepali with English.

The Nepali-English language contact situation resumed on a larger scale during border disputes between the Gurkha chiefs of Nepal and the British Indian government, which resulted in the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-16. The territorial expansion of Nepal was accompanied by the migration of Nepalese people to the northern part of India. After the Nepalese encounter with British India ended with the ratification of the Treaty of Sugauli

in 1816, native English speakers also came and stayed in Nepal on diplomatic missions, further facilitating Nepali-English contact.

Contact intensified as Anglo-Nepalese relations improved after Jung Bahadur Rana took power from the Shahs in 1846. Self-declared Prime Minister Junga Bahadur Rana had foreseen that the safety of his rule over Nepal involved maintaining good relations with the British East India Company.He was the first prime minister of Nepal to visit the United Kingdom, in 1850, and was awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of Bath (G.C.B.) by Queen Victoria. Junga Bahadur Rana recognised the significance of the English language in strengthening his friendship with England, the colonial ruler of Nepal's big neighbour in the south, India. He therefore invited a British teacher to teach his sons English. He established the first modern school, the Durbar High School, in 1854 to provide English education to the Rana family. He did this not only with a view to educating his children, but also to maintain good relationships with the British and other international communities (Paudel, 2009:1). Rana rule and language policy (see section 2.3.3.1) lasted until 1950. Since then there have been many governments in power, such as the first democratic government which lasted until 1962, followed by the partyless Panchayat system which lasted until 1990; from this date there have been multiparties in government. None of these governments paid serious attention to the language issue. However, the most recent government formed the language commission in 2016. Under this circumstance, the English language, along with Nepali, has become predominant in school curricula, both in the rural and urban parts of Nepal. The learning of English provides Nepalese people with opportunities to obtain jobs in various national and international governmental organisations, and in the media. Therefore, a large section of the Nepalese people is attracted to English more than to ethnic languages.

Learning English is deeply rooted among Nepalese across the country, despite the fact that the government has been reluctant to use English as a medium of instruction formally and officially. English did not undergo linguistic suppression in the same way as ethnic languages in Nepal. Although in the 1970s the Nepalese government restructured the education system, with a view to limiting the scope of English education to specific purposes only, the Nepalese people's desire to understand and speak English discouraged the government and its agencies from continuing its policy of limiting English in education. For example, one of the government's autonomous bodies, Tribhuvan University, had to cancel its plan to teach and give exams in Nepali only, as the policy was extremely unpopular. The university changed its policy and encouraged the use of English at various levels of its constituent campuses (Bhaattarai, 2006:12-14). Thus, use of the English language was revived countrywide in the education sector.

The use of English has also been fostered by speakers of ethnic languages. According to a study of the Gurungs in the western part of Nepal by Ragsdale (1989), cited in Eagle (2000:23), Gurung parents were annoyed by the way highly Sanskritized Nepali words were used by tutors during lessons and while conducting examinations in government-run schools. Their children could not understand these lessons and they performed poorly in examinations compared to the children of Nepali native speakers, i.e. Brahmins and Chhetri. They therefore took their children out of the government school and enrolled them in an English-medium school (Eagle, 2000:23).

In Nepal, the multifaceted uses of English have gradually increased. Pointing out the significance of the English language, Professor of English Education Dr Govinda Bhattarai states:

It is the English language which provides the voice and the instruments to fight against all types of suppression. It is through the English language, democrats, human-right and ethnic language activists, intellectuals and the educated mass all alike get access to the international forum to hold dialogue with international communities to get rid of all types of human atrocities (Bhattarai,2006:15).

The use of English, confined to elite circles in the past, i.e. during the Rana regime (1847-1951), has now broken through the barrier and reached common Nepalese people in large numbers through various means, such as education and the media.

English co-exists with the Nepali language. Although the constitution of Nepal allocates no official status to English, in practice its use has become widespread in various domains, such as government and non-government organisations, mass media and academic institutions (Sapkota, 2010:215). Therefore, it is not surprising that currently a large number of Nepalese speak English at various levels of competence (Eagle, 2000:34).

2.4.1.2 Spoken English Language

Speaking is a productive skill which is achieved through the development of a receptive skill, i.e. listening. Without any input (reading and listening activities), there is no output (speaking and writing). In other words, to speak English as a first or second language, people must learn it through input. Baker (2011:4) distinguishes two scenarios/conditions under which a foreign language can be learnt: circumstantial and elective. In an elective situation, a language learner chooses to learn a language formally, e.g. in a classroom. In a circumstantial situation, a language learner learns a language because their first

language is insufficient to meet their (communicative, economic, etc.) needs. That is, they learn a language to be able to function effectively in their circumstances, to survive.

Most Nepalese people learn English, to some extent, through movies and through textbooks in schools, colleges and institutions, i.e. both circumstantially and electively. Spoken English in formal settings is of a high standard in Nepal. This is shown by the following quotation from Professor H.D. Purcell, quoted by Jha (1989:111) and cited in Eagle (2000):

> I am bound to start by saying that, in world terms, the standard of English here [at Tribhuvan University] strikes me as comparatively high......better English is spoken at Tribhuvan University than at any university in the Middle East (Eagle, 2000:35).

The formal way of learning English in academic institutions, however, does not necessarily enhance the informal speaking skills of the Nepalese people; even many university graduates do not feel confident and comfortable in speaking English informally (Adhikari, 2010:2).

A guide in a busy urban tourist area, by contrast, may be able to communicate with foreigners in English very effectively. The advantage for tourist guides is that they learn English in an informal setting, i.e. in practical situations involving native or very competent speakers. In sharp contrast, those learning English in formal settings, through course books in schools, may not have this advantage. They do not usually learn English from native speakers. The great majority of people prefer native speakers of English for exonormative encounters to improve their English proficiency levels (Boyle, 2012:323).

However, in Nepal there is a recent trend of using the English language in different ways to those of native English speakers. Nepali English or "Nenglish", like "Hinglish" in India and "Chinglish" in China, has started to display features different from Standard English in both its written and spoken forms (Rai, 2006:34).

2.4.1.3 Written English Language

Government offices, ministries and the departments under them use both Nepali and English as their means of correspondence. For example, all official documents are prepared and signed in either English or Nepali. Those documents dealing with foreign affairs are in English and those with domestic affairs are in both Nepali and English. However, non-government organisations and academic institutions at all levels embrace the English language for correspondence and for publishing notices and advertisements. Also, many daily and weekly newspapers and literary journals are published in English; there are about 50 regular newspapers published and distributed in English on a daily, weekly or fortnightly basis across Nepal. Moreover, most academic journals in all fields are published in English because it is the preferred medium of intellectual discussion (Bhattarai, 2006:14).

The use of written English is increased through a circular process in Nepal (and elsewhere): the practice of getting works published in English increases the numbers of readers of the English language, which in turn leads to more books written and published in English being required, and so on. Gradually, English has also been used as a medium of writing. Many Nepali writers working at an international standard/level are producing original works in English: for example, *A Suicide Note* by Gopi Sapkota (2010), *Star and Fireflies* by Prakash Subedi (2009) and *Asian Poems for Young Readers,* an anthology by Nepalese poets (2008). In addition, there have been some short stories written in English,

for instance, *Echoes of the Himalayas* by D.B. Gurung (2000), *Tilled Earth* by Manjushree Thapa (2007), *Fifteen and Three Quarters* by Richa Bhattarai (2011) and *The Guru of Love* by Samrat Upadhyay (2003). *The Tutor of History* by Manjushree Thapa (2012) and *Come Tomorrow* by Mani Dikshit (1980) are two novels written in English by Nepalese authors. The translation of Nepalese literature into English is also on the rise. *Stories of Conflict and War* by Govinda Raj Bhattarai, *Selected Nepali Poems* by Taranath Sharma (1999) and the novel *Socrates' Footsteps* by Balram Adhikari are some of the works translated from Nepali into English.

2.5   Factors Facilitating Nepali-English Language Contact

In this section, I will discuss the factors that have facilitated Nepali-English language contact.

2.5.1   Foreign Employment

Following the Anglo-Nepalese war (1814-1816) and theagreement between Nepal and East India Company (the Treaty of Sugauli in 1816), Nepalese men from the mountain and hill regions started immigrating to British India for (mainly military) employment. Initially, i.e. in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the number of migrants was rather small, only gaining momentum in the late twentieth century. According to the 1981 census, for example, 2.7% of Nepal's population, i.e. 402,977 people, immigrated to India between 1971-1981. Out of these emigrants, 89.3% came from the mountain and hill regions. The causes of the increased migrations are examined below.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the British took territorial control of Darjeeling in India from the king of Sikkim. They chose to settle in this hilly location due to its temperate climate, a contrast to the excessively hot weather in Calcutta. They later

developed Darjeeling into a tea growing area, as this region has good soil and climate for tea. In order to fulfil the labour requirement, people from eastern Nepal were put to work on the tea plantations. The majority of the migrant workers were from tribes speaking Tibeto-Burman ethnic languages. They suffered hardship due to social discrimination, and also linguistic, political, social and economic domination by the "high caste," i.e. the Brahmins and Chhetri (Pradhan, 1991:200).

Influenced by the bravery shown by Nepali soldiers in the Anglo-Nepalese war between 1814 and 1816, a general of the East India Company, Sir David Ochterlony, decided to recruit Nepalese men into the British army (Singh, 2009:379). Thus, began the tradition of Nepalese joining the Indian and British armies. Whether working on the tea plantations of Darjeeling or in the army in the different parts of the world colonised by the British, both of these jobs were very significant not only in terms of financial gain for the Nepali people, but also as a facilitating factor for Nepali-English language contact.

Some Nepali people involved in private foreign employment in various parts of India settled there, while some returned to their original home areas. These latter brought with them some English, including words such as "style", "cup", "ribbon", "muffler", "suit pant", "boot" and "tyam" (a form of the word "time"). This use of English words was not limited to rural areas. Indeed, language contact was more widespread in the urban centres.

Soldiers in the Gurkha regiment had a unique prestige in their home villages. After completing their service in the army, they returned home with military ranks such as "sergeant", "major" and "captain". These ex-Gurkhas were respected in their villages and referred to by their previous ranks in the army. The officers had good command of English, and their children were taught abroad in English-medium schools and colleges.

This group of Gurkha soldiers serving in the British army from the first quarter of the nineteenth century onwards were the first "commoners" to speak the English language in Nepal, raising the status of English. Meanwhile, contact between Nepali and English has been further strengthened by the establishment of various national and international organisations across the country.

2.5.2   National and International Organisations

Before the advent of democracy in 1950, Nepal was not open to the outside world. After this date the country became involved with various international organisations, such as the United Nations and its bodies, and regional organisations, such as the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), both of which Nepal still belongs to. Likewise, Christian missionaries were also active in health and education through the establishment of the United Mission to Nepal (UMN) in 1954. The establishment of a British Council office and an American English centre also contributed to the continuation and development of the English language in Nepal through English-language teaching programmes.

Several International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs) and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are active in the development sector in Nepal. Due to their involvement, a discourse/way of communicating has developed involving the use of English with Nepali (bilingual code-switching). In this context, Monica Heller argues:

> Under current conditions of late modernity, the discourse of bilingualism is increasingly produced by non-government organisations (NGOS) and agencies of supranational bodies, such as the European Union and the United Nations, frequently in terms of human rights, ecology and biodiversity (Heller, 2007:3).

Recently two national organisations, the Nepal English Language Teachers' Association (NELTA) and the Linguistic Society of Nepal, in interaction with English teachers and linguists from around the globe, have also been active in the development of the English language through pedagogical and academic activities in Nepal. On the one hand this has contributed to the monolingual spread of English while contributing to Nepali-English language contact on the other.

2.5.3   Media and Music

The media also play a significant role in facilitating language contact. The national radio station in Kathmandu broadcasts predominantly Nepali language programmes. However, it has started allocating 11.23% of its total transmission time to English news (Eagle, 2000:43). In addition, the English music programme *Music mania,* hosted by Harish Chanda, alias Michael Chanda, only plays English pop songs. Thus, English has slowly begun to take its place in Nepali broadcast media.

After Nepal opened up, particularly after the 1990 democracy movement, it leaped forward into the field of communication with the outside world and thus English.

> One area where Nepal is making inroads towards modernisation is in
> the development and availability of mass media. Nepali and English are
> the two most important languages in the media, with Hindi occupying
> the third place, particularly in popular music and film (Eagle, 2000:42).

In addition, a large number of private FM stations have been set up in Nepal; 515 up to 2013. Their number is increasing year by year, covering almost all parts of the country (see also Table 6.1 in Chapter 6). According to Rana (2008:92), the announcers use approximately 75% English and 25% Nepali. These broadcast media are also helping

English to move forward in parallel with the Nepali language, thereby increasing the Nepali-English bilingual situation.

Foreign TV channels telecasting in English have become popular among the Nepali young generation. Likewise, the growing use of new technology among Nepalese of all age groups has become a contributing factor in putting Nepali in contact with English. For instance, e-mailing and messaging to foreign people is carried out in English. English is also widely used in travel and tourism; this will be discussed in the next section.

2.5.4 Travel and Tourism

Nepal is diverse not only linguistically and culturally, but also ecologically and geographically. Due to its diversity in geography and its rich and unique climate, Nepal has a wide range of plant and animal species; it is famous for its flora and fauna. It has the world's highest peak, *Sagarmatha* (Mt. Everest), attracting visitors from across the world to climb it. Every year thousands of people from around the world visit Nepal for many reasons; 753,002 in 2016 according to Nepal Tourism Statistics 2016 (Government of Nepal, 2016:9). Some are on holiday, while some want to study the languages and cultures of the people and the country's natural resources. For all of these visitors, whatever their national languages, English as a lingua franca plays a significant role as a medium of communication, from booking tickets and hotels to arranging travel and trekking during their stay in Nepal.

All stakeholders associated with the travel and tourism industry, such as hotel, restaurant and trekking entrepreneurs, must have knowledge of English in order to communicate with tourists. Not all those involved in these businesses are highly educated. Some are illiterate and run small lodges and restaurants on the trekking routes. They have not

developed their foreign language skills formally, but through direct contact with foreigners. Thus, the travel and tourism sector has provided the English language a channel to make its way to the Nepali people, developing an English-speaking community among them.

2.6   The Development of Nenglish in Nepal

Nenglish is one more language to include in the list of world Englishes. As in other parts of the world such as India, where English has been Indianised (Kachru, 1985), English has also been Nepalisised (Rai, 2006). According to Rai (2006:39), the following features are the main characteristics of Nenglish. First, there are Nepalese words, then English suffixes are attached to Nepalese words and vice versa, then the word order of English is changed into Nenglish, and finally literal translations of Nepalese proverbs are introduced into English/Nenglish.   One example of word order change in Nenglish is the transformation of 'Study Abroad Programme' to 'Abroad Study Programme'. Rai further mentions how the English morpheme *-wise*, meaning 'in the manner or direction of' e.g. 'clockwise', is used in Nenglish to form words such as 'class-wise work', 'area-wise distribution' and 'item-wise analysis'. Here the English morpheme *-wise* gives the meaning of 'each' or 'according to'. This is different from the English meaning. The influence of Nepali on English will also be analysed briefly under language contact and change in chapter 6.

2.7   Summary

This chapter has established the sociolinguistic context for the thesis on Nepali-English language contact and code-switching; i.e., it has explored the ethnically, linguistically and culturally diverse situation in Nepal from a historical and sociolinguistic perspective. A brief overview of the languages spoken in Nepal has revealed that with approximately 92

languages, Nepal is an extremely linguistically diverse country. Almost 50% of the Nepali population, however, list the Indo-Aryan language Nepali as their mother tongue. Exploration of the historical and political context has revealed that suppression of other ethnic languages during the Shah dynasty (1768-2008), the Rana oligarchy (1846-1951) and the Panchayat system (1960-1990), as well as religious and economic factors, facilitated the rise of the Nepali language to become numerically the strongest and eventually the national language. Its official status, numerical dominance and role as regional lingua franca also explain why it is mainly Nepali (and not other ethnic languages) that come into contact with foreign languages, especially Hindi and English. The main factors that facilitate contact between Nepali and English have been and are: employment in India; the British army; contact with international agencies; the media and music; and travel and tourism. As soon as Nepali and English – or any other languages for that matter – begin to be used in one and the same spoken interaction, code-switching and other language contact phenomena emerge. The development of world Englishes such as Hinglish and Chinglish tend to be a good measure of the intensity of contact between English and the other contributing languages. That fact that there is also a version of English influenced by Nepali, Nenglish, thus testifies to the intensity of the language contact between English and Nepali. The main aim of this research project, however, is to document and investigate the frequency with which Nepali speakers with different sociodemographic and socioeconomic profiles mix English at various linguistic levels (word, phrase, clause) into their Nepali conversations. The next chapter introduces these concepts.

Chapter 3: Conceptual Review

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 presents the existing literature that is relevant for the research objectives and questions of this study. Section 3.1 introduces the definition of related sociolinguistic terminologies: code-switching, code-mixing, borrowing and bilingualism. The remainder of the chapter is organised into five sections of literature review based on the research questions. Section 3.2 reviews the extent of Nepali-English code-switching (CS) in terms of grammatical constraints and types of code-switching. Section 3.3 reviews the reasons for Nepali-English CS. Section 3.4 discusses Nepali-English CS in terms of social variables: age, gender, education, profession and geographical location. Section 3.5 presents the role of social factors – media, education institutions, trade and tourism and foreign employment – in promoting Nepali-English CS. In sections 3.4 and 3.5, individual social variables and factors will be discussed in individual sections and subsections. Within these sections, however, I will make cross-reference to the other variables and factors under investigation in this study. Section 3.6 reviews the literature on contact-induced language change in relation to Nepali-English language contact, whiles ection 3.7 presents the framework for the study. The chapter ends with a summary.

3.2 Definition of Related Terms

Nepal was discussed as a bilingual or multilingual nation in the previous chapter. Most Nepalese people speak more than one language, i.e. their mother tongue, an ethnic language, and Nepali, the official language (Yadava, 2017). Now, the English language has entered the Nepali sociolinguistics situation through Nepali-English language contact, as discussed in Chapter 2. English has received more attention than local or ethnic

languages of Nepal in terms of recognition as a medium of instruction at all levels in the education system. This has led to a Nepali-English bilingual situation in Nepal, resulting in Nepali-English CS. Hence, bilingualism in Nepal not only involves local or ethnic languages and Nepali, the official language, but also English. This study focuses on the bilingualism of Nepali and English. Nepali-English bilinguals are those who can use English elements in their Nepali conversations, from lexical fragments to sentences. In the next section I focus on the definition of some related sociolinguistic terminologies used in this study, such as bilingualism, code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing.

3.2.1 Bilingualism

Definitions of bilingualism vary greatly within the literature. Some researchers adopt a very strict definition, in which the speakers should possess native-like control over both languages (Bloomfield, 1933). Other researchers take a wider perspective on the phenomenon and accept as bilingual those speakers who can produce complete meaningful utterances in both languages (Haugen, 1953; Myers-Scotton, 2002).

Several definitions resemble Bloomfield's "native-like control over two or more languages" (1933:56). Along these lines, Beardsmore argues that a bilingual is "the person who is capable of speaking equally well in either of his languages in all domains of activity and without any traces of the languages he is able to speak" (1982:7). Grosjean gives a more holistic definition of bilingualism as "the regular use of two or more languages (or dialects); bilinguals are those people who use two or more languages (or dialects) in their daily lives" (2008:10). The ideal scenario of a bilingual person would involve someone who uses the two languages with equal proficiency, although that would exclude the majority of bilingual speakers, who are usually more dominant in one language than the other (Huttner, 1997:8).

Haugen, on the other hand, argues that bilingualism is present "at the point where the speaker of one language can produce complete, meaningful utterances in the other language" (1956:10). If this were the case, many monolingual speakers would consider themselves to be bilingual even if they could only utter a few words in another language and their communicative abilities were limited. Even though this view has been characterised as "too inclusive" (Huttner, 1997:8), it could serve as a starting point for the analysis of the beginning stages of second language acquisition (Mackey, 1968:555). In this study I have followed the latter approach, treating people as bilingual who do not have equal proficiency in the languages they use regularly in their daily lives. So far as the acquisition of English at various linguistic levels (from lexical to phrase, clause and sentence level) is concerned, Nepalese people are developing positive attitudes towards learning English, which facilitates the incorporation of English elements at all levels in their speech. Through observation of the linguistic landscape of Nepal (use of English in public places) and the way English is incorporated into the education system, it is understood that Nepalese people are progressively learning more English. This has gradually developed the Nepali-English bilingual situation in Nepal. Hence the term bilingual is used for Nepalese people in terms of the use of two languages in their day-to-day life.

As far as the present study on the contact between Nepali and English is concerned, bilingualism is the use of English linguistic elements of various sizes – words, phrases, clauses and sentences – by Nepalese people of different age groups, genders, levels of education, professions and, urban and rural locations in their speech. It seems reasonable to follow Myers-Scotton's, Hudson's and Wardhaugh's notion of bilinguals as people who speak more than one language, choosing between them according to circumstances.

The age at which the second language was acquired is not important; nor is the fluency level.

I propose that the development of Nepali-English bilingualism has brought about other linguistic phenomena, such as code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing, in Nepal. I look at some definitions of these terms from previous studies before I conceptualise them in the Nepali context.

3.2.2   Code-switching versusCode-mixing

Milroy and Muysken (1995:7) define code-switching (CS) as the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in a single conversation. They use the term CS to cover both "intra-sentential" CS, referring to switches within a sentence, and "inter-sentential", referring to switches between sentences. Myers-Scotton (1993:1), too, uses the term "code-switching" to cover both intra-sentential and inter-sentential CS. She defines CS as an alternative use of linguistic varieties in a single conversation. In this regard, Gardner Chloros (1991) also prefers the term "code-switching" to "code-mixing". In the same way, Gumperz chooses "code-switching" and defines it as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (1982:59).

In contrast, Kachru (1983), Singh (1985), and Sridhar & Sridhar (1980) reserve the term "code-switching" for inter-sentential switches, and the term "code-mixing" for intra-sentential switches. The main reason for this is that only code-mixing (i.e. intra-sentential CS) requires the integration of the grammatical rules of two participant languages. Supporting thisposition, Pfaff (1979) and Muysken (2000) raise the issue of the need to distinguish between these two different linguistic phenomena. However, following the

former definition of CS by the researchers above (Gumperz (1982), Gardner Chloros (1991) and Myers-Scotton (1993)), I will be using code-switching as an umbrella term in the remainder of this thesis to include both inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switches.

Through observation of the language that is spoken with greater frequency/more input in terms of lexemes and grammar (Grosjean, 1982:320), some CS researchers try to identify the *recipient, target, host, matrix, base* and *borrowing* language, as well as the *source, guest* and *embedded language* (EL). For this study, I have identified Nepali with the *recipient, target, host, matrix, base* and *borrowing language* and the English language with the *source, guest* and *embedded language*, because in most of the data Nepali is not only numerically dominant, but also provides the morphosyntactic frame for the clauses.

3.2.3   Code-switching versus Borrowing

CS was frequently considered a sub-standard use of language during the 1940s and 50s (Weinreich, 1953). However, since the 1980s researchers have recognised it as a natural part of bilingual and multilingual language use. The linguistic phenomenon developed by the Nepali-English contact situation can be suitably placed within the definition of CS, as described by Bullock & Toribio.

Bullock &Toribio (2009:2) illustrate the CS phenomenon as follows:

> First, its linguistic manifestation may extend from the insertion of single words to the alternation of languages for larger segments of discourse. Second, it is produced by bilinguals of differing degrees of proficiency who reside in various types of language contact settings, and as a consequence their CS patterns may not be uniform. Finally, it

may be deployed for a number of reasons: filling linguistic gaps, expressing ethnic identity, and achieving particular discursive aims, among others.

In the CS literature, there are two main approaches to the analysis of lexical insertions. One considers single word insertions as borrowed forms and does not deal with these embedded forms in terms of code-switching (e.g. Poplack, 1982; Poplack & Meechan, 1995). This view makes a distinction between code-switching and borrowing, seeing these two phenomena as subject to different constraints. For example, Poplack & Meechan (1995:208) state that "borrowing involves the grammatical structure of one language only, with the other playing an etymological role". They define borrowing as "the *adaptation* of lexical material to the morphological and syntactic (and usually phonological) patterns of the recipient language" (1995:200).

Sankoff, Poplack & Vanniarajan (1991:185) distinguish code-switching from "nonce borrowing", which is defined as "incorporation from another language uttered a single time by a single speaker in some reasonably representative corpus". The same authors (1990:81), working on Tamil-English data, suggest that since English single words are affixed with the Tamil accusative marker, "these English single words are morphologically and syntactically integrated borrowings, if only for the nonce".

Pieter Muysken (2000) also considers code-switching and borrowing as two different phenomena. However, Muysken (2000:75) focuses on the formal characteristics rather than surface distributions, stating that:

> Code-mixing can be viewed as involving words with different language
> indices inserted into a phrase structure for a clause …while lexical

borrowing may be seen as involving formatives inserted into an alien word structure.

Muysken further argues that proponents of this approach, i.e. the one that considers single word insertions as borrowings, do not deal with single word insertions in their studies of code-switching. He states that they believe that inserted single words follow the syntactic and morphological principles of the matrix language, Nepali in the context of this study; hence, they should be considered as borrowed forms. In order to study code-switching, these researchers refer to phrasal, rather than lexical, insertions.

The trend of distinguishing code-switching and borrowing has preoccupied researchers of code-switching since the earliest studies of language contact phenomena by Poplack (1978, 1980, 1981) and her associates, Poplack, Wheeler & Westwood (1987), Sankoff & Poplack (1981), and Sankoff, Poplack & Vanniarajan (1990), with most of these researchers considering code-switching and borrowing as fundamentally different phenomena. There are, however, important theoretical and empirical advantages to an approach which considers the two phenomena as similar.

In this case, the only difference between these two phenomena is the frequency of occurrence. Myers-Scotton (1993:182) suggests that a single word may start as a CS element in a matrix language or a recipient language (classic code-switching in her terms) and become a borrowed form through obtaining a higher frequency of use by monolingual speakers. She admits that frequency of use may seem "arbitrary" but it has some empirical support.

Myers-Scotton (2002:154) does not distinguish between CS single elements and phrasal constituents or islands. She believes that in both cases there is some interaction between the matrix language – the source of the morphosyntactic structure of the bilingual clause – and the embedded or donor language (the source of inserted elements). For example, there is at least congruence checking between the two grammars at the abstract level of the mental lexicon. In other words, both languages are active when producing a bilingual utterance; however, the degree of activation differs in different contexts. Treffers-Daller (2005) also argues that the study of mixed French and Dutch compounds and nominal groups provides some evidence for the existence of a continuum between code-switching and borrowing.

Ad Backus (1996) makes no distinction between code-switching and borrowing. He argues that a single word insertion could be considered to be code-switching when a speaker's motivations are taken into account. Park (2000) argues that none of the criteria to distinguish code-switching from borrowing are found to be "waterproof". Working on a Korean-Swedish corpus, Park (2006: 23) states that "even proper nouns, which are generally assumed to be the most typical borrowings by many code-switching researchers, undergo the same (or at least related) morphosyntactic processes and that they are not different from code-switching". Therefore, morphological integration of inserted single elements, mentioned by some researchers as the most adequate criterion to distinguish borrowing from code-switches, proves to be inadequate in making a distinction between CS and borrowing (see also Duran Eppler, 2010).

With regard to single lexical items, Trudgill (1995:154) states:

> Lexical items appear to be able to spread across much greater distances.
>
> Words can be borrowed from one language into another regardless of

proximity. Very often, when speakers of a particular language happen to be dominant in some particular semantic field/domain, other language groups adopt words pertaining to the field from this language.

For example, many Nepali technological terms, such as *prosecution, urbanization* and *messaging*, are of English origin and were borrowed by Nepali-educated bilingual individuals who knew the English words. This practice became widespread through frequent use in day-to-day conversations.

In the case of core loanwords, i.e. established single lexical items from a source language that have reached dictionarystatusin the host language, it is not only the prestige of the donor language (English) that leads to the insertion/borrowing: the most crucial element is its cultural dominance (Myers-Scotton, 2006:216). Myers-Scotton includes these single-occurring borrowings in the category of code-switching and views them as "code-switched elements in mixed constituents" (2006:254). I will follow this approach in the current research project.

Similarly, I adopted the continuum model for code-switching versus borrowing. The continuum model holds that code-switching and borrowing may be related phenomena, and that, in some cases, an expression that has originally been a code-switch gradually becomes a borrowing/loan expression (Myers-Scotton, 1993:182; Poplack & Meechan, 1995:200). In the context of Nepal, many of the inserted English elements at various levels are initially CS and gradually become loan expressions.

The debate is still ongoing and there is no consensus on such a distinction. The question raised is which of the foreign words in code-switched utterances constitute CS as such

and which constitute lexical borrowing. This issue is related to synchronic versus diachronic studies of contact induced language change and can be traced back to what Weinreich, Labov & Herzog (1968) called the transition problem. These researchers maintain that language change is a diachronic process, and one cannot really determine at whatpoint in time a particular lexical item gained the status of a loanword in the recipient language. In a synchronic research project like the current one, it is difficult to impossible to anticipate which English language insertions will gain loanword status in Nepali. The speech data collected for this project will, however, help answer this question in future.

To summarise, the main reasons why single lexical item insertions, traditionally called borrowings, are treated as code-switches in this study are: a) single lexical items may or may not be phonologically, morphologically and syntactically integrated into the recipient/host/base/matrix or borrowing language; and b) single lexical items may furthermore occur once (Poplack's nonce borrowings) or more frequently in the speech of an individual or a group of speakers in a language contact situation. Treating inserted single lexical items as code-switches rather than borrowings furthermore has the methodological benefit of all source/guest/embedded language elements receiving the same treatment and level of attention in the linguistic analysis. The approach taken in this study of Nepali-English CS in the conversations of Nepalese bilinguals, which involves treating single lexical item insertions as code-switching, is empirically supported by, among others, Backus (1996), Park (2000), Myers-Scotton (2002), Treffers-Daller (2005) andDuran Eppler (2010).

This study does not distinguish code-switching (CS), code-mixing (CM), borrowing and loan words. I agree with Eastman (1992) who states that "efforts to distinguish code-

switching, code-mixing and borrowing are doomed", and it is crucial that we "free ourselves of the need to categorise any instance of seemingly non-native material in language as a borrowing or a switch" (Eastman, 1992:1) if we want to understand the social and cultural processes involved in CS. This, i.e. integrating social and cultural factors into an analysis of why code-switching takes place, is one of the aims of this study.

As the current research project is anchored in the research tradition which incorporates single-occurring borrowings in the category of code-switching (Myers-Scotton, 2006:254), the term code-switching includes borrowing in this study. Following the broad definition of CS by Gumperz (1982), Gardner Chloros (1991) and Myers-Scotton (1992), I have adopted the following operational definition of code-switching: Nepali-English code-switching means English words, phrases, clauses and sentences embedded in Nepali grammatical structure.

3.2.4   Hierarchy of Insertions

Not all foreign elements which are embedded in the grammatical structure of a host language (i.e. a recipient language) occur with equal frequency. One element occurs more frequently than others, creating a hierarchy of insertions.

Some lexemes can be inserted more easily and more frequently than others. This was observed as early as the nineteenth century by the Sanskritist William Dwight Whitney (1881, cited in van Hout & Muysken, 1994:41). He arrived at the following hierarchy:

Nouns – other parts of speech – suffixes – inflection – sounds.

Uninflected grammatical items, such as nouns, are borrowed more easily than inflected grammatical items, such as verbs. However, prepositions are also uninflected, but do not

borroweasily, mainly because they are "pragmatically organised or […] are part of the subcategorisation of a verb or adjective" (van Hout & Muysken, 1994:55).

The observation of Poplack, Sankoff & Miller (1988:62) that "among single words, common nouns are the most frequently borrowed items" is supported by three explanations. In the first explanation, Bynon (1977:231) believes that the frequency with which nouns are borrowed reflects the size of grammatical categories. The second, Aitchison (2000:62), suggests that nouns are freer of syntactic restrictions than other word classes in CS. The third explanation, which is more sociolinguistic, is that nouns are accessible to bilinguals with any degree of competence in the language from which the borrowing is taken (Gardner-Chloros, 2009).

This hierarchy was elaborated on by Haugen (1950), using data from Norwegian immigrants in the United States. Haugen's hierarchy includes:

Nouns – verbs – adjectives – adverbs – prepositions – interjections - ….

This hierarchy suggests that nouns are borrowed more easily than verbs, verbs more easily than adjectives, etc.

Independently of Haugen, Singh (1981) developed a comparable hierarchy on the basis of English borrowings in Hindi:

Nouns – adjectives – verbs – prepositions

Meanwhile, on the basis of data from Spanish borrowings in Quechua, Muysken (1981) concluded tentatively that there may be something like the following hierarchy:

Nouns – adjectives – verbs – prepositions – coordinating conjunctions – quantifiers – determiners – free pronouns – clitic pronouns – subordinating conjunctions (Appel & Muysken, 1987:170-171).

Treffers-Daller (1991) stipulates that nouns are the most easily borrowed, followed by adjectives, verbs, prepositions and coordinating conjunctions.

In most CS corpora, singly occurring nouns are more frequent than verbs. For example, in Pfaff's (1979:293) study of Spanish–English CS, switched nouns are more frequent (818/932 or 87.8%) than switched verbs (71/932 or 7.6%). Similarly, in Poplack's (1980) Spanish-English corpus, there are 141 nouns that are switched, as compared to 13 verbs and 13 verb phrases. These data show that switched nouns are 10.84 times more common than verbs. Berk-Seligson (1986:325-326), working with Spanish-Hebrew CS data, also found that nouns (40%) were the single most often switched constituent. In Treffers-Daller's (1994:98–99) Brussels Dutch–French corpus, "nouns form the largest group of French borrowing elements". French nouns represent 58.4% of all lexical categories and verbs represent 8.9%. In a Chinese-English CS study, Shen (2010) categorised embedded English lexemes into nouns, verbs, adjectives, interjections, prepositions and conjunctions, and found that nouns appear most often. Azuma (2001) examined code-switching in Japanese-English data in relation to lexical or functional categories. He found that code-switching only occurred with lexical categories (nouns, verbs, adjectives and prepositions), and that among these, nouns were the most freely switched items. In Okasha's (1999) Arabic–English corpus, in the Generation 1 data, only 23 English verbs occur, as compared to 139 singly occurring nouns; nouns are switched six times more frequently. In her Generation 2 data, verbs are even less frequent (8 verbs versus 838 nouns). Myers-Scotton (1993) reported 91 English verbs (24.6% of the switches) in Swahili finite clauses; nouns represent 46.5% of the switches. In an Acholi–English corpus, Myers-Scotton&Bernsten (1995) counted 89 English nouns and N-bars (60% of the intra-sentential switches) in comparison with only 48 English verbs. Of these 48 verbs, 10 are gerunds and occur as NPs (e.g. subjects of a clause); only 38 (25.5%) of the English

verbs occur in verb positions in Acholi framed clauses. All these studies support singly occurring nouns as the most frequently inserted lexical category.

Backus (1992, 1996) presents two different pictures. In his 1992 data, 108 singly occurring Dutch nouns and 21 NPs occur in Turkish grammatical frames, while 41 singly occurring verbs and 12 VPs occur. That is, nouns and NPs are 2.4 times more frequent than verbs. However, in the Backus 1996 corpus, only 15 verbs occur out of 259 intra-sentential switches. In some CS data sets, inserted verbs are much more frequent.

It is clear from Haugen (1950), Poplack et al (1998), and van Hout & Muysken (1994) that major-class content words such as nouns, verbs and adjectives are the most likely to be switched or borrowed (Poplack&Meechan, 1998:127). Nouns are generally the most easily borrowed words to index things or objects and are categorised with adjectives and verbs as content words. These words may be borrowed more easily than function words, such as articles, pronouns functioning as determiners and conjunctions. The former words have a link to cultural content, but the latter do not (van Hout & Muysken, 1994:42). These findings are furthermore supported by Azuma's (2001) study in which he examined code-switching in Japanese-English data in relation to content and function words, i.e. lexical and functional categories. He found that code-switching only occurred with lexical categories (nouns, verbs, adjectives and prepositions), and that among these, nouns were the most freely switched items.

Van Hout & Muysken (1994:54) argue that a number of recent studies on language contact show that such types of words as interjections, adverbs, discourse markers and co-ordination markers, which play a peripheral role in sentence structure, are borrowed relatively easily (a finding also supported by Boumans (1998) and Duran Eppler (2000),

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among others). In this context, Poplack's argument that there is a correlation between proficiency and different types of intra-sentential code-switching is crucial. In Poplack's study (1980), balanced Spanish-English bilinguals are shown to produce more code-switches (53%, N=11) than the Spanish dominant bilinguals (31%, N=9). This latter group switch predominantly tag-like constructions (interjections, fillers, tags and idiomatic expressions), whereas the former group tend to switch other constituents and or entire sentences. In Poplack's study, tag-switching occurs least among balanced bilinguals. Spanish-dominant bilinguals therefore not only produce fewer code-mixes but tend to switch constituents that are least embedded in the syntactic structure of sentences. According to Poplack, this type of switching requires only a low proficiency in both languages. Poplack's results were supported by Nortier (1990) in her study of Moroccan-Arabic/Dutch code-switching. Most researchers in the field believe that there is a positive correlation between bilingual language proficiency and types of code-mixing (Poplack, 1980; Nortier, 1990).

The studies on single lexical item code-switches reviewed so far have shown that content words tend to be more frequently switched than function words and that among the latter, nouns tend to be the most frequently inserted lexical category. Research has also been carried out on other level/size categories, such as phrases, clauses and sentences. Gumperz (1987), Poplack (1980) and Wentz (1977), on the other hand, found the sentence to be the most frequently switched category. In a study of Nepali-English code-switching in Nepali songs, Gopi Chetri (2012) found that English elements constitute 5.95% of the Nepali and English mixed speech data. Out of a total of 341 English elements, nouns had the highest percentage (65.98%); verbs (6.49%), adjectives (17.30%) and prepositions (2.34%) followed. Exclamations made up 7.91% of the total number of switches. Gopi

Chetri furthermore found seven English phrases, 22 English clauses and 32 sentences in 20 Nepali songs.

Following Berk-Seligson (1986), Treffers-Daller (1991:262 & 273) assumes that constituents such as arguments of verbs and prepositions are switched less easily than constituents which are not. These findings are at odds with earlier claims (Poplack, 1980; Nortier, 1990), which argue that inserting single nouns or verbs into a frame from another language is a more difficult pattern of CS. In contrast to these earlier claims, Myers-Scotton (1993) arrived at a similar conclusion on CS at the lexical level: based not so much on language proficiency as on structure, she assumes that it should be easier to insert a verb or noun in a frame of affixes from another language than to produce an entire embedded language constituent (from phrase to clause or CP level). According to Myers-Scotton (2002:55), two languages are in real contact when put together in a single clause (CP), i.e. when intra-sentential code-switching occurs.

3.3 Extent of Code-switching

This section includes a literature review on the grammatical aspects of code-switching, for instance grammatical constraints and types of code-switching. Through this review, I aim to relate the literature to be discussed in the following section to my research study of the structural aspects of Nepali-English CS, including how English elements are embedded in Nepali grammatical structures and the types of Nepali-English CS that may be expected.

Since the early 1970s, studies such as those by Gumperz & Hernandez Chavez (1972), Kachru (1978), Pfaff (1979), Poplack (1980), Sanchez (1983), and Scotton & Ury (1997) have shown that intra-sentential code-switching is a very common bilingual phenomenon.

Researchers such as Grosjean (1982) and Sanchez (1983) agree that code-switching seems to be a normal practice when bilinguals interact with other bilinguals in bilingual speech mode. In addition, studies have shown that CS is not a random but a rule-governed phenomenon. From the functional point of view, it is often used as a communicative strategy to express different functions within a discourse. From the structural point of view, several studies provide evidence that there are certain linguistic constraints on code-switching. As these constraints only apply to certain types of code-switching, I will review them first.

3.3.1 Types of Code-switching

This study follows the types of code-switching proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993), Poplack (1980) and Lipsky (1985).

Poplack (1980) differentiates between three different types of code-switching: tag-switching, inter-sentential CS and intra-sentential CS, as illustrated in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1: The types of code-switching (Poplack, 1980:615)

| a. Inter-sentential | b. 'Tag'- switching | c. Intra-sentential code-switching |
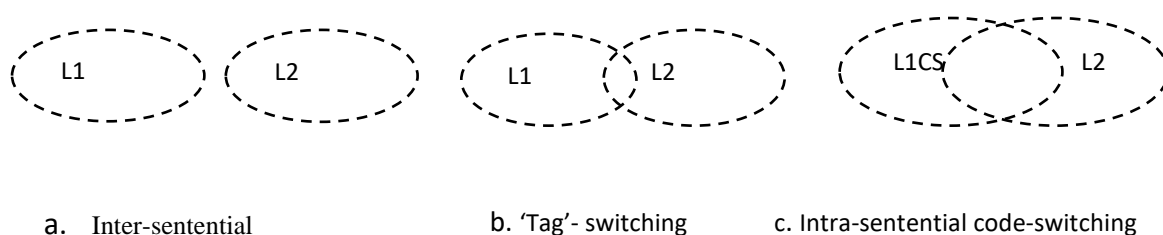
According to Schiffrin (1987), tag-switching involves not only tags (e.g. *you know,* and *I mean*), but also discourse markers (e.g. *well*, *OK* and *all right*), affirmative/negative particles (e.g. *yes/no*) and interjections, such as *hi*, *ah* etc. Hence, attention should be paid

to the insertion of formulaic English expressions into Nepali. Similarly, inter-sentential CS involves a switch at a clause or sentence boundary, where each clause or sentence is in a different language. Finally, intra-sentential CS, which involves a switch within the clause or sentence boundary, includes both switching for individual lexical items such as nouns and adjectives, etc., but also switching for phrasal categories such as noun phrases (NPs), verb phrases (VPs), prepositional phrases, etc.

Similarly, the Nepali-English CS data contain types of CS which resemble Lipsky's (1985) division of code-switching between Spanish and English into Types I, II and III code-shifts. Type I is a type of CS which does not require speakers to possess a high degree of bilingualism, though biculturalism is clearly assumed (Lipsky, 1985:78). Type I code-shifts, Lipsky's term for CS, can be accomplished by illiterate speakers who, for example, mix English into their conversations at the lexical level. Lipsky's Type II is akin to inter-sentential CS, which takes place at sentence boundaries, and is used by those who have learned English as a second language late in life (Lipsky, 1985:78). This type of Nepali-English CS is likely to be produced by those Nepalese people who learn English after having acquired local languages and Nepali at home in natural settings. The third type is intra-sentential CS, which occurs within clauses. According to Lipsky, this type of code-switching occurs in natural and spontaneous discourse (1985:9).

Grammatical constraints on code-switching really only apply to intra-sentential code-switching, i.e. Lipsky's Type III, because grammatical rules apply at the sentence level.

3.3.2 Grammatical Constraints

In the 1990s, different researchers began analysing bilingual speech and searching for grammatical constraints on CS. An early contribution to the linguistic aspects of CS was

Poplack's (1980) study, in which she proposed that equal word order of the participating languages is a prerequisite or constraint on CS. In this context, she proposed the "Equivalence Constraint"; due to Poplack's classification of language contact phenomena into nonce borrowings and code-switches, she proposed a second constraint which only applies to code-switches, i.e. the "Free Morpheme Constraint". Lipsky (1978) and Pfaff (1979) also suggested similar constraints from the perspective of word order, but Poplack (1980) was the first to suggest the following two constraints.

(1) The Free Morpheme Constraint

"Codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that the constituent is not a bound morpheme" (Poplack, 1980:585).

(2) The Equivalence Constraint

"Code-switches occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of both languages" (Poplack, 1980:586).

According to the first constraint, a switch is prohibited between a free and a bound morpheme, unless the item is phonologically integrated into the base language. This limits the potential switch sites at the lexical level. For example, in the case of Spanish-English CS, *EAT-iendo* is not permissible unless the English verb stem *eat* is phonologically adapted into the Spanish morpheme *-iendo*.

Similarly, according to the second constraint, CS occurs between two languages when they have the same word order. For example, in Spanish-English CS, switches may not occur between nouns and adjectives in a noun phrase because in English, adjectives always precede the head noun, whereas in Spanish adjectives mostly follow it.

Although Poplack (1980) suggested universal validity for both constraints, several researchers have provided examples from different languages to counter her claim: Bentahila & Davies (1983) in their Moroccan Arabic-French corpus, Berk-Seligson (1986) in Spanish-Hebrew, and Belazi, Rubin & Toribio (1994) in Italian-English, to name just a few. The counter-examples to the free morpheme constraint are especially common in agglutinative languages, such as Turkish (see Hankamer, 1989), because in such languages, each component of meaning is prolifically expressed by its own morpheme being affixed to the host language (recipient language).

Finnish-English CS data (Halmari,1997) also contravene the free morpheme constraints. Despite the fact that embedded English nouns are phonologically not integrated into Finnish, they combine with Finnish bound morphemes, for example the nouns *library*-in, *lunchbox*-lin, *real estate*-tia, *workshop*-ia, *rule*-it, *month*-in, *stage*-ille and *citizen*-iks (Halmari, 1997:76). Hence, Poplack's (1980) Free Morpheme Constraint is contravened not only but also by Finnish-English code-switching, which allows "switched English embedded items to be morphologically assimilated to the Finnish Matrix language syntactic structure" (Halmari, 1997:61 & 76).

In contrast, the Equivalence Constraint has been attested to be a general tendency in Spanish-English (Poplack, 1978:81; 1980), Finnish-English (Poplack et al., 1987), Arabic-French (Nait M'Barek & Sankoff, 1988), Wolof-French (Poplack & Meechan, 1995), Igbo-English (Eze, 1998), French-English (Turpin, 1998), Ukrainian-English (Budzhak-Jones, 1998) and German-English (Duran Eppler, 2010) bilingual communities.

The most widely used model for the analysis of code-switching is Myers-Scotton's (1993, 2002, 2006) Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF). The basic premise of this model is that in a code-switched constituent or clause, the matrix language (ML) generates the grammatical structures in two steps. Firstly, the ML determines word order under the "morpheme order principle", and secondly, the ML supplies system morphemes (bound morphemes and function words) under the "system morpheme principle". I predict that Nepali-English CS data contain content morphemes – verbs, prepositions, nouns and adjectives – from English and system morpheme quantifiers, possessives, tense/aspect, system morphemes, "do" verbs, the possessive "of", and structurally-assigned agreement from Nepali. This is because I predict that Nepali will be the matrix language into which English language items will be inserted.

The MLF model, further developed in Myers-Scotton & Jake (2000), not only deals with the classification of morphemes in bilingual speech, but also with how morphemes from different language varieties are selected in the production of language. The 4-M model refines the distinction of content versus system morphemes put forward in the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model. The 4-M model follows the content versus system morpheme distinction but offers formal ways of classifying morphemes into four types. The two underlying distinctions of the 4-M model are: the matrix language (ML) versus embedded language (EL), and content versus system morphemes.

The first opposition, the ML versus EL distinction, suggests that the varieties of languages participating in the bilingual clause do not have equal status. The ML is more dominant than the EL. It is the ML that supplies the grammatical framework into which EL elements are inserted; the EL provides content morphemes to be embedded in the grammatical frame setby the ML. The second opposition, content versus system morphemes, is guided

by the principle of asymmetry, which states that "not all morphemes participate equally in code-switching within a bilingual CP" (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2000:2). A bilingual CP consists of 1) ML islands which have only ML morphemes; 2) mixed constituents, including morphemes from both ML and EL; and 3) EL islands, which consist of only EL morphemes. ML islands are made up of ML morphemes and are under the control of the ML grammar. EL islands are also well-formed, but by EL grammar rules; EL islands are inserted into the ML frame.

For the current study it is assumed that in the Nepali-English CS constituent, or phrase, or the Nepali-English bilingual clause (CP), Nepali and English elements do not contribute equally to the construction of the bilingual CP. Nepali is the more dominant language, providing the grammatical frame, and English is the less dominant language, providing content morphemes. In other words, the English content morphemes are incorporated into the Nepali sentence frame through Nepali system morphemes. Identifying ML and EL elements in Nepali-English bilingual clauses or CPs should not pose a problem. Zabrodskaja (2006) found in her Russian-Estonian CS data that identifying the ML in heavily CSed data, such as Poplack's or Duran Eppler's, is more difficult than finding it in data that only contain occasional insertions.

Having surveyed the literature on structural aspects of code-switching and borrowing/insertion, the literature review will focus on the behavioural aspects of code-switchingin the following subsection. This is related to the second research question/objective this project addresses, i.e. why Nepalese people CS.

3.4   Motivations for Code-switching

Section 3.4 discusses reasons/motivations for code-switching, which is related to the second research question of the study. One of the most fascinating questions in the CS literature is "Why do people code-switch?" The phenomenon of code-switching can be motivated by various syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, psychological and sociological factors. In this framework, Myers-Scotton (2005:6-7) argues that foreign elements are selected "because they convey meanings or connotations that are better captured by EL elements than by those of the ML". She proposes five inter-related factors motivating code-switching.

The first factor is that some concepts or objects may be absent from the Matrix Language lexicon. Such elements may enter the ML and become part of its lexicon very fast. Shreya Jain (2013) also states that there are no Hindi equivalent words for such English words as *bus, truck, tempo, cycle, scooter* etc. She further adds that there are certain technical terms, such as *social survey, field work, mass media, office staff* and *traffic rules,* which are easier to articulate in English than in Hindi. Binaya Jha (1989:327-338) also claims "registral function" to be a reason for CS. He elaborates that speakers of Nepali take recourse to English to communicate scientific concepts using technical vocabularies or registers which are absent in their first language. Generally, vocabulary that relates to occupation, education, medicine and specialised technology are learned by second language learners to communicate because there is a lack of equivalent counterparts in their first language. Bishop (2006:18) presents this as an instrumental facility provided to bilinguals by the second languageas it is easier to express themselves using CS than to remain in one language.

The second factor proposed by Myers-Scotton is that the embedded element is a better candidate for a certain register; that is, it seems more compatible with a certain topic. Aguirre (1985:60) points to ease of accessibility and states that "switching occurs not because the speaker does not know the right word but because the word that comes out is more readily available." Poplack (1982) has a similar notion, i.e. *mot juste*.

The third factor is that the embedded element narrows down the meaning of an ML element and specifies it in a way that suits the speaker's intentions. There are some foreign elements which are used because they are shorter and quicker to articulate than the equivalent ML elements. This calls to mind the "*principal of economy"* of Li (2000:311) and Becker (1997:20), and also Jain's (2013) "*rule of economy"*. Li (2000) believes that, in the case of Cantonese-English language contact, the meaning of the English word is expressed by a longer stretch of Cantonese elements, suggesting that in such cases code-switching to English saves the speaker/writer considerable linguistic effort. Myers-Scotton & Jake (2013) also perceive the use of non-finite EL verbs instead of EL finite verbs as "fast" and "effortless" (e.g. the EL verbs are mixed with ML grammatical morphemes). In support of this argument, Jain (2013) gives the example of Hindi *louhpathgamini* for 'train' and *awatjawatsuchakchinnha*for 'signal'. Jain argues that these Hindi words require more processing effort than the English elements *train* and *signal*. Becker's (1997:9) argument goes more in the direction of frequency and entrenchment. He attributes the accessibility of EL elements to the high frequency of exposure, and states that "lexical items will be more available to bilingual speakers in language A than in language B if they are exposed to language A more than language B".

The fourth factor is that the embedded element may have a connotation that is not conveyed by the ML element. In this context Jha (1989) suggests "euphemism" as a

reason for CS. He gives the following example: *buff mo:mo* for the Nepali word *bhainsiko mo:mo.* Borrowing the first element (*buff*) of this loanblend from English avoids a cultural taboo. In the past buffalo meat was not consumed publicly by high caste people such as Brahmins; instead they consumed food items made of buffalo meat secretly. Hence the noun *buff mo:mo* came in use to avoid directly naming this taboo in Nepali.

Finally, the fifth factor is that the embedded element may attract the listener's attention or focus. Over time, the need to designate new concepts, ideas, and places has motivated the Nepalese people to voluntarily take recourse to English lexical elements. In this context, Brezencovic-Shogren (2011:27) states, "the code choice of bilingual speakers is not only determined by linguistic elements but also by extra-linguistic elements – cultural and social factors". This notion was adopted in the formulation of the questionnaire for this study, i.e. to measure the motivational scores on cultural and social aspects.

The main reasons for the English language remaining prominent in Nepal are the cultural and colonial heritage the English language has in the South Asian region, and the anglophile attitude of the people there. India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka have large numbers of English speakers (together the region's countries, including the Maldives, have approximately 33 million English speakers, while India alone has 25 million English speakers). In these countries, English is viewed as a language of power and as a means of economic uplift and upward social mobility (Ravinder, 2006: 90).

The experience of bilinguals in Li & Tse's (2002) study is likely to be similar to that of participants in the present study. In their study, the researchers documented that Hong Kong bilinguals habitually include English expressions of various lengths in their matrix

language, Cantonese. One of their (2002:189) respondents said that most of them were so accustomed to mixing English in their conversations that they could not communicate smoothly once they abandoned that style.

This study investigates the relationship between social variables: age, gender, level of education, profession and geographical location. Hence, the following section discusses the previous sociolinguistics literature on code-switching.

3.5   Influence of Social Variables on Code-switching

Section 3.5 reviews literature on the relationship between social variables and code-switching, which is related to the third research question of this study i.e. which groups of Nepalese people CS more in terms of their age, gender, profession, education and, urban and rural location.

Over the past 50 years the sociolinguistic framework of language study has demonstrated that an individual's language is a heterogeneous system in which linguistic behaviour can be influenced by such factors as sex, age, social class, ethnicity, race and community size (Labov, 1994:2). According to Spolsky (2004:9), age, social status, education and other factors play an important role in the use of language. Some researchers (e.g. Milroy & Wei, 1995; Jacobson, 1990) add other factors to this list, such as social networks and socioeconomic standing. In the following sections I will focus on age, gender, education, occupation/profession and geographic location, i.e. the variables chosen for this study, on the basis of their perceived and expected importance in the Nepali context.

3.5.1   Age

The age of speakers can become a very important factor when examining the speech pattern of a community. Smith (2002:137-141) has worked on patterns of bilingual language use among Hispanics who have immigrated from South and Central America to the US. In this study he reports that age had a significant effect on the participants' use of English or Spanish. He found that both younger males and females in his study used a higher percentage of English in their Spanish than older participants. For example, there was a significant difference in the rate of English lexical insertions between younger females (9.1%) and older females (3.5%). The difference between the younger males (2.7%) and older males (2.3%) was less, but still showed a decrease. He attributes this difference to the greater exposure of children to English in school.

Hudson-Edwards & Bills (1982) also found a difference between younger and older groups in the rate of CS. In the Spanish-English bilingual community in the United States that they investigated, younger participants used more English (the prestigious language) than the older participants. Hudson, Hernandez Chavez & Bills (1995), working on the maintenance of Spanish among the Spanish population of five south-western states of the US, found that young people are more likely to abandon their ethnic language in favour of the language which is socioculturally dominant. Gal (1978:10), working on Hungarian-German bilingualism in eastern Austria, found a similar pattern in code-switching. She found that from the youngest to the oldest generation, the use of German (the prestigious language) decreased. The difference was found to be much greater for men whose social networks included a majority of non-prestigious occupations.

Naseh (2002:209) also found that age was a determining factor in predicting the rate of code-switching in a Persian/Swedish speech community. Contrary to the young group of

subjects in her study among whom code-switching was considered to be a very common behaviour, the older speakers did not switch to Swedish except for filling lexical/conceptual gaps. Zafaranian-Sharpe (1999:81-85), working with Iranians living in the United States, also found that there was a direct link between the acculturation process and speech behaviour, on the one hand, and between acculturation and age, on the other. The young participants in her study had adopted the American culture more than those who had come to the United States at an older age. Also, the total number of all-English plus mixed utterances of the young group was much higher than that of the older group.

This study covers the extent of inserting English language elements from various linguistic levels (lexical to sentence) into Nepali speech across all age groups. Romaine (1995:123) summarises her review of age and CS with the statement: "a mixed speech style is common among people between the ages of 20 to 60 and involves both intra-sentential and inter-sentential code-switching".

3.5.2 Gender

Within the CS literature, Poplack's (1980) research on the New York Puerto Rican community revealed that women code-switched significantly more than men at the lexical level. Poplack (1987), however, found the opposite to be true in the Ottawa-Hull community; there she found that women used fewer borrowings and loan words than men. Treffers-Daller (1992), working on French-Dutch conversations, reports that she did not find any significant difference between men and women regarding intra-sentential code-switching.

Cheshire & Gardner-Chloros' (1998) research on code-switching in a Greek-Cypriot community in Britain revealed that men and women did not differ significantly in their

overall rate of switching; however, women tended to code-switch intra-sententially slightly more than men. In contrast, in traditional communities in India, and other South Asian countries, males have been found to mix English more than females (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2006:13).

Romaine's (1989) study of Punjabi-English code-switching in Birmingham found that women tended to code-switch more than men. She argued that the difference was due to the gender-role differentiation in the community. In Birmingham, code-switching is used mainly for personal communication with in-group members in the community, while pure Punjabi or pure English are used for communication with outsiders. Women, traditionally housewives in this community, tended to have fewer contacts with the outside world than men and are therefore "free" to code-switch during in-group communication.

Studies on language variation and change have consistently shown that women tend to use a higher proportion of the standard variants than men of the same social class (Labov, 1972, 1996; Trudgill,1972). This pattern is considered by many sociolinguists to be a universal principle of gender-based differences. Fasold (1990:92), for example, refers to it as "the sociolinguistic gender pattern". Labov (1990:210) lists it as "the first principle of sexual differentiation". In addition, sociolinguistic studies on variation, e.g. Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1972), have repeatedly shown that women report using more standard/prestige forms of language than they actually do (a phenomenon known as "over-reporting"), whereas men tend to go the other way and report using standard language less than they actually do, i.e. they "under-report". Labov (1966:455) assumes that "no conscious deceit plays a part in this process" and that "most of the respondents seemed to perceive their own speech in terms of the norms at which they were aiming rather than the [language] actually produced". This practice of over-reporting and under-

reporting is also expected to be encountered in the Nepali-English CS data, because many of the factors it has been linked to in the literature (e.g. profession, social aspiration etc.) are also present in Nepali society.

Education is another social variable that has been correlated with CS in bilingual speech. Hence, literature on education and its influence on CS practice are discussed below.

3.5.3 Education

Bhatia & Ritchie (2006:348) state: "the speakers' language proficiency and language dominance also determine the incidence and nature of language mixing/switching". For instance, in India, English teachers tend to mix more than balanced Hindi-English bilinguals. Here the authors assume that English language proficiency is determined by English education, influencing the production of code-switched speech. This suggests that different patterns of code-switching depend on the language proficiency of the speakers.

Some studies have shown that less proficient bilinguals have more limited linguistic repertoires for code-switching than more proficient bilinguals. Poplack (1982:14) observed that more proficient bilinguals practice intra-sentential code-switching, whereas less proficient bilinguals practice inter-sentential code-switching (see section 3.1.3). However, Berk-Seligson (1986) and Nortier (1990) found no effects of bilingual proficiency on the type of code-switching in Hebrew-Spanish or Moroccan Arabic-Dutch bilingual respectively.

Myers-Scotton (1993a:71) found different relationships between code-switching and proficiency in her Nairobi data corpus. According to her, within the Matrix Language Frame Model, more proficient bilinguals produce more inter-sentential code-switching,

whereas less proficient bilinguals produce more intra-sentential code-switching. The latter involves more Matrix Language constituents and less Embedded Language lexemes, which is assumed to make CS "easier". This view conforms to Bhatia & Ritchie's view that less proficient or less educated speakers have access to English at the lexical level, resulting in intra-sentential CS. Similarly, more proficient or more educated people have access to English beyond the lexical level, producing inter-sentential CS. Underscoring the role bilingual proficiency plays in the production of bilingual speech, as Bhatia & Ritchie (2006) suggest, Jacobson (1990:114) also assumes that the correlation of code-switching patterns of Mexican-Americans with age, sex, generation, and socioeconomic status is caused by differences in the speakers' language proficiency.

Bentahila & Davies (1995, 1998) attribute this variation to changes in the language acquisition process, resulting in variable bilingual proficiency. Their older informants were educated in schools where French was the medium of instruction, while members of the younger generation acquired French as an L2 in educational institutions.

Likewise, the data from Jacobson (1990) and Backus (1996) appear to support the importance of bilingual proficiency as a significant factor in CS variation. In both studies, the youngest generation is most proficient in the language of the host country and also uses it most in conversation. This is supported by Li Wei (1994) who found that higher proficiency correlated with greater use of English in his study of three generations of Cantonese–English bilinguals in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Higher proficiency in the L2 or embedded language, however, does not always correlate with more code-switching. Berk-Seligson (1986), for example, examined the CS of generations of Spanish–Hebrew bilinguals in Jerusalem and found that, despite variable bilingual proficiency, there was little variation in CS patterns.

3.5.4 Profession

All over the world, teachers, government employees, farmers and business people use profession-related vocabularies in their conversations (Kroskrity, 1999:112). In the context of Nepal, most of these professional groups depend – at least to some extent – on English technical vocabulary. In Nepal people are involved in different economic activities to sustain their lives. Nepal has opened its doors to foreign countries to encourage foreign investment in various sectors. Hence, Nepal has multinational groups as partners for economic activities inside and outside the country. Observationally, this has led to even illiterate rural Nepalese people using English at the lexical level in their conversations when talking about new technology related to their specific occupation.

To my knowledge, no studies have yet been carried out on the relation between profession and code-switching in the particular context of Nepal. This study will therefore investigate the above observation and code-switching behaviour among different professional groups in general.

3.5.5 Geographical Location

Code-switching behaviour has been observed in both urban and rural locations in Nepal (Giri, 2014:198-199). The differences in bilingual behaviour are likely to be attributable to physical infrastructure, in which urban areas have advantages over rural areas. Comparing these two different situations, Milroy& Gordon (2003:123) argue that:

> Language use changed [in Ireland] as the economy shifted from dependence or subsistence farming to, primarily, a service economy. Improvements in the road system gave rise to a host of further changes which affected network structure and everyday social practices, including language behaviours. Farmers sold produce to newcomers and to factories rather than deal with other local farmers; farm buildings

were converted into tourist accommodation for the many visitors entering the area; and work and leisure activities were no longer confined to the immediate locality.

There appears to be general agreement among academics that one of the most outstanding features of globalisation and internationalisation witnessed in the post-modern era is the exponential spread of English into even the most remote corners of the world (e.g. Feng, 2010:363). This also applies to the remote areas of Nepal. Consequently, I assume that the trend of Nepali-English CS exists not only in the urban but also in rural areas of the country.

Some young city dwellers have adopted an assimilative strategy to Western culture and language in order to show that they are advanced and modern. They actively interact with Western culture but, at the same time, have become reluctant to engage with their original cultures and languages (Khati, 2013:77). In other words, these young people develop a tendency to promote outside language and culture at the expense their original languages and cultures. In this context, Friedman (1994:39) states:

> Within the sphere of cultural modernity, the expansion of modernist hegemony is correlated with a move from a culturally strong identity – ethnicity – to weaker forms: lifestyles and modernist identity itself.

3.6 The Role of Social Factors (the Media, Educational Institutions, Trade Tourism and Foreign Employment) in Code-switching

Section 3.6 summarises relevant literature on the role of social factors such as the media, educational institutions, trade and tourism, and foreign employment in promoting Nepali-English CS.

According to Sayers (2014), the issue of language change due to media influence has been marginalised in variationist sociolinguistics. However, in the last few years, various sociolinguists have started examining the role of media in sociolinguistic heterogeneity, innovation and change (Androutsopoulos, 2014; Stuart-Smith, 2012).

Khagendra Acharya (2009) conducted a qualitative study of English in Nepali television advertisements. He looked at four hours of morning and evening advertisements broadcast via Nepali channels. He found that advertisements containing mixed English occurred more frequently than advertisements containing Nepali only. Acharya's study is pertinent to this research as it provides evidence for the use of English in Nepali media, which may contribute to the spread of Englishin the conversations of Nepalese people bothinside and outside the broadcasting/telecasting realm.

The studies of Sayers (2014) and Acharya (2009) involve only television, but my study also includes internet data.

3.6.1 Media

Both print and broadcast media in Nepal use materials that contain messages and entertainment for audiences and readers through the mixed use of languages, especially Nepali and English. As Bhatia (2006:606) states, the use of English is most obvious in product names. As an example, he points to the success story of the Japanese advertisers who invented the Walkman. Bhatia points out that using a product name that includes English lexical items has become a global phenomenon, creating a strategy of using English product names in international advertising. Bhatia gives some English product names overwhelmingly used in India, such as *Arial, Cinthol, Det, Gnat, Lux, Lifeboy,*

Magic, Crowning Glory and *Ponds.* He only found two product names – *Nirma* and *Hamam* – in Hindi.

Meraj (1993:224) shows a similar trend in Urdu advertising in Pakistan. Her study revealed that English product names occurred in 70% of the advertisements in her corpus, while 9% of product names were in monolingual Urdu. The remaining 21% were mixed product names (English+Urdu) such as *Chanda Battery Cell, Good Luck Haleem,* and *National Kheer.* The same trend is also widely attested in Russia and other European countries (Bhatia, 2006:606).

One of the reasons why the media can play an important role in the spread of English at one linguistic level is that, unlike phonology and grammar, words and phrases are easily acquired in later life. All of us continue to acquire new lexis throughout our lifetimes as a result of simple exposure, in a way that doesnot happen with other, arguably more central aspects of language structure (Trudgill, 2014:216). Media influence has been found to be crucial in spreading English elements (Trudgill, 2014:220).

Millions of non-English speakers have come into contact with English through radio, television, film, popular music (CDs, cassettes and the web) and writing of all kinds. Of course, some English can be learned through these media, though this knowledge is likely to remain passive unless listeners have opportunities to practice it in speaking or writing skills (Thomason, 2001:2-3). The current study assumes that the passive knowledge of English of Nepalese listeners becomes active in their day-to-day conversation through Nepali-English CS practices. Whether or not this is the case will be investigated in the data collected for this project.

The following table presents some statistical data on media – radio, television, internet and cable television – accessed by Nepalese people living in urban and rural areas. Access to these media helps them encounter new English elements on a daily basis, which they can then incorporate into conversations.

Table 3.1: Percentage of households with various kinds of household facilities

Household facility	Percentage of households		
	Nepal	Urban	Rural
Radio	50.82	53.56	50.17
Television	36.45	60.67	30.66
Cable television	19.33	53.80	11.10
Computer	7.28	23.66	3.37
Internet	3.33	12.11	1.24
Telephone	7.37	22.66	3.72
Mobile phone	64.63	84.07	59.98
Car	1.57	4.03	0.98
Motorcycle	9.58	23.62	6.23
Bicycle	32.38	29.95	32.96
Other vehicle	0.68	0.65	0.69
Refrigerator	7.16	23.21	3.33

Source: National Population and Housing Census 2011

I focus only on radio, television, cable television, computers and the internet, as these seem to contribute most to spreading English elements across the country among the Nepalese people.

According to Nepal Media Survey Findings (2014), out of the 45% of respondents possessing radios, 46.1% were owned by urban people and 45.3% by rural people. This is different from the NPHC data from 2011 presented in Table 3.1. It shows a decline in the use of radio. Of the 49% of the respondents possessing a television set, 79.5% were owned by urban people and 42.3% by rural people, which is more than the data presented above. Ten percent of respondents claimed to possess computers, 24.6% of which were owned by urban people and 6.5% by rural people. These figures are higher than the figure presented in the table above and thus indicate that – unsurprisingly – both TV and PC ownership are on the increase in Nepal. Likewise, out of 5% of the respondents using the internet, 16.1% were used by urban people and 3.1% by rural people, which is again higher than the figure presented in Table 3.1.

These media use not only Nepali but also English to transmit their programmes. In this context, Yadava (1990:24) states: "19 percent of the total programme time of Radio Nepal and 24 percent of the total programme time on Nepal TV was given to the English language". Through these media, English (at least at lexical level) reaches all of the Nepalese people who own a radio, TV or PC, as presented in the data above. This is anticipated to promote Nepali-English CS in the conversations of Nepalese people.

3.6.2   Education Institutions

Globally, the English language has been gaining popularity as a medium of instruction in education. As Tsui & Tollefson (2007:18) point out, "language policy makers perceive English as an essential tool in Asian countries for individuals to achieve national goals and personal advancement". Like other Asian countries, Nepal has promoted the acquisition of the English language by its citizens through the introduction of English medium instruction. The influence of neighbouring India, which was a British colony,

has been important in embedding English in the curricula of Nepal's education system. The amount of time allocated to English in education curricula has also been increased.

Nepal has a 60-year history of general education. In this section, I draw upon some data to set up the argument that education institutions have played and are playing a significant role in spreading English across the country.

Nepal is a multilingual country (see Chapter 2). In spite of this, in its education system, ethnic/minority languages have not been introduced to facilitate teaching and learning. Nepali, the language of the nation, and English, as the foreign/second language, have been chosen as media of instruction at both school and college level. According to Bista (2011) and Giri (2015), in recent years English has become an indispensable tool for the Nepalese people, serving as a primary and second language in many educational and socioeconomic domains in Nepal.

Nepali-English code-switching is expected to be facilitated by the government's policy of mandating for English to be taught as a subject at lower education levels. Moreover, English has been chosen, along with Nepali, as a medium to teach other technical subjects at higher level. Hence, English has been given a respected position in the curriculum of Nepal. The designation of any language as a medium of instruction in schools is an assignment of a high order role to that language (Omoniyi, 2004:113).

The government defines the language educational policy as a mechanism used to create de facto language practices in educational institutes, especially in a centralised educational system such as Nepal's (Shohamy,2006:76). This means that these practices, including the use of English as a medium of instruction, should spread evenly across both genders and students above a certain age that live in both urban and rural locations. This

language policy is thus expected to promote Nepali-English CS in Nepal. Because education is expected to be an important factor in the spread of English on all linguistic levels in Nepal, I will present information on how English is incorporated into the Nepali education system in the following discussion.

The Nepali Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) designs and implements the school level curriculum. It is responsible for training, implementing, evaluating and reviewing curricula. The Centre revised the literature-oriented English curriculum in 1981 and presented a curriculum which focuses greatly on the oral-structural-situation approach. It has the aim of developing students' ability to use English effectively in real-life situations. The CDC prepares textbooks for all school levels. Nepalese educational experts prepare English and other subject textbooks for all public-school levels. Private schools also use textbooks approved by the CDC.

Looking at the structure of the weekly routine in government schools, Nepali and English have received more attention than local languages. Table 3.2 presents the number of periods of 40 minutes assigned to teaching Nepali and English from Grades I to V.

Table 3.2: Allocation of time for all subjects at the primary level

Subjects	Number of weekly periods in each grade				
	I	II	III	IV	V
Nepali language	8	8	8	8	8
Mathematics	6	6	6	6	6
English language	5	5	5	5	5
Elective subjects(language/others)	3	3	3	3	3
Total weekly periods	34	34	34	39	39

Source: MOES, 2004. Each teaching period lasts 40 minutes.

Table 3.2 shows that eight periods a week are assigned to Nepali, and five periods a week for English. This table also shows that Nepali students are learning English from primary level (Levels I-V).

Table 3.3 presents time allocated to different subjects at lower secondary and secondary level, i.e. Levels VI-X of the Nepali education system. It exemplifies how Nepali and English are allocated the same amount of time at higher levels.

Table 3.3: Time allocation for subjects at lower secondary and secondary level

Subjects	Number of weekly periods in each grade				
	Lower secondary			Secondary	
	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Nepali language	5	5	5	5	5
Mathematics	5	5	5	5	5
English language	5	5	5	5	5
Social science studies	6	6	6	5	5
Science	6	6	6	5	5
Sanskrit	3	3	3	-	-
Total weekly periods	39	39	39	39	39

Source: MOES,2004. Each teaching period lasts 40 minutes.

This suggests that Nepali-English bilingualism may be strongly influenced by speakers' level of education. The higher the educational level, the more English the students have learnt. This is highly likely to result in a larger amount of Nepali-English CS in highly educated speakers' conversations.

Table 3.4 below shows that Nepali respondents from across the country desire to learn foreign languages, including English. This information is based on a report prepared by the 47 members of the Nepal Planning Commission, chaired by the American Professor Hugh Wood in 1956. The results are collated from 1,647 written responses to the question of which medium of instruction the participants desire.

Table 3.4: Medium of instruction desired

	Kathmandu Valley	West Nepal	East Nepal	Terai	Average
Primary School					
Local	71%	48%	75%	79%*	68%
National	38%	44%	13%	16%	28%
English	12%	17%	75%**	4%	27%
Middle School					
Local	18%	22%	25%	51%*	29%
National	81%	69%	50%	50%	63%
English	26%	25%	12%	16%	20%
High School					
Local	20%	22%	5%	54%*	25%
National	68%	67%	75%	45%	64%
English	52%	73%	35%	26%	46%

*"Local" language for the Terai area is Hindi in most sections.

** This reflects the influence of the missionary English schools in the Darjeeling area (NNEPC, 1956: 53).

Adapted from the journal article *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics* Revisiting history in Language Policy: The case of Medium of Instruction in Nepal 2013.

Table 3.4 illustratesthat respondents expressed an interest in English as *a medium for education* in some parts of the country. Table 3.4 represents the opinion of people regarding the medium of education in Nepali 60 years ago. The current study expects more participants to favour English as a medium of education in Nepal. This will be investigated on the basis of qualitative data obtained through questionnaires.

3.6.3   Trade and Tourism

Most dealings connected with business are associated with foreign languages, of which the most dominant is English. Business people involved in trade and tourism mostly use English to advertise their products. Despite being able to use Nepali exclusively, business people mix English elements in advertisements to promote their business. They use English only for communication with foreigners, e.g. tourists, and use a combination of Nepali and English with Nepalese people. These tourists are from different countries. Some are from countries where English is spoken as a first language; some are not.

I will use Kachru's (1995) model of concentric circles to illustrate which type of English speakers Nepalese people have most contact with through trade and tourism. Kachru allocated the countries of the world to three circles, depending on the role English plays in them. The inner circle consists of the UK, the USA, Canada and Australia, while the outer and expanding circle includes Austria, China, Denmark, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Spain, Sri Lanka and Switzerland (Kachru, 1985). Table 3.5 presents the number of foreigners who visited Nepal from 2010 to 2013. They have been categorised on the basis of Kachru's (1985) concentric model.

Table 3.5: Foreign visitors from 2010-2013 on the basis of Kachru's concentric circle

	Year	Inner Circle	Expanding and Outer Circle	Others	Not specified
Visitors	2010	16.10%	55.33%	28%	0.57%
Visitors	2011	15.37%	56.83%	24%	3.47%
Visitors	2012	19.88%	76.17%	3.09%	0.86%
Visitors	2013	17.98%	68.76%	13.26%	NA

Adapted from Nepal Tourism Statistics 2013, Minister of Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation.

The data show that the number of English-speaking visitors from expanding and outer circle countries is higher than the number of visitors from inner circle countries who are native speakers of English. This indicates that English is the dominant language of communication in the Nepali tourism industry and that native English speakers are not the main interlocutors for Nepali people working that industry. Nonetheless, many Nepali people involved in tourism speak English fluently, being in regular contact with foreign tourists. This phenomenon is also hypothesised to promote the Nepali-English CS situation in Nepal.

3.6.4 Foreign Employment

Nepal has around 200 years of history of supplying labour to the immediately neighbouring India (Gurung, 2004:1). This was discussed in more detail from a historical perspective in Chapter 2. To briefly summarise, the treaty that ended the Anglo-Nepalese war, i.e. the Sugauli treaty in 1816 between the Nepali ruler Amar Singh Thapa and the Representative of British India's military forces, David Ochterlony, specifically made the migration flow from Nepal to India for foreign employment easier and opened doors for engagement in other colonial territories beyond British India. This migration was not

regulated by the Nepali government during the Panchayat regime (1960-1990). However, since the establishment of a multiparty system in 1990 the government has passed various acts to regulate migration under circumstances where Nepalese people have started going beyond India for employment.

The Nepali government also provides various skills to young people to prepare them for foreign labour markets, now extended from India to the Persian Gulf and many other countries of the world (Gurung, 2004:6). These young people are trained in English-medium education. The main medium of communication at their workplace abroad is also English.

Having reviewed the literature on social factors and their possible influence on CS, I will now focus the literature review on language contact and change in the following section.

3.7   Language Contact and Change

This section presents an overview of some of the literature specifically related to the fifth and last research question on Nepali-English language contact and change. It includes contact-induced language change, along with convergence and substratum influence.

3.7.1   Contact-induced Language Change

Thomason (2001) identifies three main mechanisms for contact-induced language change. These are code-switching, code-alternation and familiarity with the source language. In the context of Nepal, CS seems to offer the greatest opportunities to intensify the contact between Nepali and English and potentially facilitate contact-induced language change from Nepali to English.

When languages come into contact, people who speak these languages, as well as their cultures, come into contact. Yusuf (1999:159) states that "language contact should be seen in the broad sense of contact between two cultures that can be a result of conquests, wars, migration, colonisation, etc." At a community level, language contact is described as a linguistic phenomenon whereby two or more distinct languages are spoken within a speech community. Weinreich (1974:1) describes language contact at the individual level as follows: "two or more languages are in contact if they are used alternately by the same persons". When speakers of two or more languages come into contact, individuals and even whole speech communities inevitably become bilingual in those two contact languages (Crystal, 1997).

For Penelope Gardner-Chloros and Malcolm Edwards (2004:3), CS is a major means for convergence and language change. Backus (2004:179) also claims that if an idiolect contains both a native element and a foreign element to express the same thing, their degrees of entrenchment obviously change with fluctuations in usage (see section 3.3). His conclusion is that the L1 structure is in competition with L2 in cases of contact-induced structural change. The latter language receives its degree of entrenchment for its use in both L1 and L2 utterances. This involves not just the importation of L2 patterns into L1 but fluctuations in language choice, resulting in the encroachment of the L2 into domains previously reserved for the L1. If such a processual mechanism is empirically confirmed, CS can be recognised as a causal mechanism of language change.

It is important to note here that according to scholars such as Thomason (2001), a change in the frequency of use of a particular feature is also considered to be a change in the language, and I too consider frequency to be a part of change in a language.

In the formation process of contact languages, the founding generations of speakers are innovators who draw on their multilingual repertoire to create a new speech variety. Within one or two generations, this variety undergoes conventionalisation and becomes the principal vehicle of communication at least in certain interaction settings, such as interethnic communication or, conversely, in domestic communication in communities of mixed ethnic background (Baker & Matras, 2013:4).

3.7.2 Convergence

The term convergence denotes two languages becoming more and more alike, with structural changes in one language under the influence of another, as suggested by Clyne (2003:79). Authors have expressed various opinions on convergence. Muysken believes that convergence leads to congruent lexicalsation in which the grammars and vocabularies of the two systems are similar (Muysken, 2000:122).

Heine & Kuteva (2005:11) mention the problem that some researchers use the term convergence to mean the reciprocal influence of languages on one another (Thomason, 2000:89), in which the languages involved are moving towards a new language creation (Romaine, 1988:79; Salmons, 1990:454), whereas others take it as the unilateral influence of one language uponanother (Myers-Scotton, 2002:172; Clyne, 2003). In this study I adopt the unilateral view of convergence because, as we saw in Chapter 2, the development of hybrid varieties can be seen as an indicator not only for the amount, but also the directionality of influence of languages in contact. We saw that several new Englishes have developed in the world, mainly in Asia. Nepal is one of the south Asian countries that also show the development of Nenglish.

3.8   Framework for the present study

Based on existing knowledge obtained from the relevant literature, the following conceptual framework has been developed. It illustrates the Nepali sociolinguistic phenomena under investigation and how they are linked in the conceptual framework of the current study.

Figure 3.2: Conceptual framework of the research

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┌─────────────────────────┐                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
│  Independent Variables  │                    │   Dependent Variables   │
└─────────────────────────┘                    └─────────────────────────┘
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┌─────────────────────────┐
│ Structural and behavioural aspects of Nepali-
│ English code-switching
│ Grammatical constraints on Nepali-English CS
│ -Poplack's (1980) 'Free-morpheme constraints',
│ 'Grammatical constraints'.
│ -Myers-Scotton's (1993, 2002) MLF model
│ Types of Nepali-English CS
│ -Poplack (1980)
│ -Lipsky (1985)
│ -Myers-Scotton(1993)
│ Hierarchy of English elements mixed in Nepali-
│ English CS data (van Haut &Muysken,1994)
│ Reasons for Nepali-English CS
│ -David CS Li (2000) 'Principal of Economy'
│ -Myers-Scotton (2005) Five motivations for CS
│ -Shreya Jain (2013)
└─────────────────────────┘

Social factors, i.e. role of institutions of education, media, trade, tourism and foreign employment in Nepali-Englishcode-switching

Social variables
-Age
-Gender
-Level of education
-Profession
-Geographical location

Nepali-English language contact and change
-Myers-Scotton's (1993) seven scenarios of CS
Bringing language convergence and language change.
-Lexical borrowing; loanwords
-Development of Nenglish

The diagram in Figure 3.2 represents the conceptual framework of the current research project. The boxes contain the concepts associated with the research questions and objectives. The arrows indicate the expected interrelations between the boxes.

On the left are two boxes containing the independent variables I will be working with. The top left box contains the institutions of education, media, trade and tourism and foreign employment, i.e. the social factors that are proposed to play a role in promoting Nepali-English contact and code-switching. These institutions adopt Nepali as the main working language, with English as a secondary language influencing the speaking habits of Nepalese people of all ages, genders, levels of education, professions and geographical locations.

The bi-directional arrow between the two boxes containing the independent variables indicates that they are expected to be interrelated: the former, i.e. social factors, relate to language settings while the latter, i.e. social variables, relate to language users. They thus cover the most important dimensions of every sociolinguistic research project: Who speaks what language to whom in what context. For instance, people from different age groups, genders, educational levels, professions and geographical locations are involved in education, the media, trade and tourism as well as foreign employment, the social settings mentioned in the top left box. These cohorts of speakers use Nepali and mix English in their conversations, which resultsin Nepali-English CS data, represented in the top right-hand box of the diagram. This is shown by the horizontal arrow pointing to the right top box. These data can and will be analyzed in terms of grammatical constraints, types of CS and reasons for CS. The right bottom box contains potential consequences or outcomes of the Nepali-English CS, Myers-Scotton's scenarios, loanwords, convergence or even hybrid languages. This is shown by the down vertical arrow pointing to the right bottom box.

3.9   Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the sociolinguistic concepts and terminology related to my research topic. I decided to follow Huttner (1997) in choosing the *inclusive* definition

of bilingualism by Haugen (1953) and Myers-Scotton (2002). Furthermore, I opted for code-switching (CS) as the umbrella term to cover code-mixing and borrowing. This was followed by a discussion of the hierarchy of English word frequency in CS data. Most studies show English nouns to be the most frequently used foreign elements in the CS data, followed by other English parts of speech, such as verbs, adjectives, adverbs and prepositions. The literature on this part was reviewed to relate this to my first research questions on the degree of mixing of English in Nepali conversations.

I then reviewed the motivations/reasons for CS. I based my summary, to be analysed and discussed in Chapters 5 and 7, on topics under the framework of the "language economy" of Li (2000) and Shreya Jain (2013). Similarly, I reviewed literature on the social variables age, gender, education, profession and geographical location, which influence CS, to relate them to my research question for analysis and discussion in Chapters 5 and 7. Following this, I reviewed the literature on bilingual language use and the media, education, trade, tourism and foreign employment. This will help me establish the role they play in how Nepalese people from all walks of life and across the country use Nepali and English in their spoken interactions.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 presents methods and procedures employed in this study. Section 4.2 presents methodological choices adopted to collect empirical data. This is followed by research questions/propositions and research variables (4.3 & 4.4). Section 4.5 presents the questionnaire design, the pilot study (4.6), and the selection of research sites (4.7), selection of participants (4.8), Ethical issues (4.9), similarly section 4.10 presents selection of research assistants. Data collection tools and techniques are presented in section 4.11 followed by section 4.12 which presents constraints on fieldwork. Data transcription and storage is presented in section 4.13. Like all chapters so far, Chapter 4 concludes with a summary (4.14).

4.2 Choice of Research Methods – Quantitative and Qualitative

I have employed mixed research methods, combining both qualitative and quantitative research techniques for data collection and analysis. Quantitative data were collected using the questionnaire survey method. The linguistic data were collected through semi-structured interviews and focus groups. A mixed methods design was adopted in order to be able to triangulate all the information gathered through various sources and methods. A summary of how each method or data source contributes to answering each research question will be presented in summary Table 4.1 at the end of this section.

The survey method was used in order to gather the necessary background information for the project, such as demographic and sociolinguistic information about the participants, and basic information in relation to the five research questions from a relatively large number of participants (200) in a relatively short time. The questionnaire provided mainly quantitative data (48 questions in the survey are quantitative/closed), but also included

some open-ended questions and response options. The answers to the latter were fed into the more in-depth qualitative data collection. The questionnaire design will be discussed in more detail in section 4.5; the actual data collection through the survey method in section 4.11.1. The survey results feed into Chapter 5, which focuses on the research questions related to the linguistic and extra-linguistic aspects of Nepali-English CS (RQs 1-3); Chapter 6, which presents data to address the research questions related to the sociolinguistics aspect under investigation in this project (RQs 4 and 5); as well as Chapter 7, which discusses and interprets the findings presented and analysed in Chapters 5 and 6.

The qualitative research component of this project mainly focuses on meaning, experience and understanding of the respondents on the given topic, i.e. Nepali-English language contact, thereby giving the researcher the opportunity to interact with respondents about their experiences, individually and in groups.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen as a research method to generate more in-depth, personalised and linguistically realistic data. In one-to-one interviews participants can share, reflect on, and interact with their bi- or multilingual experiences without their views, language use and spoken interaction being affected by dominant people, as in focus groups. The individual interviews were conducted in order to gain deeper answers to the research questions than provided by the questionnaire, as well as semi-formal speech data (I will elaborate on the relation between speech event and speech style in section 4.11). The actual data collection through interviews will be discussed in section 4.11.2. The interview questions for participants belonging to different professional groups can be found in Appendices F-J. The transcribed language data will contribute to answering the researchquestion about the extent to which Nepali speakers insert English linguistic units

of what size and type into their speech (RQ1, Chapter 5, section 2). Metalinguistic statements from the interviews will add information as to why code-switching takes place (RQ2, Chapter 7, section 2).

Focus groups were chosen as a research method because in FGs participants can share opinions and insights; and stimulate each other to reflect on their views. Opinions and attitudes are socially constructed, and social groups like focus groups provide a micro-environment for them to be articulated. Moreover, some views are only triggered through the dynamics of group interaction and may not be articulated in individual interviews. FGs are a less formal speech event than one-to-one semi-structured interviews. FG recordings, like all group recordings, thus provide more naturalistic or vernacular data for the linguisticanalysis. The actual data collection through interviews will be discussed in section 4.11.3. The guiding questions for the FGs are the same as for the interviews. The transcribed language data will contribute to answering the research question about the extent to which Nepali speakers insert English linguistic units of what size and type into their speech (RQ1, Chapter 5, section 2). Metalinguistic statements from the interviews will add information to all other research questions.

Table 4.1 illustrates which research question will be answered by which research data source and how.

Table 4.1: Research questions and corresponding data sources and methods

S.N	Research questions	Data sources	Methods
1.	To what extent do Nepalese bilinguals code-switch in their conversation?	Respondents from both urban and rural areas	Questionnaire survey, interview and observation with audio-recording

2.	Why do Nepalese people code-switch? What is its significance in the Nepali-speaking community?	Speech data of respondents from various domains and interaction in different situations and topics	Questionnaire survey, interview, observation with audio-recording and FGD
3.	Which group of people (rural/urban, educated/less educated, young/old, rich/poor) code-switch more in their conversation?	Natural conversations with target group respondents and secondary sources of information – government publications	Audio-recording speech or conversation in terms of the respondents' category; reviewing secondary information
4.	What role do social institutions and the media play in English-Nepali code-switching by Nepalese bilinguals?	Respondents involved in social institutions and media	Questionnaire survey, interview with service receivers and observation of services and programmes rendered and conducted by those institutions
5.	What is the impact of English lexical items on the Nepali lexicon, its semantics and grammar?	Survey respondents, key informants – linguists, teachers, language activists, social workers	Questionnaire survey with respondents and individual interview, FGD and interview with key informants

The quantitative analysis was carried out through Computerised Language Analysis (CLAN) and the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS); the qualitative analysis was conducted within the linguistic frameworks discussed in the previous chapter, particularly Myers-Scotton's MLF and 4M models.

4.3   Research Proposition

There are two discourses in the context of Nepal: Nepali monolingual and Nepali bilingual. Observation prior to the onset of fieldwork suggested that bilingual Nepali-English discourse is influenced by the educational level of the speakers. In informal terms, more educated people mix English elements into their Nepali speech quite freely, while less educated people use English words in their conversation only through interference or integration with their first languages, Nepali, and/or other local languages. The pronunciation of the English word *copy*/ka:pi/ is one example of how less educated Nepalese speakers phonologically integrate English lexemes into their first language; highly educated people, by contrast, tend to use the word in its RP pronunciation, i.e. /kɒpɪ/.

My investigation will focus on following four main assumptions which underpin the research questions and objectives of this project. They include:

- that spoken interaction is made more lively, interesting and effective if different linguistic elements are mixed in a conversation;

- that the role of the media and educational institutions is significant in bringing about Nepali-English code-switching;

- that the degree of foreign elements mixed in the native language differs in terms of social variables (age, gender, profession, education and urban or rural location); and

- that those languages more in contact with other languages, such as Nepali and English, are likely to be influenced at different linguistic levels – from lexical to phrase, clause and sentence.

These propositions are associated with the research questions. The first research proposition covers the first and second research questions, the second covers the fourth,

the third proposition covers the third research question and the last proposition covers the fifth research question about the impact of English on the Nepali language.

4.4   Research Variables

Themes and issues have been developed (both pre-identified and emerged) as dependent variables. They include code-switching attitude and practice, language contact and change, and language choice and attitude. Analysis and interpretation of the data will be based on pre-identified independent variables and a dependent variable. The dependent variable is the extent to which English is mixed into Nepali conversations at lexical, phrase, clause and sentence level; the independent variables are social: age, gender, level of education, profession and geographical location. The reported questionnaire and metalinguistic data will be fed into the analysis as outlined in the diagram in the last section of the previous chapter.

4.5   Questionnaire Design

With 48 questions, the questionnaire was designed not to exceed the recommended maximum of 50 question items (Holmes & Hazen, 2014:50). I formulated both open-ended and closed questions to address the aims and objectives of my research. According to Foddy (1993:127), closed questions limit the participant's expression, but can be answered quickly, thereby providing quantitatively large amounts of data (Oppenheim, 1992:114). Open-ended questions, by contrast, allow the respondent to express an opinion without being influenced by the researcher.

The questionnaire-driven information data were classified into demographic characteristics, domain of language use, interlocutors and language use, and attitudinal characteristics of the speakers. The questions based on language history elicited

information on the participants' medium of instruction at various levels of their schooling. The questions on language choice and language-use domains elicited more information as evidence to support Nepali-English code-switching as an emerging linguistic phenomenon.

Under demographic characteristics the question items were based on the followingvariables:

- Age

- Gender

- Ethnicity/caste

- Occupation/profession

- First language

- Medium of instruction at all levels of education

Under context the question items focused on the following domains:

- Workplace

- Home

- Social gatherings

- Entertainment/education

Answers to these questions provide information on which languages have gained currency in which domains.

Under interlocutors the question items focused on the following variables:

- With spouse

- With children

- With colleagues

- With superiors/relatives

Under attitudinal characteristics the question items targeted the following issues/topics:

- Nepali should be the only national language

- English should be given equal status to Nepali

- English as an official language

- Promotion of ethnic languages

The open-ended questions provided participants with the opportunity to answer using their own words; and encouraged them to raise issues related to the research which had not previously received attention (Bryman, 2004:145). The open-ended questions in my questionnaire were designedto elicit the personal feelings and opinions of the respondents, which will be valuable information in meeting and addressing the research objectives and questions and identifying issues for future research. Participants' personal opinions formed on their experiences will be analysed as qualitative data to support my findings.

I allocated four questions at the end of my questionnaire to extract information on the bilingual/multilingual competence of the sampled participants. With these four questions I focused on the four skills of speaking, writing, listening and reading in Nepali, English, Hindi and other (i.e. ethnic) languages.

Atthe end of the questionnaire, I added two open-ended questions to elicit respondents' opinions on the significance of Nepali and English. These questions were placed at the end of the questionnaire because, had I asked them earlier, respondents would not have found themselves at ease to answer the questions that followed. According to Dörnyei

(2007:112) and Schleef (2014:49), the end of the questionnaire is the preferred place for open-ended questions that could potentially influence participants' answers to other question items.

I concluded the questionnaire by expressing my gratitude to respondents for giving me their time.

4.6   Pilot Study

The overall goals of the pilot study were to collect feedback on how the research instrument works and to determine whether it performs according to the purpose of the study, i.e. to increasethe reliability, validity and practicability of the research instrument (Cohen et al.,2000:260). Dörnyei (2007:75) furthermore notes that a researcher can avoid frustration and potential extra work and expenses by running a pilot study.

I therefore conducted a small-scale pilot study in Lalitpur District from May 14-26, 2012. This district is adjacent to Kathmandu, the main research site. I tested the research tools I had designed on 20 respondents from all five professional groups. The main reason behind doing this was to ensure all the logistics were in place, and to improve the quality and efficiency of the main data collection. In particular, I ran the pilot study –

- to identify if the questions in the research questionnaire, interviews and focus group discussions could extract the intended information from the respondents;
- to ensure the wording was clear enough for respondents to understand and answer the questions;
- to avoid the risk of research bias; and
- to identify logistical and technical problems.

In order to gain access to respondents for the pilot study, I approached the head teachers of some schools from the aforementioned pilot study area. I sought their permission to consult teachers' and students' attendance books for their contact details. I encountered some problems in recruiting respondents while trying to approach them through my personal efforts. People were reluctant to engage because they feared I would intrude into their private lives under the cover of a foreign organisation, i.e. a UK university. I felt that I was annoying them through uninvited intrusion (Holfman, 2014:31). Consequently, not all respondents from the pilot study were available for my full study. I encountered the same problem in media and business environments as well. I therefore decided to use judgment sampling as my main recruitment strategy. That is, I, as principal investigator, would rely on my knowledge of the linguistic situation in Nepal to select members of the population to participate in the study. One of the advantages of judgment sampling is that it improves the participation rate (Milroy & Gordon, 2003:32); others are that it saves time and money.

Before the main administration of the questionnaire, it was piloted on a small group of participants with a similar profile to the target group; and was revised based on pilot findings and expert advice.

I administered the first questionnaire set to 20 teachers, media and business people. I noted ambiguous questions and amended some questionnaire items, improving their clarity and choosing lay terminology rather than linguistic terms. I furthermore arranged the questionnaire items in a slightly different order.

The pilot study revealed that the 30 questions of the original questionnaire did not extract the information required. In the pilot study, I randomly distributed the questionnaires to

respondents after they had given their consent. Some participants were reluctant to complete the questionnaire there and then and wanted to return the form later. My fieldworkers and I originally complied with this request and collected the questionnaires a few hours or days later. This procedure resulted in a low response rate and did not give us the expected information. I therefore decided to administer the questionnaire surveys at the same time as we conducted interviews and focus group discussions in the main part of the fieldwork.

The pilot study furthermore provided me with feedback on the content and coverage of the interview questions. As a consequence, I added some questionsrelated to participants' business, work, personal life and family at the beginning of the interview. This yielded the desired result; the participants now engaged fully in the interview. Starting the interview with personal topics furthermore led to more natural/informal language being produced duringthe interview. The more informal the conversation, the more natural the speech becomes (Labov, 1966).

Likewise, I conducted Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) during the pilot phase. In the FGDs I used the same questions as in the interview, to be able to compare the answers, but group discussions have a different dynamic to individual interviews and discussions of the same topics may go in a different direction depending on other participants' input. I chose this tool to draw out the respondents' attitudes, feelings, experiences and reaction on the issue under investigation. This worked well, and I adopted the same strategy in the main part of the fieldwork.

On the technical side of data collection, I initially used an analogue recording device to audio-record the interviews and FGDs. This caused problemswhen transferring the audio

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filesto a PC. I therefore used a digital device to record the spontaneous speech of the participants involved in the interviews, focus group discussions and informal conversationsin public places, offices and restaurants. This allowed me to transfer the recorded speech data onto a computer without losing its original sound quality (Clemente, 2010:179). The sound quality of the recorded speech was good enough to meet my requirements, as I was not using the recorded episodes for phonetic analysis.

The pilot study was educational in that it revealed several technical and methodological problems, which could then be resolved before the main data collection started.

4.7   Selection of Research Sites

The selection of Kathmandu and some villages in the Gorkha district as research sites was motivated by pragmatic considerations, since Kathmandu used to be my workplace and I have links to villages in the Gorkha district through relatives and friends.

I chose both urban and rural areas as research sites for my project because investigating this dichotomy is one of the research questions to be addressed in this study. Kathmandu, the metropolitan capital city, was chosen as the urban research site. The capital is representative of many city areas across the country in terms of its basic infrastructure such as roads, hospitals, schools and modern amenities. This attracts immigration of a growing concentration of people from rural parts, where some sections of the population still do not have access to the facilities and amenities available in urban areas.

I also selected rural villages from the Gorkha district as research sites. These villages are populated by less educated people who have limited access to modern gadgets compared to city dwellers. I chose these research sites because respondents living in these two

geographical areas are likely to present with different patterns of bi- and multilingual language use.

I will briefly present the main research sites.

4.7.1 Kathmandu

Kathmandu, the metropolitan city of Nepal, is representative of an urban area in Nepal. It is a hub for business and education, and the exit point for international travel. It has big business and production companies, while private hospitals and schools offer quality health services and education to their clients.

This city is also a rich source of linguistic data for the current research purpose; it is populated by a large number of peoplefrom different cultural and linguistic backgrounds from all parts of the country and abroad. This migration is due to the opportunities the city offers its residents, whether local or foreign. Consequently, Kathmandu can either be regarded as a melting pot in which cultural and linguistic differences are assimilated into one, or a salad bowl that retains the attributes of pluralistic cultures through co-existence. In Kathmandu there is tolerance and co-existence between all existing caste and ethnic groups regarding their languages and culture.

I hypothesise that the kaleidoscope of cultures in Kathmandu influences the linguistic habit of people as they participate in all types of daily activities. People normally speak Nepali in formal settings such as offices and schools, and local languages in informal settings such as local public gatherings among particular language communities, for example local teashops and restaurants. People sometimes speak Hindi in supermarkets run by Hindi-speaking people or with street vendors, who are mostly from the southern

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part of Nepal or from India. English dominates in tourist areas such as trekking offices and tourist shopping centres. Communication in English also prevails in privately-run education institutions, from school level to higher education.

4.7.2 Gorkha Municipality

I selected the Gorkha municipality as recruitment site because all professional groups targeted for this project are represented there. This facilitated the recruitment of participants from all professional groups.

The Gorkha municipality has growing socioeconomic significance due to its connection with other large cities in the western part of Nepal through all-season roads, i.e. black-tarred roads that are operational throughout the year. As the headquarters of a district, Gorkhais more developed than other parts of the district. Proper security of public property offers a viable environment to the public for investment. Some residents of this municipality are engaged in the hotel business, which provides hotel entrepreneurs and employees with the opportunity to interact with English-speaking clients, e.g. tour managers and tourists. Most of the media, such as newspapers and FM radio, have offices/stations there. Likewise, many government organisations, NGOs and International Non-Government Organisations (INGOs) have main offices based in this municipality. Many banks and co-operatives also have their headquarters in Gorkha, and of course there are schools in the Gorkha municipality. I hypothesise that these organisations play an active role in importing more English words and adding them to the existing language repertoire of local residents. I therefore approached business and media people, government employees, NGOs and INGOs, and teachers working across the Gorkha municipality to participate in my project.

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Though Nepali is spoken more widely in this municipality, other local languages such as Gurung, Tamang, Magar and Newari are also spoken. English is also used in limited domains such as education institutions, NGOs and INGOs.

In addition to the Gorkha municipality I selected three adjoining Village Development Committees (VDCs) as recruitment sites. A VDC is a small local administrative body of the central government. VDCsare locally-elected and administer government business at a local level on a daily basis. They have government employees, one of the professional groups I target for my research.

4.7.3   Jaubari Village Development Committee

The Jaubari VDC is a cluster of small villages. This VDC accommodates a hospital, schools of different levels and colleges, some of which are privately run. The villagers benefit from other government facilities such as a post office, a police station and banks. This VDC is linked to the district headquarters through anoff-season road. In addition to this road facility, Jaubari VDC has an electricity supply to operate the electrical equipment used in the above-mentioned organisations. Due to the electricity supply, a few households now have access to media such as TV, FM radio, mobile and telephone. They entertain and educate themselves by sharing and exchanging ideas live on FM and TV programmes and through electronic media. These on-air and on-line exchanges are listened to not only by locals but also by those living in the diaspora. This assists local people in adding new English vocabulary to their linguistic repertoire. Jaubari VDC, therefore, is also a suitable recruitment location for this sociolinguistic study, and it is possible that the speech patterns of the local people, irrespective of their age, gender, education and caste, are undergoing change due to contact with the outside world.

People from different cultural and language backgrounds reside in Jaubari VDC. The local people mostly speak Nepali here. Therefore, ethnic and local languages (the mother tongues of local people) are limited to the home domain and are mainly used in conversations among senior community members. Teachers and students speak English in newly-established, privately-run educational institutions.

4.7.4 Hanspur Village Development Committee

Hanspur VDC lies to the north of Jaubari VDC. This VDC is also linked to the headquarters and other places by off-season roads. People in this VDC enjoy facilities similar to those enjoyed by Jaubari VDC residents, e.g. banks, a co-operative, a post office, a health post, schools and other means of communication and entertainment. This VDC has more economic activity due to development of the tourism industry. Local people benefit from the hotel business, which is rare in other surrounding VDCs. Through this business, local residents occasionally interact with English-speaking clients. This VDC also has an electricity supply for its people, who enjoy TV programmes, FM radio and cell mobiles which connect them with other people both internally and externally.

In terms of languages spoken by residents, this VDC differs from Jaubari VDC but is similar to Shrinathkote VDC (see next section). For example, in Jaubari VDC few ethnic communities use their mother tongues. This means that Nepali dominates native languages. The local residents in Hanspur VDC, by contrast, speak their mother tongues more widely.

4.7.5 Shrinathkote Village Development Committee

Shrinathkote VDC is situated to the south of Jaubari VDC. It also has an off-season road which links it to the headquarters and other parts of western Nepal.In this VDC there are

small villages, each consisting of one particular caste group. There is a Gurung village for the Gurung ethnic community only, and a Brahmin village just for the Brahmin caste community. In this situation, the Gurung mostly have speakers of their own mother tongue as their in-group interlocutors. This explains why local people maintain their local languages, which are more widely spoken not only among senior members of the community but also among junior members. Local residents at this research site speak Nepali while interacting with out-group members. The same observation can be applied to another ethnic group, the Tamang. The Tamang also live in their own community, not mixing with other caste groups. Hence, this community structure in terms of local caste groups enhances the chance for the community's local people to speak their mother tongues more frequently. This linguistic situation barely exists in urban areas, where people live together without separation by linguistic and cultural boundary at the community level.

Within the above-mentioned research areas I chose different settings for my data collection, such as public places, health posts, postoffices, schools and colleges, market places, teashops and restaurants. In these settings, local people of different ages, professions and levels of education mix and interact naturally, which gives rise to Nepali-English code-switching behaviour. All these VDCs, though situated away from the district headquarters and the capital city of Nepal, are linked by off-season roads and technologies such as TV, FM radios and mobile phones. Hence, the effects of these factors on the traditional modes of communication of the local village people are worth exploring and interrogating.

4.8   Selection of Participants

Language varies across a range of social dimensions such as age, gender, educational level and regional background (Buchstaller & Khattab, 2014:75). I therefore chose respondentsof all age groups and genders in terms of their education level and involvement in different professions, representing both urban and rural areas. My prior identification of respondents from different professional strata meant that the only feasible sampling strategy was *judgment sampling* (Schilling, 2013:35). Holmes & Hazen (2014:31), advocating the effectiveness of judgment sampling, argue that it "is the most common method for questionnaires forboth methodological and pragmatic reasons". On the basis of my experience and knowledge of the people, I, as an investigator, identified and selected respondents who could provide me with information and data related to my research. In addition to judgment sampling, I also used *snowball sampling* to select respondents for the questionnaire survey, interviews and focus groups. For snowball sampling I employed the social networks of participants to recruit potential new participants (Milroy & Gordon, 2003:32). Hence, my data collection technique was based on the concept of social networks, allowing pre-selected (through purposive sampling) participants to shape a sample of speakers.

Schilling (2013:184) claims that a researcher cannot gain access to grass roots-level respondents through community institutions viz, official channels, and sociolinguists such as Milroy and Gordon advocate a bottom-up approach for entering a community to approach research participants. I followed their advice and made initial contact with participants, who then passed me on to others until sufficient speakers with the desired characteristics were obtained and a network structure was created (Milroy, 2002:553). In some cases I had pre-existing relationships with the participants through various means,

such as former colleagues, students and distant relatives. The study thus benefited from "familiarity and established connections" (Hoffman, 2014:32).

Academic institutionsin both urban and rural areas became my places of departure to reach other respondents for inclusion in my sample. I had recourse toschoolteachers as "unofficial leaders" or "community leaders" (Schilling, 2013:185) to approach potential participants for this study. Teachers tend to have a good social network with other members of society. Moreover, in Nepal many teachers are involved in other fields such as social work and business in addition to their full-time teaching jobs. It was thus through teachers that I approached my respondents from different educational backgrounds, such as business people, farmers, government employees and media people, in both rural and urban areas. The research objectives necessitated the selection of these cohorts of people to find answers to myresearch questions. Through the respondents from the above-mentioned professional groups I visited the institutions where they work to trace their mono-, bi- or multilingual language use. The more specific aim was to establish the link between the code-switching practice of different professional groups and the practice of Nepali-English code-switching in the conversation of common people, as gathered in an ethnographic way through participant observation in post offices, health posts and public spaces.

To summarise, I adopted the social or independent variables of age, gender, educational level, profession and geographic location (urban and rural setting) for stratifying the sample. In total, this study involved 313 participants; 200 questionnaires were selected from equal number of people from professions, gender and geographical locations, 45 participated in the individual semi-structured interviews, 64 in the focus groups and 4 in the key-informants interview.

Table 4.2: Details of participants involved in this study on the basis of profession, gender and geographical location

	Questionnaire Survey				Individual Interview			Focus Group Discussion		Key-informants Interview	
Respondents by profession	Gender & number (urban)		Gender & number (rural)		Number of interviewees			Number of participants	Time taken	Designation of the key informants	Time taken
	M	F	M	F	M	F	Time taken				
Teachers	10	10	10	10	7	4	5:03:15	10	1:08:15	Linguist	43:23
Farmers	10	10	10	10	4	3	3:12:40	12	2:07:05	Teacher (Nepali)	46:23
Government employees	10	10	10	10	6	4	6:58:56	11	1:23:54	Language activist	43:33
Business people	10	10	10	10	5	3	4:02:04	11	1:19:02	Teacher (English)	40:37
NGOs and media people	10	10	10	10	5	4	5:05:58	20	2:01:40		
Total	50	50	50	50	27	18		64		4	

The research questions and objectives of this study governed the selection of respondents. I directly applied gender, profession, and urban and rural location as criteria to form the sample for the questionnaire survey. I chose an equal number of male and female respondents as they represent an almost equal number of the population in society. This is also reflected in the 2011 census, where men constituted 48% and women 52%. Following Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language Frame Model to find out how Nepali as the matrix language accommodates English lexical and phrasal units as an embedded

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language, I exclusively recruited respondents who speak Nepali in their day-to-day conversation.

Before I started my fieldwork, I applied for ethics approval to the University of Roehampton.

4.9. Ethical Issues

The University of Roehampton Ethics Committee approved my application to conduct this research. The fieldwork was covered under the university finance insurance arrangements (see Appendices B and C for ethics approval and insurance coverage). I furthermore received a letter from Kathmandu Metropolitan City signed by the authorities to facilitate my fieldwork (Appendix D). I carried both documents with me throughout the field study in order to demonstrate the authenticity of my research when needed.

As far as consent from participants is concerned, I asked all of them to sign the consent form (see Appendix E) duringthe questionnaire sessions. From these respondents I did not have to obtain consent for each individual research tool. However, for those participants who participated in interviews and focus group discussions, and those whose natural speech was recorded, I obtained consent at the end of the recording. Sometimes participants' consent was taken off the record and sometimes the consent was recorded.

The collected oral data are kept in digital and transcribed written form. These are the main empirical sources for the investigation; and are used only for the purpose of my study and will not be used for any other purposes. This has been declared in the participants' consent forms.

As this sociolinguistics investigation revolves around human subjects, great care had to be taken when approaching and dealing with the participants. I aimed at establishing the best possible relation between the participants and the researcher. Given that the focus of this research is language issues, I was conscious of the fact that while speaking to respondents I should not ask offensive questions that might damage their self-esteem.

As this investigation is about Nepali-English code-switching, it depends on participants' attitude and behaviour towards both languages, as well as their ethnic languages. My participants were from various ethnic groups, with many of them speaking ethnic languages. Though my research topic did not include ethnic languages, they were nevertheless discussed. As an interviewer, I made sure all languages and cultures received equal treatment. For example, I asked participants the same questions about their attitude towards ethnic languages, Nepali and English.

To summarise, I obtained informed consent for my data collection from all participants. I informed them of my objectives, what I needed from them, approximately how much time data collection would take and how I would keep their identities anonymous and personal information confidential, if so desired. I respected any person's decision not to participate.

4.10 Selection of Research Assistants

I have good command over the Nepali language and am familiar with some other local languages. I therefore have an advantage over non-Nepali speakers conducting fieldwork in the country where Nepali is spoken.

To carry out the fieldwork, I nonetheless needed assistants to help me in the research sites. One of my former students assisted me in Kathmandu valley. Likewise, I had a local resident of Shrinathkote Village Development Committee accompany me during my fieldwork in villages in the Gorkha district and municipality, another one of my research areas.

4.11   Data Collection Tools and Techniques

I adopted various research tools, such as a questionnaire survey, sociolinguistic interviews, focus group discussions and audio-recorded natural conversations and observations to obtain answers to my research questions. The rationale for these data collection methods and how each data source contributes to answering each particular research question was outlined in section 4.2 and summarised in Table 4.1.

I adopted these combined techniques to elicit a well-grounded view of a given context, and to ascertain the collection of valid and reliable data to address the research questions and the objectives of the study. As outlined in section 4.8, the field data for this research consists of 200 questionnaires, both self- and researcher-administered, in English and Nepali, and 43 hours of audio-recorded speech data of spontaneous conversation in various domains from both urban and rural settings.

Speech data for sociolinguistic research is of primary importance in multilingual countries like Nepal. The task of gathering instances of naturally-occurring bilingual speech and code-switching in conversation is not straightforward. It depends on the careful employment of methodological tools and techniques. For example, during the interviews and focus groups my research assistants and I encountered the *observer's paradox* in which there was a tension between our goal as researchers to record the way

people speak when they are not being observed, and the necessity of our presence, observing them and recording their conversation (Hoffman, 2014:33). Fortunately, my respondents provided me with an opportunity to gain access to spontaneous spoken interaction in more or less natural settings, keeping the effects of observer's paradox to a minimum (Labov, 1972:209).

Monolingual speech (English or Nepali) can be observed in Nepal, particularly in formal situations in urban areas. Bilingual code-switching is largely found in informal situations. Spontaneous or vernacular speech, most sought-after for the present study, represents a speaker's "normal" or unmarked informal speech style in day-to-day speech environments. Being a member of the community under investigation was advantageous for gaining access to the natural speech style of Nepalese people in conversation.

In the next sections I will outline the tools of data collection, including questionnaire, interviews, focus group discussions and observation with audio-recording.

4.11.1 Survey by Questionnaire

I employed two distinct elicitation methods, one questionnaire-driven and one text-driven, to gather information on Nepali-English code-switching (Chelliah, 2014:59). Through the application of the questionnaire-driven method I aimed at eliciting information on variables such as demographic characteristics of the respondents, language use, interlocutors and language ability. I deal with this method in this section and with the text-driven elicitation method in the ensuing sections of this chapter.

The main body of the research questionnaire (48 questions– see Appendix A) is three pages long. It furthermore includes an extra two pages with information on the research topic; the participants' consent form was attached to the front of the survey.

Self-administered written questionnaires constitute a useful tool for collecting quantifiable data on language attitudes, language abilities and self-reported language behaviour (Codó, 2010:158). Administering written questionnaires can be fast and normally does not incur high costs (Bryman, 2004:34). For administering the questionnaire, I employed both *assisted completion* and *personal distribution* (Holmes & Hazen, 2014:52). For personal distribution, I used self-administered forms. I distributed the questionnaire survey to participants in the research environment. Self-administered questionnaires were used among educated participants. I could not use acomputer-mediated survey because not all my respondents have access to the internet. I had to use the assisted completion method for the 12/200 participants who are illiterate (see also Table 6.2). Both my assistants and I were involved in the direct administration of the questionnaire survey, particularly in the case of farmers.

The questionnaire survey was administered to 200 respondents from the total population representing teachers, businessmen, farmers, government employees, media people and social workers from both urban and rural areas. They completed the task to the best of their knowledge after either listening to my explanation or going through the research description by themselves. More than 80% of respondents filled in the questionnaire without our assistance.

Information on participants' language skills and attitudes was elicited through closed questions. Information on language attitudes was sought because the degree of inserting

English elements into Nepali conversation could be influenced by the attitude of the Nepalese people towards English, and by their receptive and productive English skills.

The information elicited through the questionnaire cannot adequately address all of the above research questions, as mere questionnaire-driven responses do not yield actual language use data on Nepali-English CS. This study investigates Nepali-English CS through the analysis of natural conversation using the text-driven elicitation method (Chelliah, 2014:63). The information acquired through this method can minimise the limitations of the questionnaire-driven elicitation method. Hence, in the ensuing sections I deal with the other research tools (sociolinguistic interviews, focus group discussions and observation) used in this study for the elicitation of data to address my research objectives and answer the research questions.

4.11.2 Sociolinguistic Interviews

As outlined in the previous section, the questionnaire survey was either assisted or self-administered. The interview, on the other hand, was conducted orally in a face-to-face encounter between the researcher (as the interviewer) and the respondent (as the interviewee). For an interview to be successful, it is important to establish a conducive environment. To develop rapport with my participants I used local people (teachers, social workers) who are well acquainted with the community. I recorded the interviews as a source of natural speech data. It is quite difficult to extract spontaneous speech from a participant who is speaking with a stranger. I therefore asked participants' relatives to accompany them for the interview, not to respond to the questions but to make participants feel comfortable and find themselves in a relatively informal situation (Milroy, 1987:25). The purpose of conducting individual interviews was to extract participants' opinions on the research questions and objectives. Each individual interview

lasted no more than 20 minutes. In the beginning the interviewees were somewhat distracted by the recorder, but after ten minutes talking to the interviewer they became less conscious ofthe recording equipment and started engaging in more informal talk (Hoffman, 2014:35). Moreover, interviewees were asked about their profession and education to give them the opportunity to develop a free speech narrative. When participants start telling stories, their speech becomes more informal and casual (Labov, 2001:89).

My assistant(s) and I conducted semi-structured interviews with participants from the five professional strata (teachers, farmers, business people, government employees and media/social workers) selected for this research project. In the structured interviews, a set of 12 to 15 guiding questions was used (see Appendices F-J). I employed open-ended questions so that interviewees had more freedom to express their personal experience and feelings on the topic of language contact and code-switching. This interview method enabled me to elicit detailed information from individual participants regarding their evaluation of and reaction to Nepali-English code-switching as well as speech data.

Out of a total of 45 interviews, 95% were conducted in Nepali, the preferred language of the respondents. Nepali is the official language of Nepal and the mother tongue of all the participants; they furthermore use it in their day-to-day lives. The remaining 5% of the interviews were conducted in bilingual Nepali-English mixed mode.

I conducted and audio-recorded approximately 65% of the interviews, while the other 35% were done by my assistant. Table 4.3 illustrates the number of interviewees from various professions according to gender.

Table 4.3: Details of respondents who participated in interviews

Respondents by profession	Individual interview		
	No. of interviewees		Total no. of interviewees
	Male	Female	
Teachers	7	4	11
Farmers	4	3	7
Government employees	6	4	10
Business people	5	3	8
NGOs and media people	5	4	9
Total	27	18	45

In terms of the involvement of men and women in various professions, there is no equality in Nepal. The number of males outnumbers the number of females in all professions except housework. Among the interview participants, 60% were male and 40% were female. This also applies to the FGD participants in Table 4.4.

4.11.3 Focus Group Discussions

Focus Group Discussion (FGD) is a form of qualitative research method that, according to Grudens-Schuck et al. (2004:1), can generate valid information for research on topics like the one under investigation for this project, for the following reasons. First, it can elicit vernacular speech through the creation of a natural setting in which participants can be involved in informal interaction. Although initially the focus group members felt bound by the formality of the situation, they soon relaxed, felt at ease and were able to get involved in more informal and natural-spoken interaction than in the face-to-face interviews. Secondly, these discussions assisted in extracting personal views on Nepali-English CS practice among Nepalese people of all occupational groups targeted for this

research. With these personal views came natural speech, akin to that participants use in their day-to-day life in their own business or workplace. Thus, the FGDs provide declarative data on Nepali-English CS on the one hand, and observational data on the other. Thirdly, all the participants in the FGDs disclosed their language practice, which is instrumental for the comparison with information obtained through questionnaire surveys, interviews and observation.

Edley & Litosseliti (2010:168) note that it is beneficial to select participants from diverse backgrounds. Five FGDs were conducted involving people from different professions and education levels, such as teachers, social workers, businessmen, farmers and employees of government and private organisations. One of the aims of the research was to look at the Nepali-English code-switching pattern in the speech of all these professional groups. Similarly, the FGDs aim to identify those professional groups in whose speech pattern English elements appear more frequently. Through spoken interaction in FGDs I elicited spontaneous speech data, as required by the first research question. I provided different professional groups with different topics to capture their speech pattern in an informal mood. All the participants from each group focused more on the topics given than on their language use in conversation.

Among the FGD participants, 66% were male and 34% were female. All belong to one of the following professional groups: teachers, farmers, government employees, business people, (I)NGO workers and media people.

Table 4.4: Details of respondents who participated in FGDs

Respondents by profession	No. of participants	M	F
Teachers	10	6	4
Farmers	12	7	5
Government employees	11	9	2
Business people	11	8	3
NGOs and media people	20	12	8
Total	64	42	22

In the following sections, I will introduce these different groups. All focus group participants completed the questionnaire and signed the consent form. Hence, they participated in both a FGD and the questionnaire. All FGDs were furthermore audio recorded. Participants were asked to introduce themselves, so that it would be easier to transcribe and analyse the data. My research assistant and I used the same research questions asked in interviews to elicit focus group participants' personal opinions on bi- and multi-lingual language use and Nepali-English code-switching.

The teachers' FGD was conducted in a school among ten teachers working for private and government schools and colleges. Out of ten teachers, six were male and four were female. As a topic of discussion, I had chosen the quality of education in privately-run and government schools and colleges in Nepal. I assumed this topic would be of interest to the teachers and they would therefore participate in the discussion more openly, resulting in more spontaneous speech data.

The farmers' FGD was initially scheduled to take place in a participant's house; but had to be relocated due to the unavailability of the respondents, including the host. Instead,

my research assistant and I chose a teashop at a junction where people normally gather for talk over a cup of tea. The research assistant was well acquainted with the local people, who – for this reason – were less suspicious than the farmers approached during the pilot study. This time I took the responsibility of recording the whole conversation involving 12 participants. I proposed the use of fertilisers in the field as the topic for discussion. I chose this topic because I overheard some of the farmers discussing organic agriculture when we approached the teashop.

Through my research assistant I contacted 18 government employees; eleven of them participated in the FGD, which took place in a small, specially-hired room in a restaurant. The topic of discussion, the life of Rajnish (a spiritual guru), emerged naturally in context. The later part of the session focused on incorporating English-language elements into Nepali conversations.

The business peoples' FGD was conducted in a small hired room in a computer institute. Apart from the researcher and his assistant, there were 11 respondents participating in this FGD. The business people chose the topic: business markets in the context of Nepal. Two of them were talking about price tags (token price of goods). My research assistant and I encouraged them to continue talking and requested other participants who came late to join in the discussion. The discussion was followed by an interview focusing on the use of English-language elements in Nepali conversations. I recorded both discussion and interview. Their consent was taken at the end of the interview by asking participants to sign the form on the questionnaire.

The media/NGO workers' FGD was conducted on the premises of a government college in Kathmandu. The number of participants for this group discussion was 20, higher than

the other FGDs because of the active participation of women. We raised the topic of women's empowerment for the discussion.

All respondents in each group discussed above know each other well and socialise together outside their work environment. Gardner-Chloros (1991:78) has found that code-switching occurs significantly more often when the interlocutors know each other and are not constrained by the formality which governs some conversational settings. Overall, care was taken to have as homogeneous a group as possible.

These systematically-obtained data were supplemented with observational or ethnographic data, as well as data obtained from media (TV talk shows and advertisements).

I employed the questionnaire, which was used not to elicit actual language use, but provide me with self-reported data from the respondents on the use of English in the conversation of Nepalese people. This directly addresses research question 2, i.e. why do Nepalese people mix English in their conversation? The questionnaire furthermore elicited answers to research questions 1, 4 and 5.

In sociolinguistic research, and my project is no exception, questionnaires are usually used in order to elicit data *about* language, but *not* data on linguistic performance (Codó, 2008:171). Due to this limitation, questionnaires are often combined with other types of data collection, for instance interviews, participant observation, ethnographic notes, etc. A more common technique of eliciting samples of speech data is through sociolinguistic interviews. The primary aim of the interview is to elicit a sample of speech from the informant which is as casual and spontaneous as possible.

I employed interviews and FGDs to obtain natural speech data. The speech data I obtained from these two techniques were audio-recorded. The respondents from various age groups, genders, education levels, professions and urban and rural locations participated in the interviews and FGDs. These speech data were analysed in terms of the English elements incorporated into the predominantly Nepali conversations, i.e. to address research question 1 (to what extent do Nepalese bilinguals mix English in their conversation?), research question 3 (which group of people in terms of age, gender, education, profession and geographical location mix English more in their conversation?), and elicit participants' opinion on research question 4 (the role of education institutions, media, tourism and foreign employment) and research question 5 (the impact of English on Nepali). This has been summarised in Table 4.1.

4.11.4 Key Informants' Interviews

In addition to these data I conducted interviews with four key informants, one female and three males. I selected linguists, language teachers and language activists involved in teaching and campaigning on language issues in Nepal. The interviews were conducted in different settings. The interview with the female key informant was conducted in her own home; the interviews with the linguist, teacher and language activist were conducted in a restaurant. The remaining two key informants were recorded in a co-operative, a financial organisation they were involved in. The key informants' interviews were conducted focusing on issues related to the research questions and objectives.

4.11.5 Observations

As part of my ethnographic study, I spent sometimes listening to the natural speech of Nepalese people in various domains. According to Nunan (1992:43) it is necessary to investigate the actual behaviour of respondents in a natural context. He further reinforces

that this can only be obtained through the observational method and not otherwise. Likewise, Wisker (2001:178) stresses that "observation can be a rich source of information for the researcher … It enables you (the researcher) to capture what people actually do rather than what they say they do".

I adopted the direct observation method to collect information on the use of Nepali-English code-switching by Nepalese people in both urban and rural areas in different domains of their day-to-day life. Being a Nepali speaker and having a good understanding of the community under investigation both linguistically and culturally, I was able to gain access to it for close observation. I visited friends and relatives and had good opportunities to observe their Nepali-English code-switching practice in domains like the family, schools, shops, public places and different government and non-government organisations.

It is the natural speech of Nepalese people which best represents Nepali-English CS practice, the main area of interest for the study. My focus is to trace the appearance of English elements- from lexical to phrasal, clausal and sentence level - in the conversation of Nepalese people pertaining to various professional groups. One objective of the observation is to support what is found in systematically gathered data (interviews, questionnaires and discussion) with observational evidence in the form of photographs and fieldnotes.

Moreover, I observed the use of English letters, words and sentences on hoarding boards. I noticed and photographed the English names of schools, colleges, business organisations and enterprises. I studied the use of English titles of TV programmes and videos. I delved into the content of English-titled programmes such as "Call Kantipur",

"Black and White" and "Tough Talk", focusing on the use of Nepali-English code-switching to investigate who uses the practice more often, the host (announcer) or guests (audience).

In addition, I asked respondents during the individual interviews for reasons for naming their businesses in English. This is hypothesised to facilitate the occurrence of English words in the conversation of Nepalese bilinguals by giving alternative linguistic resources, substituting English for Nepali words, at least at the lexical level. According to Monica Heller, the hallmark technique of ethnographic research is to map the landscape of bilingualism, and then investigate the interesting bits in greater detail (Heller,2010:257).

As part of my ethnographic study I furthermore recorded the informal conversations of people from different backgrounds in different settings. I visited friends and relatives of my own and of my research assistant, and with their help captured the natural speech of people in natural settings. With a view to recording natural conversation, I furthermore visited restaurants, public places, hospitals, marketplaces and government and non-government organisations. With the exception of one recording, which was carried out by the participant himself in an INGO's office, all recordings were carried out by myself. I chose places such as public/social gatherings (in both urban and rural areas) for observing spontaneous conversation closely (Ochs, Schegloff &Thompson, 1996:2).

As an observer, I remained silent and just kept observing the code-switching behaviour during interactions. This observation included not only peoples' live interactions, but also the content of media, such as (folk) songsand advertisements being broadcast and/or telecast at that particular moment.

It is a challenge to get natural-spoken interaction of people in various domains. While visiting public places with my digital recorder on, I did not manage to record natural speech data, instead encountering it when my recorder was off. This made me change my data collecting strategy regarding the places and people who might yield the desired data. I went to the marketplace to capture the code-switching practice of business people and chose NGO and INGO offices for getting speech data of people involved in conversations there. I also had the opportunity to record natural conversation on public transportation. I asked people for their consent after the recording was completed whenever possible and told them the purpose of the recording. Some of them were excited about having been recorded and wanted to listen to the recordings of their own voice. I let them listen to the recordings on their request. Some of the people recorded in natural settings were surprised to find that they mixed English in their speech.

4.12 Constraints on Fieldwork

Being a community member and competent speaker of several of its languages did not mean that I had no difficulties in carrying out fieldwork in this community. Obstacles I had to overcome during my fieldwork included strikes, transport problems and availability of participants. As anticipated, my field study was affected by some strikes viz. Nepal bandha (Nepal lockout). These strikes affected my plan to conduct interviews with some of my respondents. I had to postpone and reschedule some interview sessions.

Regular and comfortable transportation facilities are still a problem in Nepal due to the lack of wide roads and a proper traffic system. Transport frequently causes chaos in the city, blocking roads; my fieldwork was also affected by this. As a result, both the researcher and the participants sometimes arrived late at the research sites, resulting in a late/delayed start of the pre-scheduled programme. This is a daily occurrence in the city,

and particularly impacted on the FGDs, for which the participants had to come from different places. Delay due to traffic congestion prevailed in the Kathmandu valley, whereas in the rural sites delays were caused by irregular operation of public transport. The road condition in the rural research sites is very poor, and transport routes are operated only in the dry seasons, i.e. winter and spring. I therefore visited the rural sites during the dry seasons.

Another reason why fieldwork in rural sites was conducted during the dry seasons is the availability of informants. In the rainy season, people in these sites are engaged in land cultivation and are not easily available. These rural area people are free during the winter and spring seasons. My data collection schedule had to accommodate this fact.

I succeeded in gaining access to the required participants most of the time; but encountered some problems regarding availability of informants. For example, when visiting an FM station in the Gorkha district unaccompanied, as recommended by my friend, I did not get the co-operation I needed for administering the questionnaire and conducting individual interviews. I visited the same site four times for the purpose, but all in vain. This shows that the friend of a friend network does not always work. I subsequently chose a different FM station through the same channel in the Gorkha district headquarters. This time I visited the place with my assistant and we were received warmly and given full support in administering the questionnaire survey and interviews.

Another example illustrating some of the difficulties I encountered during my fieldwork is that, when I visited the Gorkha district headquarters, a huge opening ceremony was being held in Arughat, the suburban area situated northeast of the district headquarters. This large gathering was to be addressed by some senior political leaders. In order to

cover the news of that event, all the media workers had headed to the place, which was not the selected research site for my study. I had to wait a few days for those media workers to return before I could collect data from them. I utilised that vacuum period for visiting family, government and non-government organisations informally for the purpose of observation.

4.13   Data Transcription and Storage

According to Turrel &Moyer (2010:194), the first step of qualitative data analysis is transcription. The qualitative data I acquired (audio-recordings of natural speech data, sociolinguistic interviews, focus group discussions and key informant interviews) were transcribed using the Language Interaction Data Exchange System (LIDES), a transcription system for bilingual interaction developed by the Language Interaction in Plurilingual and Plurilectal Speakers (LIPPS) group. The recorded speech data were transcribed following the LIDES manual (Barnett, Codo, Eppler et al. 2000), which in turn follows the Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts (CHAT) conventions.

All transcripts start with a file header that contains information about the file, the participants and the languages involved. I applied the language tags @1 for Nepali and @2 for English. The utterances of the speakers are transcribed on the "main tier". As required by the research questions, I had to establish which parts of speech (nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, prepositions, conjunctions and phrases, and sentences) are code-switched more in the conversations of Nepali bilinguals. I used the "dependent tier" (% mor) as the additional tier following the main tier to trace the English nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives used by the participants in the recorded speech data. I only transcribed those speech data which containinstances of Nepali-English code-switching, not long monolingual extracts with no trace of code-switching.

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After transcribing the data in Microsoft Word, I transferred it to Notepad. The transcribed data in Notepad was given a file name and saved as "all file" type and imported into the Computerised Language Analysis Programme (CLAN). I subsequently ran CLAN's CHECK programme to ensure that the basic file format was correct and could be read by the Computerised Analysis programme (CLAN; MacWhinney, 2000) which was used for the analysis of qualitative recorded speech data. The software was downloaded from http://childes.psy.cmu.edu.

The quantitative information elicited through the questionnaire surveys was entered into SPSS software to quantify the elicited information and visualise it in the form of tables and graphs.

With regards to data storage, the audio files of the recorded speech data were organised based on the time and place of the recording. No file names make reference to participants' names. All collected data are backed up on disc. The stored data is only accessible to the researcher for analysis purposes.

4.14 Summary

Chapter 4 has discussed the methodology employed for my research study. The discussion includes an epistemological part which includes the research tools and techniques I adopted to acquire data to answer the research questions. The ontological part of this chapter is about my object of research, i.e. the respondents from various professions, different age groups and urban and rural sites who provided the natural speech data for this study. This chapter is followed by Chapter 5, "Nepali-English Code-switching: A Structural Analysis".

Chapter 5: Structural and Behavioural Aspects of Nepali-English Code-switching

5.1   Introduction

Chapter 5 presents structural and behavioural aspects of Nepali-English code-switching. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section describes how English elements are incorporated into the Nepali grammatical structure and thus addresses the first research question, i.e. to what extent the Nepalese participants insert English language elements (words, phrases, clauses and sentences) into Nepali grammatical structures. The second section describes reasons for mixing English words in Nepali conversations as reported by respondents in the questionnaire survey. This section addresses the second research question, i.e. why do the Nepalese participants mix English words in their conversation. Finally, the third section investigates which group of people (based on the social variables of age, gender, education, profession and geographical location) code-switches more, thereby addressing the third research question. I conclude this chapter with a summary of the findings to the first three research questions.

5.2   Structural Aspects of Nepali-English Code-switching

The Nepali language is dominant in determining the grammatical structure of the bilingual data collected for this project. This is in line with the MLF model of Myers-Scotton (1993a, 2002) which proposes that, in most language contact situations, one of the languages involved in code-switching tends to provide the elements that condition the sentence structure (see Chapter 3, System Morpheme Principle) and determines the word or morpheme order (see Chapter 3, Morpheme Order Principle). In the data this project is based on, Nepali provides the grammatical structures into which the English elements

are inserted. That is, the English elements are inserted into slots where the Nepali counterpart would be, without disturbing the morphosyntactic structure of the Nepali language.

All the speech data recorded in various settings – interviews, focus group discussions (FGD) and natural speech data (NSD), were transcribed using the Language Interaction Data Exchange System (LIDES, Barnett, Codo, Eppler et al., 2000) and analysed using Computerised Language Analysis (CLAN) programmes (see Appendix N).English parts of speech, such as nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, prepositions and conjunctions, as well as phrases of various types, clauses and sentences are extracted, analysed and presented in tables and figures to show the frequency with which English elements occur in the speech data. Part of speech is a category to which a word token is assigned in accordance with its syntactic function. Parts of speech are also known as word classes.

The total number of English elements mixed in the speech of the respondents in different settings, i.e., interviews, focus group discussions (FGD) and natural speech data (NSD), is schematised in Table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1: Distribution of English elements by setting

Setting	Number of respondents	Nepali words	English words	Total (100%)
Natural speech	71	17,480 (86%)	2,819 (14%)	20,299
Focus group discussions	31	14,511 (87%)	2,219 (13%)	16,730
Interviews	42	21,023 (91%)	1,953(9%)	22,976
Total respondents/words	144	53,014 (88%)	6,991 (12%)	60,005

Table 5.1 shows that out of a total of 60,005 words in the recorded speech data, Nepali accounts for 53,014 (88%) and English 6,991(12%) of the word tokens. It furthermore shows that the occurrence of English elements in different interactional settings (interviews, FGDs, NSD) ranges from 9% to 14%. The interview data contain 9% English language elements which is less than the other two contexts, i.e. focus group discussions and natural speech data, which – with 13% and 14% respectively– are pretty much en par. How this result can be interpreted in the context of sociolinguistics literature on speech style (Labov, 1986), i.e. variation in terms of formality within the speech of an individual speaker, is discussed in Chapter 7.

Table 5.2 below presents occurrences of English language elements in different contexts. The numbers and percentages show that the occurrence of English parts of speech varies, ranging from 0.5% to 59%. Table 5.2 furthermore demonstrates that there are differences in the occurrences of all parts of speech in different settings.

Table 5.2: Insertion of English elements by syntactic category in different settings

Distribution of switched elements by syntactic category	Number of switches in different settings					
	Interview		Focus group		Natural speech	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Nouns	1,250	64	1,341	60	1,554	55
Verbs	215	11	285	13	393	14
Adverbs	62	3	75	3	71	3
Adjectives	133	7	238	11	270	10
Phrases	253	13	256	12	382	14
Prepositions	13	0.6	4	0.1	14	0.4
Clauses	4	0.2	7	0.3	71	3

Conjunctions	7	0.3	8	0.3	21	0.7
Sentences	16	0.8	5	0.2	43	2
Total	1,953		2,219		2,819	

Most English parts of speech, e.g. nouns, verbs and adjectives, as well as clauses and sentences, occur more frequently in the less formal and constrained contexts (focus groups and naturalspeech) than in interviews.Nouns, for example, comprise 64% in the interview data, 60% in focus group discussions and 55% in natural speech data.The frequency with which different parts of speech occur in the speech of my respondents (Table 5.2) is in line with the hierarchy of English parts of speech in Table 5.3 (see next section).

5.2.1 The Pattern of Nepali-English Code-Switching

In this section I will present data showing how different English elements are embedded into Nepali. Embedded English elements occur in the grammatical slots where their Nepali equivalents (e.g., nouns, verbs, phrases, adjectives, adverbs, clauses, sentences, conjunctions and prepositions) would occur, even though English and Nepali syntax are different in many respects. Here Nepali is the *Matrix Language* (ML; Myers-Scotton, 1993) which provides the grammatical structure, and English is the *Embedded Language* (EL), which provides the lexemes.

To illustrate some differences between English and Nepali grammar which help us identify the ML in Nepali-English speech: the default English word order is subject-verb-object (SVO), while Nepali word order follows subject-object-verb placement by default, i.e. the verb always occurs at the end of a sentence. In English sentence structure, the object occurs to the right of the verb as its complement, while in Nepali the object

precedes the verb. Contrary to English nouns, Nepali nouns are not marked for plurality when they follow a numeral. These differences in word order and verbal system are only a few of many differences between Nepali and English syntax. Despite these differences, the insertion of various English elements into Nepali syntactic frames does not result in ungrammatical sentences, because the sentence frame is Nepali. The results in Table 5.2 above and Table 5.3 below suggest that single word switches/insertions are more prominent in the Nepali-English code-switching corpus than are longer stretches of English words such as phrases, clauses and sentences.

The insertion of English language elements into the ML(Nepali) involves nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, prepositions and conjunctions at the word level, and phrases, clauses and sentences as larger units. How English elements are embedded into Nepali structures is described in the following section. The resulting structures will be illustrated with data extracted from the pool of audio-recorded data. I have extracted only the appropriate portions containing occurrence of English elements from the transcribed speech data, as suggested by Backus (2010:239).

English nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives and phrases occur in Nepali sentence frames ranging from 1% to 65% in all three settings (interviews, focus group discussions and natural speech data). The rest of the English parts of speech in question occur below 1%. Table 5.3 below portrays the number and percentage of English parts of speech in the spoken data. The parts of speech are arranged in order of frequency of occurrence.

Table 5.3: Distribution of English elements mixed by the respondents

English elements	Number of switches	% of switches
Nouns	4,145	59
Verbs	893	13
Phrases (various types)	891	13
Adjectives	641	9
Adverbs	208	3
Clauses	82	1
Sentences	64	1
Conjunctions	36	0.5
Prepositions	31	0.5
Total	6,991	100

Table 5.3 shows that English nouns constitute 59% of all English insertions. English verbs and English phrases both constitute 13% of all English insertions. English adjectives occur at 9% followed by English adverbs at 3%. Likewise, the occurrence of English clauses and sentences is 1%, whereas conjunctions and prepositions only constitute 0.5% of all English insertions. In section 5.1.1.1, I will analyse the English elements mixed in the recorded speech data in terms of grammatical category from lexical level to phrase, clause and sentence level.

5.2.1.1 Insertion of English Nouns

Nouns are the most frequently used English elements in bilingual Nepali/English clauses; they constitute 59% of the total number of inserted English units. English nouns have been incorporated by the respondents in their conversation in different forms and with different roles in the Nepali-English code-switched clauses. Depending on that role, they

appear in different forms in the Nepali-English data: morphologically integrated into Nepali, syntactically integrated into Nepali, or integrated according to both grammatical systems, i.e. double marked.

Depending on the Nepali morphosyntactic system, inserted English nouns are either affixed with Nepali number (singular versus plural) and case markers, i.e. morphologically integrated, or occur without any markers. Modern English marks plural with the inflectional morpheme –s, but case is only marked on a few pronouns, but not other nouns. Nepali, by contrast, also has a case system. Table 5.4 below illustrates the full paradigm of the English noun *girl* morphologically integrated into the Nepali number and case system.

Table 5.4: English nouns with Nepali number and case suffixes

	Number			
Case	Singular	Example	Plural	Example
Nominative (Nm)	0	girl	-haru	girl-haru
Accusative (Ac)	-lai	girl-lai	-harulai	girl-harulai
Instrumental (In)	-le	girl-le	-harule	girl-harule
Dative (Dt)	-lai	girl-lai	-harulai	girl-harulai
Ablative (Ab)	-bata	girl-bata	-harubata	girl-harubata
Genitive (Gn)	-ko	girl-ko	-haruko	girl-haruko
Locative	-ma	girl-ma	-haruma	girl-haruma

Adapted from Acharya (1991:78).

Table 5.4 shows that all the Nepali inflectional markers (i.e. number and case) are suffixed (rather than prefixed) onto the English inserted nouns, as Nepali is the ML, and number and case markers are suffixes in Nepali. All the English nouns that are morphologically

integrated into the Nepali number and case system in the recorded speech data follow the above pattern. In addition, the word order position of the English noun is determined by the Nepali morphosyntactic frame, as postulated by Myers-Scotton's (1993) MLF model.

The following examples show how English nouns occur in Nepali sentences with the Nepali plural marker '-haru' and the Nepali operators 'DO' or 'BE'in combination with English nouns or verbs to form Nepali-English code-switched verbs. The examples are taken from the focus group discussion (A0240309) among teachers held in Kathmandu. English language elements are represented in bold in the transcribed data.

Example 1:

"sarkari *school*haruma   padhne haru

Gloss: Government school-pl.loc.   study-N.nep.Particle-pl.

*Back*nalagi kanai

Gloss: Back have-INF neg.

Continue regular college level-ma

Gloss: continue regular   college level-loc

Pass   gardai gairakocha

Gloss: Pass-N. (do. Nep.Inflect.) BE-INF(pres. pl)

private-ko   *students*-harule *pass* garna sakena bhanna khojeko hoina."

Gloss: private-gen. students-erg   pass (DO-INF neg.) tell-INF neg

Translation:

I have not tried to say that students studying in government schools are passing regularly at college level and those private students are not.

In Example 1 (lines 7 and 9)above, the English (noun or verb)*pass*is used with Nepali 'DO'; in Example 2 (line 1) below, the Nepali 'BE' operator is used with the English (noun or verb)*pass* to form a Nepali-English code-switched verb.

Example 2:

> ***Eighty   percent   students***-haru   ***boarding*** school bata pass bhacha

Gloss: Eighty percent   student-pl   boarding school-Dat. PassN/V(BE-.perf.pl.)

>   Bhane   banki   twenty   percent government

Gloss: S.CONJ. remaining   twenty percent government

>   ***school***-bata   ***pass*** bhako cha.

Gloss: school-DAT.   pass. N(BE-perf. Pl.)

Translation: *Eighty percent of students passed from the boarding schools whereas the remaining twenty percent passed from the government schools.*

When English nouns occur in English-embedded islands such as phrases, clauses and sentences, they have their own independent English morphosyntactic frame; that is, they follow English morphosyntactic rules. In this case, English nouns, for example, occur with their own 'native' plural marker '-s' rather than the Nepali plural marker '-haru'. That is, English nouns in English-embedded islands are syntactically integrated in Nepali sentences, but not morphologically.

Following are some examples of English nouns which follow the third pattern, i.e. double integration. *Double marking* refers to structures in which a grammatical function is marked by two functionally equivalent but structurally divergent strategies from the two languages (see Auer, 1999:328). The following Examples 3 and 4 illustrate double plural marking, i.e. the English nouns bear their own native plural marker '-s' and the Nepali plural marker '-haru'*.*

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Example 3: Interview with a government employee (A0420408)

> *Young generations-*haru　　　ko　　lagi　　　*English*

Gloss: Young generations-haru(Nep.pl) (gen.)　for(dat.)　English

> Ekdam　　*important*　cha.

Gloss: very(adv)　important be-pres.SG .

Translation: *English is very important for the young generation.*

Example 4: Interview with a teacher (A0350401)

> *Even* nepali　*subject*　padhaune　　*teachers*-haru

Gloss: Even nepali　subject　teach-INF　　teachers-pl. marker

> Pani *motivation create* garna　bichma　angreji　sabda-haru

Gloss: Also　motivation　create-INF　the meantime in　the English　word-pl.

> prayog garnu　huncha

Gloss: use-INF pl. hon.

Translation: *Even Nepali teachers use English words during their lectures to create motivation.*

The English words *generation-s* and *teacher-s* in Examples 3 and 4 comply with the morphosyntactic rules of both languages by carrying the English plural suffix -s and the Nepali plural marker '-haru'. Plural markers or morphemes from the participating languages are always suffixed (cf. Zabrodskaja, 2009). Similar structures have also been described by Shreya Jain (2013); some examples of English nounsinserted into Hindi from the latter researcher's data are *girls-o*, *ladies-o* and *boys-o*. Here the Hindi plural marker '-o' is affixed to the already plural English words *girls*, *ladies* and *boys*. In both cases, plural markers from the participating languages are always suffixed in the order native then non-native.

This doubling up of native and non-native elements not only occurs at the morphological level. The Nepali-English recorded speech data also contain instances of insertion of nouns from both participating languages. Here the double marking, however, seems to have more of a pragmatic than grammatical function. This is illustrated with some examples below.

In Example 5, the English word *total* and the Nepali word *purai*are translation equivalents, i.e., they are roughly semantically equivalent, but the speaker has used both. Example 5 has been extracted from a conversation between a shopkeeper and his customers. The selected portion is uttered by a customer. She wants to know the total, i.e. the sum of the price of goods she is planning to buy.

Example 5: Price bargaining between a customer and a vendor(A0080117)

Kati   *total*-ma   purai ***total***-ma   garera?

Gloss: How much   total- in (loc.)   all   total-in(loc.) including

Translation: *How much is it in total, including all*?

Unlike double morphological marking, the use of the English word *total* combined with its Nepali translation equivalent *purai* seems to serve a discourse/pragmatic function in this context, i.e. the speaker is trying to clarify the meaning of *total* by "doubling it up" with the Nepali word *purai*. This is in line with repetition/reiteration as a pragmatic function of CS for reinforcement, as suggested by Gumperz (1982) and Gardner Chloros (2009).

Example 6 below also illustrates the use of two words (*inspiration* and *prerna*) with the same meaning from both participating languages involved in code-switching.

Example 6: A talk between host and audience on Kantipur TV (A0950525)

deepika ji tapain ***inspiration*** <u>prerana</u> ko **source** hunuhuncha

Gloss: Deepika you(hon.) inspiration of(gen.) source BE (Pres. Sg. Hon.).

Translation: *Deepika, you are a source of inspiration.*

We saw that native double morphemes always precede non-native ones. The order of double nouns, however, varies. In Example 5 above, the English noun *total* is preceded bythe Nepali noun *purai*, but in Example 6 the Nepali noun *prerana* is preceded by the English noun *inspiration*.

Nouns are not the only word class that double up in the Nepali-English data. I will deal with the insertion of adverbs in their place in the borrowability hierarchy (Table 5.3), i.e. after nouns, verbs, phrases and adjectives. But because adverbs and adjectives double up like nouns in the Nepali-English corpus, I will deal with double adverbs here.

Insertion of double adverbs

There are some examples of adverbs being used twice in the Nepali-English CS data, as illustrated below.

Example 7: A farmer group discussion(A0200305)

Sarkar ***even*** ***prime-minister*** pani bikash ko lagi

Gloss: the government even the prime-minister also development of (gen.) for (prep.)

Budget thuprai cha bhancha

Gloss: budget enough is (BE –pres.sg.) declare-(DO 3.sg.).

Translation:*The prime minister also declares that there is enough budget for development*.

In Example 7 above, the Nepali translation equivalent for 'pani' is the English word even. This doubling of the English word *even* and the Nepali word *pani* is very common in the speech of Nepalese people.

Example 8: Teachers' focus group discussion (A0240309)

Angreji   pharara*fluently*   bolne

Gloss: English   fluently(adv)   speak-INF.

Translation: *Does quality mean to speak English fluently*?

In Example 8 above a respondent from a focus group discussion uses the English adverb *fluently* before the Nepali verb *bolne*'to speak' in the utterance "angreji pharara*fluently* bolne bhayepachi **students**-haruko **quality** bhayo bhanne hoki". The adverb *fluently* precedes *bolne* to render the meaning of "to speak fluently".The pragmatic/discourse function of this doubling of adverbs is to place more emphasis on the Nepali adverb of manner *pharara* with the English adverb of manner *fluently* by using both at the same time.

Some examples of *morphosyntactic doubling* in bilingual Nepali-English speech are shown above. Some morphosyntactic elements are realized twice in each utterance, and each realisation occurs in both languages that participate in code-switching. Furthermore, the position in which each realisation occurs adheres to the constituent order properties of the participating languages. For instance, in Example 7 above the English adverb *even* precedes the subject noun phrase*prime-minister*whereas the Nepali adverb *pani* follows it.

The following examples illustrate the use of double adjectives in my corpus, i.e. English adjectives followed by Nepali adjectives.

Example 9: Natural speech at a teashop (A0820518)

　　　tyo　kitap　kapi　jatan gara　　hai　　　．

Gloss: that　book　copy　take care of　particle

　　　　miss-le　　**dirty**phohori bhannuhuncha

　Gloss: miss-ERG dirty Adj.　　call-INF (DO- hon.sg.)

Translation: *Take care of your books, or your Miss will call you dirty.*

Example 10: Natural speech data at a restaurant (A1100605)

　　　on the spot-ai　　　　**clear**sapha garchaun

Gloss: on the spot particle　　clear-adj (DO pres. I pl.)

Translation: *We clear things on the spot*.

In Example 9, the English adjective *dirty* and the Nepali adjective *phori* are being used together. The Nepali and English adjectives are doubled. Similarly, Example 10 contains both English and Nepali adjectives, *clear*and*sapha*, which again are translation equivalents. This suggests that the doubling of adjectives also serves to emphasize the meaning of the adjectives.

Nepali lexemes in English acronym form

Code-switching with English acronyms in otherwise Nepali conversation, as shown in Examples 11 and 12 below, is commonplace. This practice has also been investigated by Shen (2010:168) through the observation of lengthy names of sports-related events and programmes written in short forms.

Example 11: A natural conversation on public transport (A0160117)

Tara ***NIST*** ko ***plus two*** chain bistarai ali khaskindai

Gloss: but NIST of (gen.) plus two slowly deteriorate INF (DO pre. Cont. sg.)

  jasto lageko cha malai ta .

Gloss: think INF (DO pres. Sg.) I Nep, particle

Translation: *But the plus two at NIST (National Institute of Science and Technology) is slowly deteriorating in quality, I think.*

The sort of acronym illustrated in Example 11 above by *NIST* occurs mostly in the case of various organisations' names. One of the main reasons for using the English acronym is to express a concept in short form to make people understand quickly and easily.

Example 12: A natural conversation on public transport (A0160117)

MG sir ta bindas ahile ta ***total transformation*** hunubhacha ni pahileta ali

Gloss: MG sir carefree now total transformation has (BE-perf. Sg.) previously a bit

 Strict hunuhunthyo.

Gloss: strict was (BE- pst. Sg.).

Translation: *MG sir is carefree now, there has been total transformation. Previously, he was a bit strict.*

Some acronyms are like secret codes that only particular groups understand. *MG,* the short form of Man Gauli who teaches physics, in Example 10, for instance, is only transparent to the interactants in this speech event. Some people want their name to be used with initials to avoid long chunks of words. For instance, some young people think that KB for Kul Bahadur (a male given name) sounds more appropriate to avoid the old/traditional connotations associated with the full name. It is unusual to use the Nepali

alphabet in acronyms. If the English initials KB are to be substituted by their Nepali counterparts, it would become 'Ku' for 'Kul' and 'Ba' for 'Bahadur'. Using KuBa /kuba/ instead of KB/keibi/ in informal conversation is unusual. Similarly, using the English 'MG' instead of the Nepali 'Ma' and 'Gau' is quicker and more widely accepted in conversational use. This can be seen as a matter of language economy; see also Gumperz (1982), Li (2000), San (2009), Shen (2010) and Jain (2013).

In Example 13 below, there is no exact translation equivalent for the English acronym SMS (Short Messaging Service) in Nepali. Hence, all Nepalese people tend to use the acronym SMS when talking about sending text messages by phone.

Example 13: Conversation between youths seeking foreign employment(A0750513)

Raja*S.M.S* garidiyeko chu   tapainko   *responsibility* hoi ta.

Gloss: raja S.M.S. do (DO pres. Perf. Sg.) yours   responsibility, OK.

Translation: *Friend, I have sent all the details in the S.M.S. The rest is your responsibility, OK.*

English nouns with Nepali particles

The following examples present some English elements with Nepali affixes in the Nepali-English CS data. The Nepali language, like Sanskrit, is highly inflected, contrary to English which is weakly inflected. Nepali inflectional endings(suffixes) or Nepali particles like '-ai' or '-nai' can be affixed to the end of any English word such as nouns, verbs and adjectives. The following Table 5.5 shows the use of Nepali particles with English words.

Table 5.5: Examples of Nepali particles added to English words

English words	Parts of speech	Nepali particles	Words formed
Last	Adj	Ai	last-ai*
Problem	Noun	Nai	problem-nai**
Add	Verb	Ai	add-ai***
Vacancy	Noun	Nai	vacancy-nai****

*See Example 15, ** Example 17, *** Example 22, **** Example 16 below.

The data presented in Table 5.5 are encountered in the following extracts from the recorded speech data.

Example 14, taken from a conversation among students, contains the English word *chance* with the Nepali morpheme (particle) '-ai' added to its end.

Example 14: A natural conversation on public transport (A0160117)

    Indian ***Embassy*** ma   duita *seat* ho   ***chance*-ai**   chaina

Gloss:Indian Embassyin(Loc.)two seat be BE-pres.sg.chance-particle BE(pres. Sg.neg.).

Translation: *There are two seats only in the Indian Embassy, no chance at all.*

In Example 14 above it is worth noting that the English word *seat* bears neither the English plural marker '-s' nor the Nepali plural marker '-haru'. When nouns are preceded by a numeral in the Nepali phrase, they do not bear the plural marker '-haru'. Hence, the English word *seat* has been inserted without a plural marker. This shows the influence of the ML grammar (Nepali) on the EL (English), resulting in the absence of early system morphemes, i.e. plural markers, in both languages. The word *chanc-ai* is used to say

emphatically that there is very low chance for the state denoted to occur. More examples of the use of the Nepali particles '-ai' or '-nai' with English words are given below.

Example 15: Conversation among youths (A0750513)

Mith-**ai** banako rahecha   asti ta   *last*-**ai**chamro bhayera

Gloss: delicious was made   previously last-particle tough was (BE 3pst).

Translation: *They have cooked delicious meat, but last time it was very tough.*

Example 16: Conversation among youths (A0750513)

Dubai-ko   lagi bhanera   Baharein- ko lagi *vacancy*-<u>nai</u> chaina

Gloss: Dubai- gen. for aim(DO-prog.) Baharein-gen.for   vacancy (be –SG. pst.) Neg.

Translation: *I am aiming for Dubai, there was no vacancy for Bahrain at all.*

Example 17: Conversation among NGO people (A0870522)

group-ma*visit*<u>garyo</u>bhane   hamlaipani   ***problem*-**<u>nai</u> chaina.

Gloss: group-in(prep.) visit (do pst)   for us also   problem be(SG/pst) Neg.

Translation: *If we made a/the visit in a group, there was no problem at all.*

Examples 15, 16 and 17 above contain the English words *last*, *vacancy* and *problem* which are used with the Nepali particles '-ai' and '-nai' respectively. This shows that Nepalese people tend to use English words with the above-mentioned Nepali particles for emphasis.

The following section presents and analyzes the insertion of English verbs in Nepali conversations.

5.2.1.2 Insertion of English Verbs

After English nouns, the second most frequently occurring part of speech (POS) in the recorded speech data of the respondents is English verbs. This finding is in line with the literature on hierarchies of insertions/borrowings such as Haugen (1950), Poplack et al. (1988), van Haut & Muysken (1994) and Azuma (2001). Verbs account for 13% of the inserted English language elements. Table 5.2 has shown that there are marginal differences in the occurrences of verbs in different settings: 11% in the interview data, 13% in the focus group discussions, and 14% in natural speech data. Small differences like this should not be over interpreted; the result, however, supports the notion that code-switching is most frequent in casual speech, i.e. speech found in conversation among peers in pre-existing groups such as focus groups and naturally occurring situations. This will be linked to Labov's (1968) approach to style as attention paid to speech in Chapter 7.

English verbs occur in the conversation of Nepali bilinguals with Nepali operators such as 'DO' and 'BE'. This is in line with the suggestion by Kumar (1986) regarding the insertion of English root verbs with Hindi operators, i.e. 'DO' or 'BE' verbs. A similar bilingual strategy to form verbs is described by Myers-Scotton (2002). In the recorded speech data no English inflectional tense markers are used, and allinflectional tense morphemes come from the Nepali grammatical system.

English verbs with Nepali 'DO' verbs or operators

In Examples 18-23, English verbs are tensed with Nepali 'DO'verbs.

Example 18: Interview with a businessman (A0690502)

> *Clients* haru   le   purai   *website visit* nagare   samma hamro kam ko

Gloss: Clients-pl mrk-erg.   complete website visit-DO neg. until our mission-DAT

> *Nature* bare   thaha hundaina

Gloss: nature   about know –INF. Ng.

Translation: *Clients do not understand the nature of our mission until they visit our complete website.*

Example 19: Interview with a farmer (A1010601)

> *English use*   garna   ma ko   sanga   *communication*

Gloss: English use   DO-INF I   whom with   communication

> Garirakhekochu   tes ma   *depend* garcha

Gloss: DO-cont.   BE(pres, I peprson) on that   depend DO-INF

Translation: *I use English depending on whom I am communicating with.*

In the examples above *website visit*, *English use* and *depend* are followed by the Nepali 'DO' verb to make them finite, i.e. to give them tense. In Example 20 below, the English verb *highlight* is morphologically integrated into the Nepali with the help of 'DO' in its durative form.

Example 20: Focus group discussion with media people (A0710504)

*F31: *media*-le   badhi   *highlight***garda**   pani ho jasto lagcha

 Gloss: media-erg. more   highlight DO- DUR. also   BE   assume I

> *media*-ma   pani *english*-ko   prayog huncha   *fifty percent English*

Gloss: media-loc. also English-gen. use be   fifty percent English

> Ra **fifty percent**   nepali ko   *use***garcha**

Gloss: and fifty percent   Nepali-gen   use-DO pre.

Translation: *Media people tend to use English more. Therefore, I assume50% English and 50% Nepali are used.*

In Example 21, the English verb *respect* is assigned present tense (and marked for plural) by the Nepali 'DO' verb.

Example 21: Focus group discussion with a government employee (A0310319)

　　　Afno ***learning attitude*** pratiko ***respect*** ho

Gloss: selflearning attitude　　towards　respect is

　　　jaba hami tesari ***respect*** garchaun

Gloss: when we thus　　　**respect DO-INF** Is. Pl

　　　Hamro***learning***pani ***perfect*** huncha

Gloss: ourlearning　　also　perfect BE

Translation:*That is respect towards a self-learning attitude, and when we respect that the way of our learning also becomes perfect.*

In Example 22, the Nepali particle '-ai' is added to the English verb *add* for emphasis, and the bound morpheme '-eko' marks the present tense perfective aspect.

Example 22: Natural speech data in a canteen (A1060602)

　　　Nirmala didi　sanga ***add*-ai**　gareko chaina

Gloss: Nirmala sister with　add-INF (do-pres.neg. Nepali particle and bound morpheme).

Translation: *I have not added Nirmala sister to my contact list at all.*

Nepali has more complex verb morphology than English. Some categories, e.g. simple future, probable future, past habitual and injunctive, that are marked grammatically in Nepali are expressed through periphrastic lexical constructions in English. For instance,

in future tense is *garnechu* (garnu+echu) in Nepali, but in English it is marked by *will* or *shall*; in probable future it is *garnuhola*, *garaula*etc. but in English it is marked by *will probably*; similarly, in habitual past it is *garthe*, *garthyo*, *garnuhynthyo* but in English it is *used to do*. These examples show that Nepali uses inflectional morphology to express categories such as probable, habitual and injunctive, while English marks them lexically.

In Example 23, obligation is expressed by the Nepali operator *garnu parne*, which is equivalent to the English *have to*. Similarly, the progressive/continuous aspect is expressed by the Nepali operator *gari racha*, which is equivalent to the English 'BE + consuming' (tense + progressive aspect).

Example 23: Natural speech data from a teashop (A0820518)

Tehi ta   malai ahile euta ***problem*** bhaneko   bacchalai

Gloss: particle   me   now   one   problem   particle   children DAT

school*-ma   *drop   garnuparne   tesle   pani mero

Gloss: school-(loc.),   drop-INF(do) have to   that   also   my

time consume gariracha

Gloss: time consume-INF   (DO- prog.3.sg.).

Translation: *The only problem I have now is to drop my child off at school. This is also consuming my time.*

English verbs with Nepali 'BE' verbs

Examples 24-30 illustrate that English verbs also combine with forms of the Nepali 'BE' verb*hunu* in Nepali-English bilingual speech.

In Example 24, for example, the English verb *develop* is assigned non-past tense with the Nepali 'BE' verb.

Example 24: Focus group discussion with farmers(A0200305)

F01:   yo   ramro   ***develop***   hunthyo

Gloss: this   well   develop   Non pst.(BE)

Translation: *This would develop well.*

In Example 25, tense and progressive aspect are shown by the Nepali morphemes 'BE – cont.' being affixed to the English verb *support*.

Example 25: Interview with a businessman (A0390405)

*R02: ***English-***ko   ***knowledge*** le   nai   ahile samma thulo***support*** bhairakheko

Gloss: English-gen. knowledge-erg. Particle. now until big   support BE-(cont.)

Translation: *Knowledge of English is supporting me until now.*

English nouns/adjectives with Nepali 'BE' verbs

The following examples illustrate that it is not just English verbs that can combine with Nepali 'BE' in Nepali-English bilingual speech, but also English nouns and adjectives.Example 28 below is an example from natural speech data recorded in a hospital canteen in the heart of Kathmandu. A young man in his mid-thirties entered the canteen with his friends to have a cup of coffee. He placed an order and waited for the cup of coffee to arrive. When the coffee did not arrive on time, he shouted the following utterance towards the counter where they receive money.

Example 26: Natural speech of a youth (A0750513)

      jun sukai***post***-ma   gaye   pani ***training*** huncha

Gloss: whichever post-in (prep) go(pst) for,   training BE(pres.sg)

      tension-ai   lina pardaina   ni

Gloss: tension-particle   take-INF (do neg.) Nep. Particle.

Translation: *Whichever post you want to apply for, there is training before you start working. So, no need to worry.*

Example 26 thus not only illustrates a morphosyntactic aspect of Nepali-English CS, i.e. the incorporation of English nouns into Nepali with the help of the Nepali 'BE' verb, but also a pragmatic one, i.e. that sometimes Nepalese people use English at various levels when they are tense. The use of English in this expression seems to be an expression of irritation and dissatisfaction.

In Examples 26, 27 and 29, the following English nouns (in bold) are used with Nepali 'BE' verbs: 26 ***training*** *huncha*, 27 ***English use*** *huncha*, and 29 ***checking*** *hundaina*.

Example 27: Interview with a government employee (A0450409)

> *N_G_O* # *I_N_G_O*s-haru   sanga   ***connection*** rakhnu parda

Gloss: NGO   INGO pl. marker with   connection put-INF.DUR

> ***relation*** badhaunu   parda   ***English use*** huncha.

Gloss: relation increase –INF. DUR   English use   BE(pres).

Translation: *English is used to connect and increase relations with NGO, INGOs.*

In Example 28, a group of young people are talking about traffic police checks to prevent drivers from drinking alcohol. They integrate the English nominalized verb (gerund)*checking*into their Nepali discourse with the appropriate form of the Nepali 'BE' verb.

Example 28: Natural speech data from a youth (A0750513)

> hamro tira ta   dash baje pachi ***checking***-nai   hundaina

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Gloss: our place ALL Nep. Particle 10 o`clock after checking-particle. (BE pres.neg.). (All=Allative)

Translation: *There is no checking after 10 o'clock [on the way] towards our place.*

Similarly, Example 29 contains the English adjective ***ready*** used with the Nepali 'BE' verb *bhayena*, which is equivalent to the English *is not* to yield ***coffee ready*** *bhayena*.

Example 29: Natural speech data in a hospital canteen (A1060602)

      Khoi   ***coffee ready*** bhayena   bhitra   ***coffee ready***bhayena

Gloss: where coffee ready-Adj. (BE-pst.neg.) inside coffee ready- Adj. (BE. pst neg.)

Translation: *Where is the coffee? Is coffee not ready inside?*

Example 30 illustrates how Nepali 'BE' verbs are used in idiomatic expressions. Contrary to the English word order*to utilise extra time*, the English phrase *extra time* precedes the verb *utilise*in Nepali word order to yield ***extra time****-ko* ***utilise****garna*.

Example 30: Natural speech of an NGO group (A0870522)

      tehi ta bhanya ***extra time***–ko ***utilise*** garna   ta   ramro nai   ho

Gloss: That is true   extra time–of utilise (do) particle   good particle BE(pres.sg.)

Translation: *That is true. It is good to utilize extra time.*

Here the English object noun phrase *extra time*is linked to the verb *utilise* with the Nepali case marker 'ko', the English equivalent which would be 'of'.As we saw in Examples 28 and 29, English gerunds and predicative adjectives can also form Nepali-English code-switched verbs in collaboration with the Nepali auxiliary verb'BE'.Example 30 contains

an English verb which is combined with the Nepali auxiliary verb 'DO' to form Nepali-English code-switched copulative verb constructions.

Table 5.6 shows some examples of English verbs, nouns and predicative adjectives combined with the Nepali operators 'DO' and 'BE' to form Nepali-English code-switched verbs. The first column contains the English words, while their grammatical categories are presented in the second column. The third column presents Nepali auxiliary verbs, which are combined with English nouns to form the code-switched verbs in the fourth column.

Table 5.6: Formation of Nepali-English code-switched verbs

English words	Parts of speech	Nepali auxiliary verbs	Code-switched verbs
Use	Noun	Garnu(do)	Use-garnu*
Tension	Noun	Linu(take), dinu (give)	Tension-linu**
Checking	Noun	Hunu/garnu(be/do)	Checking-hunu/garnu***
Ready	Predicative adj.	Hunu(be)	Ready-hunu****
Behind	Adverb	Hunu(be)	Behind-hunu*****
Develop	Verb	Hunu(be)	Develop-hunu******

*see Example 19 above, **see Example 26 above, ***see Example 28 above, ****see Example 29 above, *****see Example 41 below and ******see Example 24 above.

In the examples in Table 5.6, tense and aspect are consistently expressed by the Nepali auxiliary verbs 'DO' or 'BE' in different conjugating forms. Moreover, tense and aspect forms are also conditioned by the grammatical gender and number of English nouns and verbs as assigned by the Nepali grammatical system, which gives rise to the different forms in the last two columns of Table 5.6.

In Table 5.7, I only demonstrate tense and aspect, not taking gender and number into account, because the level of complexity added by gender and number agreement in Nepali is not relevant to the focus of this study.

Table 5.7: Tenses and aspects assigned by the Nepali grammar system

	Past tense	Perfective aspect	Progressive aspect
Use-garnu	Use-garyo (used)	Use-gareko (has/have used)	Use-gairaheko (is/am/are using)
Tension-linu	Tension-liyo (took)	Tension-liyeko (has/have taken tension)	Tension-liraheko (is/am/are taking tension)
Checking-hunu/garnu	Checking-bhayo/garyo (was/did)	Checking-bhayeko/gareko (has/have checked)	Checking-bhairaheko/gariraheko (is/am/are checking)
Ready-hunu/garnu	Ready-garyo/bhayo (made ready/was ready)	Ready-bhayeko/gareko (has/have made/been ready)	Ready-bhairaheko (is/am/are making/being ready)
Behind-hunu	Behind-bhayo (was/were behind)	Behind-bhayeko (has/havebeen behind)	Behind bhairaheko (is/am/are being behind)

The table above shows that as in English, tense and aspect are marked separately with the help of English morphemes, except some examples mentioned under Example 22 above.

5.2.1.3 Insertion of Adverbs

English adverbs occur less frequently in the conversation of participants in this study. This is in contrast with many code-switching studies such as Duran Eppler (2010) in whose data switched adverbs are among the most frequently inserted parts of speech. Table 5.2 has shown that there is no difference in the frequency of occurrence of adverbs

in different settings; the interview data, focus group discussions and natural speech data all contain 3% of English adverbs. The position of English adverbs in the borrowability hierarchy in the speech data as a whole (see Table 5.2) is after nouns, verbs, phrases and adjectives, relegating adverbs to fifth position. According to Haugen's (1950) borrowability hierarchy, English adverbs are placed in fourth position after nouns, verbs and adjectives. This is similar to the present study in which English nouns and verbs are ranked first and second; here, however, English adverbs are ranked fifth after adjectives. Table 5.8 illustrates how English adverbs are used in the Nepali grammatical structure.

Table 5.8: Combination of English adverbs with Nepali/English elements in the transcribed data set

English Adverbs	Nep. DO/BE verbs Eng. DO/ing+ Nep. DO/ing	Eng. N/V+ Nep.do/be verbs	Nep.-Eng. mixed clause/ Nep.monolingual clause
Vaguely		Vaguely preparation garnu(do)*	
Totally		Totally different Cha(be)**	
Structurally	Structurally acknowledge garnu(do)***		
Directly	Directly garirakheko cha(be doing)****		
Hopefully			Hopefully yo week-ma,*****
Completely			Completely local haru-le nai develop garcha******

*see Example 33 **see Example 29 & 34, ***see Example 32, ****see Example 35, *****see Example 36, ******see Example 31.

The following Examples illustrate these structures involving English adverbs in different settings with different people.

Example 31: Interview with a teacher (A0350401)

yokura chain teti thik lagena malai kinaki hamile   ***totally english culture***   nai

Gloss: This matter part   rightnot for me   because we–erg totally English culture particle

bhitrayune ta hoina ni

Gloss: import-INF.   BE Neg.

Translation: *This is not right for me because we do not import totally English culture.*

Example 32: Interview with a businessman (A0390405)

English-ko   ***knowledge*** le   nai   ahile samma thulo ***support*** bhairakheko cha

Gloss: English-gen   knowledge-erg particle now   until   huge support   BE cont.

Hamro ***business   internationally   link*** bhakole

Gloss: our   *business*   internationally   link BE inlfect.

Translation: *I am getting big support from the knowledge of English until today because our business islinked internationally.*

In Example 32, the English structure '*internationally linked'* has been retained in Nepali. The English adverb *internationally* precedes the participle adjective *linked*.

Example 33: Focus group discussion: farmer (A0200305)

Rajya   le   ta   kehi pani   diyeko chaina

Gloss: state   erg. Particle anything   give-INF(DO-pres.perf.neg.)

Completely local-harule   nai   ***develop*** gareko ho

Gloss: completely local (–pl.)-N. particle   develop-INF (pres. Perf. Pl.).

Translation: *The state has not given [us] anything. Local people have developed [this] completely on their own.*

Example 34: Focus group discussion: government employee (A0310319)

ho tellai ***structurally   acknowledge*** garne   ***frame***-ma

Gloss: yes, that (AC) structurally   acknowledge   do-INF(pres.) frame(loc.)

lyaune ho   ra ***realise*** hune ho   testo khalko   naya kura

Gloss: bring-INF(DO-pres.) and realise-INF(DO-pres.) that type (gen) new matter

hoina   bhayeko   kuralai

Gloss: is (BE sg. Ng.)   exist-INF (DO-prog.) matter(AC)

ramro sanga   bujhne   banauna. (Government employees FGD)

Gloss: well   it   understand-INF(DO) make-INF(DO).

Translation: *We do not create new things but we just make things understandable bringing them into structurally acknowledged frame*.

Example 35: Natural speech of teachers (A1150618)

Bisaya ma   prabesh nagarne   yesari ***vaguely preparation***

Gloss: subject-on(prep.) enter (DO- pres.neg.) thus   vaguely preparation-N

Garna   ramro hundaina

Gloss: do-INF(do pres) good   was (BE pst. neg.).

Translation: *It is not a good idea to prepare vaguely without identifying a subject matter.*

Example 35 contains the adverb *vaguely* in combination with the Nepali 'DO' verb construction involving the English noun *preparation* to yield ***vaguelypreparation*** *garna*, the English equivalent of which is *to vaguely prepare*. In other words, the Nepali operator 'DO' is affixed to the English noun *preparation* to create the combined adverb+noun+'DO' verb construction ***vaguely preparation*** *garna* in the above code-switched data.

Example 36: Natural speech of teachers (A1150618)

> euta ***confusing*** kuro cha tyo ke bhane ***date***-ko

Gloss: one   confusing (adj) matter be-INF (pres. Sg) that is   date- of(gen.)

> barema hamro ***school*** ra ***government school***- ko ***book***-ma

Gloss: about   our   school and government school of(gen.) book in(loc.)

> ***date***- haru ***totally different*** cha

Gloss: date (n) haru (pl.marker) totally different   be-INF (BE-pres.).

Translation: *There is confusion regarding the date. The dates mentioned in our school's text books and in the government school's text book are totally different.*

Example 37: Natural speech of NGO people (A0870522)

> Manchele ***saving*** ***directly*** garirakheko cha.

Gloss: People erg. saving (participal adj.) directly do-INF (do-prog. tense SG)

Translation: *People are saving directly.*

Example 38: Natural speech of NGO people (A0870522)

> Es lai aghadi badhauna sakincha ***hopefully***

Gloss: this DAT forward move (pst. participle) can be   hopefully

> Yo ***week***-ma ***final*** garna ko lagi ***process*** agadi badhaunchaun

Gloss: this   week-in (loc.) final Adj. do-INF   process   forward move.

Translation: *Hopefully, we forward this process this week to finalize.*

Table 5.8 and Examples 29-35 show that participants use English adverbs in different ways. English adverbs can be used with English main verbs and with Nepali 'DO' verbs, as in Example 32, ***structurally acknowledge****garnu*. Similarly, English adverbs can be used with Nepali main verbs (marked for tense and aspect) to yield structures such as

Example 35, ***directly*** *garirakheko cha* (be doing). Sometimes, English adverbs are used with English nouns as in Examples 33 and 34, ***vaguely preparation*** *garnu* (Nepali 'DO' verb) and ***totally different*** *cha* (Nepali 'BE' verb) respectively. These are common structures embedding English adverbs into a Nepali frame found in the data.

We saw in section 5.1.1.1 Examples 7 and 8 that English adverbs "double up" with Nepali adverbs, but this doubling has pragmatic not grammatical function, i.e. it adds emphasis (seeGumperz, 1981; Gardner-Chloros, 2010).

5.2.1.4 Insertion of English Adjectives

English adjectives represent 9% of the total English insertions in the conversations of the respondents' speech data from various settings (see Table 5.3). Table 5.2 has shown that there are small differences in the occurrence of adjectives in different settings. The interview data comprise 7%, focus group discussions 11% and natural speech data 10%. The distribution of adjectives across different contexts or settings is thus similar to that of nouns and verbs; they are most frequent in casual speech, i.e. speech found in conversation among peers in pre-existing groups. This will be linked to Labov's (1968) approach to style as attention paid to speech in Chapter 7.

As in English, Nepali adjectives can be classified according to their position in the sentence as attributive or predicative (or appositive).

Example 39illustrates an attributive use of the English adjective *official* before the Nepali noun *bhasa*'language'.

Example 39:Interview with media people (A0490409)

Ho,   nepali   bhasa   nai   ***official*** bhasa   bhako le   hami

Gloss: yes, Nepali language particle official language BE-INF (be perf.) reason we

praya   nepali   nai   prayog   garchaun

Gloss: almost   Nepali particle   use-INF (DO-I pl.)

Translation: *Due to the official status of the Nepali language, we normally use Nepali.*

If we recall that Nepali is an SOV language, we will expect the copula verb to be placed clause finally, even in predicative uses of adjectives, as in Examples 40 and 41 below.

Example 40: Interview with a government employee (A0490409)

*R02: ma ekdam   *positive*chu #   *obviously* angreji ko

Gloss: I   quite   positive BE-INF (BE pres. ISg) # obviously angreji of (Gen.)

Mahato   badho cha (rural interview data government Employee.)

Gloss: importance increase-INF (DO- cont. sing).

Translation: *I am quite positive, obviously the importance of English is increasing.*

The Nepali-English code-switching data above contain the English adjective *positive*which modifies the subject pronoun of the sentence and is thus predicative. Because Nepali is SOV, the English adjective *positive*is placedbefore the Nepali 'BE' verb *chu*.

The example below contains the 'BE' verb in non-past (*bhayecha*). It links the subject of the clause (*battery*) to the predicative adjective *low*that modifies it.

Example 41: Natural speech at a teashop (A0200305)

*F06: yo ghadi ko   *battery **low*** bhayecha   thik*time*dina chodyo

Gloss: this watch-gen. battery low BE-INF (inflect.) exact time   DO-INF stop-pst

linush yo –   *sorry sorry*

Gloss: take   this-   sorry sorry.

Translation: *The battery of this watch has been **low***. *It has stopped giving the exact time. Oh. Sorry sorry.*

As in Example 40, Example 41 shows the English adjective *low* has been used before the Nepali 'BE' verb, resulting in predicative use of the adjective *low*in a Nepali SOV sentence frame.

5.2.1.5 Insertion of Prepositions

Less than 1% of English prepositions have been used by respondents in their bilingual speech in different settings. Table 5.3 shows that there are marginal differences in the occurrence of prepositions in different settings; the interview data comprise 0.6%, the focus group discussions 0.1% and the natural speech data 0.4%, but numbers are generally low. This is interesting in terms of language contact and borrowability hierarchies and supports previous findings that prepositions are rarely borrowed (see e.g. Haugen, 1950; Poplack et al, 1988; van Haut & Muysken, 1994; and Azuma, 2001).

Examples of Nepali sentences containing English prepositions extracted from the speech data of the respondents are described below. Note that Nepali has postpositions, not prepositions as in English. As Nepali is the ML and sets the grammatical frame for the following examples, the English prepositions are placed after the nouns in Examples 42 and 43, i.e. they are used as postpositions.

Example 42: Natural speech data of students (A0160117)

　　embassy ko　　*through*-bata huncha

Gloss:embassy-gen.　through BE.pres.

Translation: *It is through the embassy.*

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In Example 43, NGO people are talking about a plan which fell one year behind.

Example 43: NGO focus group discussion (A0870522)

last   year behind   <u>bhayo</u>

Gloss:last   year behind BE-INF(BE pst.)

Translation: *It fell behind last year.*

In both Examples the English preposition furthermore occurs with Nepali 'BE' verb in the finite past tense form *was*. In Example 43, the English preposition *behind* is inserted into the verbal phrase –*behind*hunuINF(BE).PST.

Example 44: Restaurant conversation (A1100605)

*N44:   ani babu   yo   bhada   *outout*.

Gloss: and boy   this   plate   out out

Translation: *and boy take this plate out.*

N47:   *out*   garnu paryo.

Gloss: out   do has to

Translation: *It has to be taken out.*

The use of the preposition *out* in Example 44 is as a function of the verb *take*, i.e. as part of a phrasal verb and thus different from Example 40, where the preposition heads a NP, and Example 41 where the preposition functions as an adjunct to the verb and *last year* functions as the verb's complement.

5.2.1.6 Insertion of Conjunctions

The interview data comprise 0.3% English conjunctions, the focus group discussions 0.3%, and the natural speech data 0.7%. Examples 47 and 48 illustrate the insertion of English subordinating conjunctions. Example 45 is in response to a 'why' question, whereas Example 46 is in response to a 'when' question in a temporal adverbial clause.

Example 45: Natural speech of NGO people (A0870522)

      Hamle   pachi   ***assure*** garna   sakincha   ki

Gloss: We.obl-erg.   later   assure–INF(DO-PP.) can be that

       yeti jana   bekti haru   yenha huncha   ***so that we can reach them any time."***

Gloss: this number of people   here   BE-pres. Pl. so that we can reach them any time.

Translation: *It is good to assure in advance how many people are there so that we can reach them any time.*

Example 46: Focus group discussion of government employees (A0310319)

     once osho bata   uniharu ***detach***   bhayepachi   uniharuma tyo

Gloss: once osho from   they   detach BE+ present perfect   they-loc.   that

      spiritual power loss bhayo re bhanne   suneko.

Gloss: spiritual power loss BE pst   is   heard

Translation: *It is heard that the people lost their spiritual power once they detached from their guru Osho.*

Examples 47 and 48 contain the coordinate conjunctions *plus* and *so*.

Example 47: Teachers/parents discussion (A1150618)

     kasari bachhaharu lai   tayari garauna   sakincha ***plus***

Gloss: how   children   .dat. prepare(pres. Perf.)   can be   plus

banki samayalai   kasari ***manage*** garna   sakincha bhanne

Gloss: rest time   dat.   How   manage do (pres. Per.)   can be

     kurama   matra   ***focus*** hune chaun."

 Gloss: the matter   only   focus   BE-INF (passive.pp.)

Translation: *There are issuessuch as how children can be prepared and how the remaining time can be managed to be focussed on.*

Example 48: Focus group discussion of NGO (A0870522)

     IDcard-ko ***issue***garna   sakirakheko   chaina

Gloss: IDcard-gen.   issue DO-Inf   BE.pl. neg. BE-ing able

     So hamle chain   ***health base***-ma   gayera

Gloss: so   we   particle   healthbase-loc. through

     ID card issue   garirakheka chaun

Gloss: ID card issueDO –cont. BE pres. Plural.

Translation: *We are not able to issue ID cards so we are issuing ID cards through a/the health base.*

These examples illustrate that English conjunctions are also inserted into Nepali conversations by Nepali-English bilinguals, but not as frequently as in some other bilingual corpora, e.g. Boumans (1998), Duran Eppler (2010).

5.2.1.7 Insertion of Phrases

English phrases constitute 13% of all English insertions in the corpus and are thus equal to English verbs in the audio-recorded speech of the respondents. Table 5.2 shows that there are marginal differences in the occurrence of phrases in different settings. The interview data comprise 13%, focus group discussions 12% and natural speech data 14%.

This indicates that longer syntacticallycoherent English stretches are slightly more frequently inserted in the most natural bilingual speech events involving more than two speakers.

The phrases used in the speech data are mainly noun phrases, verb phrases and adverb phrases. The noun phrases are English embedded islands. In verb phrases, the English noun and verb have Nepali inflections to assign tense and aspect. Hence, the verb phrases do not have English embedded island status in the speech data.

Example 49 presents an English noun phrase embedded in an adverbial clause, i.e. a larger embedded language island.

Example 49: Interview with a farmer (A0780518)

Ahile ta   ***as a whole*** sabai kheti garne   chalan ai chaina

Gloss: now particle   as a whole   all   crops do-INF tradition BE pre.neg.

Translation: *Now a tradition of doing all crops has not been in practice.*

Example 50A contains two English noun phrases, *degree level* and *completely English*, embedded in Nepali prepositional phrases.

Example 50A: Interview with a government employee (A0990529)

Testai   ***degree level***-ma ta   ***professor***-harule

Gloss: similarly degree level-loc. Particle   professor-pl.marker-erg..

   completely   English-ma   padhauncha

Gloss: completely English-loc   teach pres.

Translation: *Similarly, professors teach completely in English at degree level.*

Example 50B: Street price bargaining (A0080117)

*N03: eutai khalko ta ho ni #   esma euta ***warranti   card*** huncha.

Gloss: one type   part. BE part. In it   one   warranti   card   BE

Translation: *This is also a kind of watch. It has got a warranty card.*

Example 51: Interview with media people (A0660420)

jehosh   ma euta ***as <u>a programme presenter</u>***-ma ***perfect*** bhaisake pachi maile

Gloss: however, I   as a programme presenter-loc. perfect BE inlfect. After   I

thap gyan   hasil gare

Gloss: extra skill   acquire.pst.

Translation: *However, I have been perfect as a programme presenter after I acquired extra skill.*

Example 52: Focus group discussion with government employees (A0310319)

Osho-le   yo ***disseminating***-ko ***sector***-ma   badhi kam garnu bho

Gloss: Osho-erg. this disseminating- gen. sector-loc. more work do –INF (pst. Hon.)

at least yo bhanera bujhauna   nasakla

Gloss: at least   this tell (CP) understand-inf. (causative) neg.pot.

tara   esari prapta huncha bhanna

Gloss: but   thus to achieve   claim

Translation: *Osho has worked a lot in the sector of disseminating knowledge. At least he has given direction on how to get knowledge.*

The phrase *at least* is used very often in the conversation of Nepalese people who have access to higher education. This government employee also has a graduate degree in liberal arts. The examples presented under 53 all contain several NPs and other insertions.

To enhance the readability of these examples and give a flavour of how these insertions work in a larger discourse context, I have glossed and translated only the ML- and EL-mixed constituents of the bilingual utterances.

Example 53: Discussion with teachers and parents (A1150618)

"ma chain aba **exam prepare** garirakheko sampurna **students-**lai **best of luck** bhanna chahanchuaba**revision** garda **C_D_C** le **publish** gareko **questionsolution** herna lagaune testai **government school** harule **english medium**-ma **publish** gareko **problem-**<u>haru</u> herna lagaune ek patak abasabai**question**-<u>haru</u> **solve**garna bhyaudaina ek dam **short cut**-ma **formula** banayera tayar garne"

Example 53A:

    Sampurna   *students*-lai   *best of luck* bhanna chahanchu.

Gloss: all   students-DAT. best of luck tell want to.

Translation: *I want to wish best of luck to all the students*.

Example 53B

      Aba   *revision* garda   *C_D_C* le   *publish* gareko *questionsolution* herna

Gloss: Now   revision DO-dur c.d..c.-Erg.   publish DO-per. question solution see-INF

     lagaune

Gloss: caus.

(Dur= durative inflectional morpheme, per.= perfect inflectional morpheme as demonstrated in Table 5.6 above.)

Translation: *Now while doing revision, make the students see the question solution published by the CDC (Curriculum Development Centre).*

Example 53C:

     government school*haru le   **english medium**-ma   publish gareko*

Gloss: government school pl. erg.   English medium-loc. publish do-INF inflect.

     problem-haru   herna lagaune

Gloss: problem-pl. marker –see-INF caus.(causative)

Translation: *Government schools also got their students to see and practise the problems on various subjects published in English.*

Example 53D:

     ek dam   ***short cut***-ma   ***formula*** banayera   tayar garne

Gloss: very   short cut-loc. formula form –inflect.prepare-INF.

Translation: *To prepare in short cut through formula..*

To take an example of a phrase from the above, *short cut* (53D) is widely used in the conversations. I would argue that that with two syllables this phrase is quicker and easier to use than its Nepali counterparts*chot karima* or *choto tarikale,* which has four syllables. Similarly, *English medium* (53C) is also widely used by those who are either educated, work in education, or are in frequent contact with people who use the phrase *English medium* in their conversations.

As in Examples 53A, 53B and 53C, I have extracted only the mixed constituents of the ML and EL from Example 53.I gloss and translate those bilingual clauses that comprise ML and EL constituents. The following Examples 54A–54D illustrate English VP insertion combined with the Nepali 'DO' or 'BE' verbs.

Example 54: Natural speech of an NGO person (A0870522)

"sabailai hamle **time** <u>dirahunchaun</u> bhanne kura aba tesma pani hamle tyo **time**-lai **meet** <u>garna</u> unhalai jun **timesuit** <u>huncha</u> sat baje bhannu bhayo bhane bhaktapurma **meeting**sakera yenha **meetingattend** garna aunchaun."

Example 54A:

    Hamle   *time* dira hunchaun**.**

Gloss: We. Obl. time give-INF BE Is. Pl.

Translation: *We are giving time.*

Example 54B:

    Hamle tyo *time*-lai   *meet*garna

Gloss: we.obl. that time-acc. meet DO-inf.

Translation: *We manage the prescheduled time.*

Example 54C:

    Time suit huncha.

Gloss: time suit-INF (BE- pres. 3sg.).

Translation: *That time suits us*.

Example 54D:

    Meeting attend   garna

Gloss: meeting attend-INF (DO pres.)

Translation: *To attend the meeting.*

The word order of the English verb phrase *to attend the meeting* is different from the word order of the Nepali verb phrasal *meeting attend garna*. The verb phrase in Examples 54C and 54D above comprise elements from both languages. The English verbs in the verb phrasesare inflected by the Nepali operators 'DO' or 'BE'.

Example 55B below contains the long insertion **equipment procure** *garne* **plan** *cha*. These three separate English units are linked by the Nepali operators 'DO' and 'BE'. This is an instance of the English phrases operated by the Nepali 'DO' verb.

Example 55: Focus group discussion of NGOs (A0870522)

Example 55A: tyo chain **process**-ma cha **most probably** yesma hami lagi rakheka chau

Gloss: that one process-loc. BE most probably   this on we are involving

Translation: *Most probably that is in process, we are involving in it.*

Example 55B: chadain   nai   **equipment procure**   garne   **plan** *cha.*

Gloss: immediately particle equipment procure-INF (DO pres.) plan is (BE-pres. Sg.)

          hamro

Gloss: ours

Translation: *We have an immediate plan to procure equipment.*

Example 55B above contains an object noun phrase inserted in the code-switched constituent *equipment procure garne* which is again different from the English word order *to procure equipment* and demonstrates that not only the morphological but also the syntactic frame is set by the ML Nepali.

In the data this project is based on, among the comparatively longer stretches of English elements than single words such as nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, prepositions and conjunctions, and shorter than sentences, i.e. phrases, there are mostly noun phrases (Examples 50A, 50B, 53C and 53D), prepositional phrases (Example 53), adverbial phrases (Example55A) and verb phrases (Example54D). This is in line with other studies of code-switching such as Treffers-Daller (1994), Backus (1996), Boumans (1998) and Duran Eppler (2010).

5.2.1.8 Insertion of Clauses

Full English clauses present 1% of the total English insertions in the conversation of the respondents' recorded speech data. Table 5.3 has shown the frequency of occurrence of clauses in different settings. The interview data comprise 0.2%, focus group discussions 0.3% and natural speech data 3%. This repeats the pattern noted above, i.e. that longer English stretches are more frequent in more natural conversational settings. Example56 contains an English main clause and a conditional if-clause in the Nepali ML.

Example 56: Natural speech of NGO people (A0870522)

> Ham   le   pahile   nai   darta garirakheko   ra tyo hisavle

Gloss: We.obl- gen. earlier-particle   register-INF (DO-progress)   and on that basis

> *Certificate*   payo bhane   ***we are very very lucky and we can*** XXX this

Gloss: certificate   get-pst if-conditional we are very very lucky and we can XXX this. XXX= unclear

Translation: *We have registered earlier and if we get the certificate we are very very lucky, and we can XXX this.*

Example 57: NGO people's discussion (A0870522)

"**responsibility** dinda **project after** pani **how they will continue** bhanne kura cha kina ki **when the project gone** tespachi uniharu afai nai **sustain** garnu parcha bhanne kuroko **feeling** uniharulai dinu parcha jasto lagcha."

Example 57A: *Resoponsibility* dinda *project after* pani *how they will continue*

Gloss: responsibility give-INF(inflect.) project after also how they will continue

Example 57B: bhanne kura cha kinaki *when the project gone* tespachi uniharu afai nai

Gloss: the matter BE-INF because when the project gone then they themselves

Example 57C: *Sustain* garnu parcha bhanne kuroko *feeling* uniharulai

Gloss: sustain have to INF (DO. MUST) the fact feeling them(dat.)

Example 57D: Dinu parcha jasto lagcha.

Gloss: give-INF MUST I think.

Translation: *While giving responsibility, the matter is how they will continue after the project. And we have to give them the feeling on how they have to sustain when the project is gone.*

Example 57 above contains two subordinate clauses, one adverbial clause of time, *when the project is gone*, and oneadverbial clause of manner, *how they will continue*.

Example 58: Natural speech of NGO people (A0870522)

dui hajar lai dine bhaneko ma *sixty-five*

Gloss: two thousand (dat.) give-(inflect.) estimate-INF(inflect.) out of sixty-five

euro-ko *target*-ma *something different challenges* bhako le

Gloss: euro-(gen.) target-(loc.) something different challenge BE-pst.pp. erg

ali pachadi pareko karan le nai tesma dherai *budget* kharcha

Gloss: Little behind fall-pst.pp reason-erg. Particle. That-loc. a lot budget spend-

bhachaina.

Gloss: BE past. PP neg.sg.

Translation: *We have a target to spend 65 Euro on two thousand people. Due to different challenges we are not able to spend all the budget.*

In Examples 56, 57 and 58, complete English subordinate clauses are embedded into the morphosyntactic frame of Nepali. Here, the English word order has been retained in the English embedded island sentence; it is the Nepali translation equivalent that has a different word order.

5.1.1.9. Insertion of Sentences

The occurrence of English sentences in participants' conversations in total is 1% as presented in Table 5.2. Table 5.3 shows the use of sentences by percentage in the three different types of speech data collected for this study. English sentences in the interview data comprise 0.8%, 0.2% in the focus group discussions, and 2% in the natural speech data.

Examples 59-60 illustrate English sentences embedded into Nepali discourse.

Example 59: Interview with a teacher (A0480409)

*R02: *regarding english, we have to teach in english no doubt*

Tara *social studies* chain nepalima   pani   padhaunu parne huncha .

Gloss: but social studies one nepali-in (prep.) also   has to be taught.

Translation: *Regarding English we have to teach in English no doubt but social studies has to be taught in Nepali also.*

In Example 59, the two languages participating in the Nepali-English CS maintain their own independent structure. Example 59 starts with a full English sentence which is

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followed by the Nepali conjunction *tara*('but') and a Nepali passive sentence with an English subject.

Example 60: Focus group discussion of NGO people (A0870522)

     Hamiharu   *staff* bhayera pani   ***we are getting less than them***

Gloss: We   staff N-inflect. Nep. Part. we are getting less than them

      Bhanne   ***perception*** unhaharulle   banaunubhako rahecha

Gloss: tell-INF perception   they   make-INF(inflect. Be. Hon.)

Translation*: The perception that we are getting less than them despite our staff status has been maintained by them.*

Insertion of long stretches of English grammatical units into Nepali is quite rare in the participants' conversation. The recorded speech data show that respondents use English beyond the lexical level even when both/all participants have Nepali as their first language.

The data presented in this section demonstrate that the use of monolingual English depends on the interlocutors and is restricted to the workplace. The data furthermore shows that the occurrence of English at sentence level corresponds with the level of education and profession; this will be discussed in section 5.4. Teachers speak English to their students and colleagues at private boarding schools. Similarly, they sometimes speak English when they hold conversations with parents. In some private boarding schools, speaking English is compulsory on the premises.

Section 5.1 has presented structural aspects of Nepali-English CS data. It was found that English nouns are the most frequently inserted elements in the Nepali-English CS corpus

out of all English elements. The Nepali language provides the morphosyntactic ML frame into which English (EL) units of various sizes are embedded.

Having analysed the English elements in different Nepali grammar structures used by the respondents in different settings, I will now analyse the motivations and reasons for code-switching as reported by the respondents in the questionnaire survey, in section5.2 below. The questionnaire survey results will be compared with the results of the qualitative data obtained from the interviews, focus group discussions and natural speech data presented in section 5.2. The aim of this comparison is to establish whether the metalinguistic information provided by respondents in the survey (section 5.3) matches their actual bilingual behaviour (section 5.2).

5.3   Behavioural Aspects of Nepali-English Code-switching

Section 5.3 presents the reasons for code-switching as reported by participants in response to the questionnaire. The results below show that Nepalese people are generally positively inclined to code-switch and insert English words, phrases, clauses and sentences in their conversations. That is, regardless of easy access to Nepali elements, Nepalese people tend to insert English language elements of various sizes into their speech, as we saw in the previous section. They report that they find it easier to use single English words than longer Nepali expressions in some cases, while a lack of Nepali words in their L1 linguistic repertoire is given as the main reason for code-switching in other cases. The reasons for mixing English in conversation, as given by participants in the questionnaire, individual interviews and focus group discussions, are presented below.

5.3.1 Reasons for Code-switching English in the Conversation of Respondents

Section 5.3.1 presents the reasons for Nepali-English code-switching provided by my participants of the questionnaire survey. Figure 5.1 presents the reasons for mixing English in conversation.

Figure 5.1: Reasons for mixing English in conversation
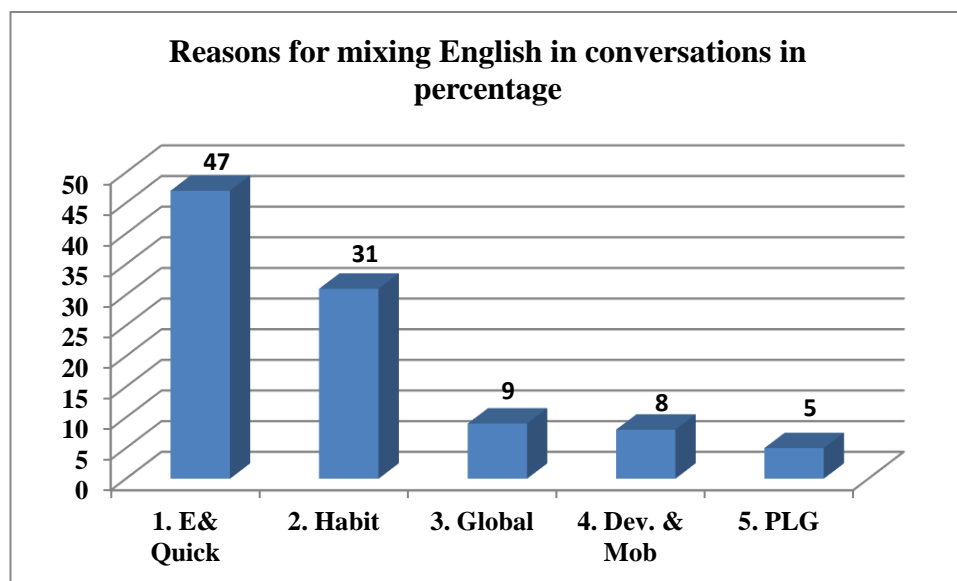
1=Easier and quicker to express, 2=It has become a habit, 3=Global influence, 4=Development and mobility, 5= Perceived lexical gap.

These results are based on data provided by 178 respondents in the questionnaire survey. There is no overlap between reasons 1 (Easier and quicker to express) and 5 (Perceived lexical gap). With the first reason, Nepalese people can choose between a Nepali and an English wordor expression and they report that they prefer the easier one. With the fifth reason (Perceived lexical gap), by contrast, there is no choice between Nepali and English words or expressions. In this situation, only an English word/expression can fill the gap in the Nepali lexicon.

Figure 5.1shows that the majority of participants (47%) report mixing English in their conversation because they find the English language element easier and quicker to express. 31% of participants state that the use of English words, phrases, clauses and/or sentences has become a habit. There are other reasons for mixing English in the conversation as presented by the participants; these include *global influence*, or international developments and belief systems that have the power to influence people in many countries world-wide (9%), development and mobility (8%) and lack of Nepali words (5%). This shows that the main reasons for mixing English in the conversation of Nepali people are that it is easier and quicker to express, and that code-switching has become a habitual practice.

In section 5.3.2, I will elaborate on the reasons for mixing English in the conversation of Nepalese people as pointed out by respondents in the questionnaire survey. I will supplement this with qualitative data obtained from the interviews, focus groups and natural speech data to further substantiate the results of the quantitative analysis presented in section 5.1.

5.3.2   Easier and Quicker to Express

Many Nepalese people mix English in their conversation because they find the English expression easier and quicker to produce. They use both Nepali and English words and expressions to index the same things and ideas, but in many cases they perceive the English expressions as easier and quicker to articulate. With regard to the reasons for mixing, an English teacher participant (A0340327) from an urban interview states (in English):

> "It is quicker and easier to use the English words than to seek Nepali
>
> equivalent counterparts to express an idea or to index things. There is

no miracle in mixing English words in the conversation. It is a matter of understanding and making others understand. Hence, it is a short contract of conversation between two parties- one to understand the other to make somebody understand."

The use of English at the lexical level has been growing continuously in the Nepalese speech community. A perceived main reason for this is that a single or short English expression can carry the same semantic content as a long Nepali chunk of words. In response to an interview question a government employee (A0500410) has stated:

*R02: nepalima bhanda dherai lamo bhannu parne tai pani bujhna garo

tara angreji ma euta sabda nai kafi huncha tehi ho chito ra sajilo # kunai

kunai chijko nepali sabda nai chaina.

Translation: *If you try to use Nepali words/expression, it will create a problem, because you have to use longer or more Nepali words in place of an English word.*

English lexical items are used in almost all domains, such as restaurants, hospitals, banks and schools. Participants in these conversational settings believe that communication between two parties becomes easier and more effective when English words and expressions are used, especially at the lexical level. The following extract presents the experience of a government employee (A0460409) working in a rural healthpost on this topic.

*R02: sewa grahi haru afai **bloodtest**-ko **report** bhanera magnu huncha

testgarnu paryo **check**garnu paryo bhannu huncha janch garnu paryo

bhannu hunna #

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Translation: *The patients come and ask for a blood test report using the whole chunks of English 'blood test result' (blood test ko result). They come and ask for "test" and "check". They do not use Nepali words for this expression.*

The government employee states that his patients also use English words in conversation and gives *blood test result* as an example. The Nepali translation equivalent *ragat janchko parinam* is used mostly in formal situations and in written form only. The above extract thus demonstrates that this health worker's patients do not try to express this medical concept in Nepali because *ragat janchko parinam*is longer than the English expression *blood test result* (eight versus four syllables). In this context, it is worth quoting what another of the participants (A0600418) has to say on this topic.

> "Maile 'tension' ko thauma Nepali sabda 'tanab' sabda prayog garda
>
> sathi haru tapain kasto lekhera padheko jasto bolnu huncha bhanchan."

Translation: *If I use the Nepali word 'tanab' instead of English 'tension', my colleagues respond that I am speaking like reading a piece of writing.*

This interesting statement apparently suggests that some English lexical items are associated with informal or vernacular speech while the Nepali translation equivalent is associated with more formal language or written Nepali.

Two participants, one from the teachers' FGD (A0250309) and one from the NGOs' focus group discussion (A0710504) also give as a reason for mixing English words into their Nepali conversations that non-native expressions are quicker and easier to use. The latter further emphasises that in the past, mixing English was taken as showing prestige and a global or international identity, but now participants state they code-switch because it is

easier and quicker to say something in English. Until 1990, when large numbers of Nepali people were not literate and educated in English, there was limited use of English. At that time code-switching was perceived as a means of showing off. Now the situation has changed. A large section of the Nepalese people has access to English education in parallel with the national language Nepali. Consequently, they are able to understand English at least at the lexical level. This situation is on the rise.

According to a government employee (A05000410), when having to express something in Nepali we, i.e. speakers of Nepali, need to use long chunks of Nepali words. In spite of this, she claims, the Nepali expression is still difficult to understand. A single English word, by contrast, is perceived to be enough to make others understand. According to this participant, clarity of expression and language economy are the advantages of using English elements in conversation. Moreover, this participant claims, we do not have exact Nepali translation equivalents for some English words. For example, in order to provide a modern postal service to customers, the Nepalese government is now offering some electronic on-line services. Hence, they have provided some computers for the post office at Jaubari VDC, Gorkha District (my research site). Thus, the use of technology entails people becoming familiar with new computer-related terminologies from English.

In the above interview (A0500410), I recorded the Nepali word *susankhya*, the translation equivalent of the English *computer*. According to the female participant, the Nepali word has not gained as much currency in informal conversations among Nepalese people as the English word. In other words, the English word *computer* has gained wider acceptance than the Nepali counterpart *susankhya*. This opinion has been voiced in the following extract from the Nepali-English corpus.

*R02: dherai nepali bhayeta pani bela bela ma angreji nai misincha jastai yo coputer-lai thet nepali sabda **susankhya** bhanyo bhane keta keti dekhi budhapaka sammale bujhdaina tara **computer** bhanyo bhane sabaile bujhcha nita tesaile angreji sabda misaunu parne nai huncha.

Translation: *Though we have enough Nepali words, we sometimes mix English for instance, 'computer'. We do have the exact Nepali word 'susankhya' for 'computer'. If we use this, neither old people nor children can understand. However, if the English word 'computer' is used, everybody understands it. So, we have to mix other English words in our conversation.*

The English word *computer* has been borrowed into most of the world's languages and represents a classical example of a *cultural borrowing* (Bloomfield, 1933:444 cited in Treffers-Daller, 2000) or *culturally motivated borrowing* (Thomason, 2001; Haspelmath, 2009). In the case of cultural borrowings, it is easy to explain why they have been borrowed from one language into another: a cultural importation is accompanied by a lexical importation. Another classic example of a culturally motivated borrowing is *spaghetti* from Italian into most of the world's languages. Treffers-Daller (2000) notes that culturally motivated borrowings are an increasingly important phenomenon, especially in relation to the influence of (American) English on other languages.

A government employee participating in a focus group discussion (A0320319) points out that some English language elements are easier to use than Nepali ones. He gives the example of Nepali *charpi* for English *toilet*.

*F24: nepali sabda prayogko adharma angreji bhanda garo bhayera ho

ki jasto **charpi** bhanne thet sabda prayog nagarikana **toilet** bhanne

chalan ako cha.

Translation: *Some Nepali words are more difficult than English to use. For example, the English word 'toilet' has come in use in place of the Nepali word 'charpi'.*

This participant quotes English *toilet* as an example for a word that is easier to use than the Nepali word *charpi*. This is interesting because both words have two syllables, a similar syllable structure, and no "difficult" consonant clusters. This suggests that there must be a sociological reason behind this borrowing.

For Myers-Scotton (2006:212) loan words are used due to the prestigious and attractive characteristics of the donor language. It has become a common belief that English is the language of power, success and modernity. Hence the use of *toilet* instead of *charpi*, in spite of their equal syllable length, structure and articulatory ease, is also likely to be guided by the prestige issue of a modern and urban identity versus a traditional or old-fashioned and rural identity. Thatis, English words and expressions still seem to have more status and prestige and endow the user with the modern identity they want to demonstrate. Note that, although my participants self-report that their use of English in their Nepali is no prestige issue, the observed data show that their use of English instead of the Nepali equivalent is likely to be influenced by the English words having connotations of modernity; this is a modern or urban identity in opposition to the rustic rural identity. Like the culturally motivated borrowing of *computer* above, this can also be seen as an example of cultural dominance of English over the recipient language Nepali.

In writing, the Nepali word *sauchalya* is usually used in parallel with the English word '*toilet*'. Nowadays, people have even started writing the word *toilet* on their toilet doors, so it is not surprising that government employee (A0320319) believes that *charpi* will soon be forgotten.

5.3.3   It Has Become a Habit

According to the questionnaire survey, 31% of respondents view "habit" as the reason for inserting English language elements into their Nepali conversations. This indicates that Nepalese people have become accustomed to using English in their conversation. This language habit has been formed and accepted by many Nepalese people as a means of communicating. Participants state that they find it difficult to avoid this mixing habit because it is deeply rooted in everyday language use, due to English being used in the Nepali education system and electronic media. This is further supported by the following opinion of an NGO person in interview (A0630419):

> "Hamro sikshya pranali **english education** ma **based** bhayo. ahile ta gaun gaunma pani **government schools**-haru chan sabaile angreji ka naya sabda haru sikne bhaye hunda hundai napadheka manish haru pani suneko bharma angreji sabda prayog garna abhyastha chan. Yesma **media-**ko thulo **role** chaangreji sabda ai halcha hami tyo **practice**- ma gai sakyo."

Translation: *Our education system is based on English. Now not only private boarding schools, even government schools have started to teach in English medium. Likewise, electronic media has also played an important role in spreading English among all the Nepalese speakers. Hence, mixing English has become common and we have entered into this practice.*

A teacher respondent from a focus group discussion (A0250309) also sees habit as one of the main reasons for mixing English words into Nepali conversations. While speaking, this participant uses the English word *use*; he then draws the other participants' attention to how he had inadvertently demonstrated the phenomenon he was talking about. Some of the respondents point out that the frequency of use of English at various levels is further facilitated by education institutions and the media. Hence, the use of English elements in the conversations of the Nepalese people has formed as habit leading to their use of English in their conversations. The respondent in interview (A0630419) supports the notion that it is the media and education institutions that provide access to English. The availability of English at various levels for the Nepalese people thus seems to be intensified by the media, education and the linguistic landscape (see section 6.2.1.1).

A participant from the focus group discussion (A0320319) of government employee states: "suru suruma najanera prayog gare pachi **habit** bhayo pryagma layunda".

Translation: *In the beginning people started using English words without knowing their meaning, later it has become habit through frequent use*.

This quote supports the idea that frequent mixing of English words in the conversation of Nepali speakers contributes to forming the habit of mixing English on a daily basis.

5.3.4   Global Influence

Those participants who favour "global influence" as the main reason for mixing English in conversation are of the opinion that we cannot remain untouched by the global influence of the English language (cf. Treffers-Daller, 2000 above). The English language has entered Nepal through trade, education and employment. Hence, it has become

necessary for Nepalese people to learn English to keep in contact with the outside world. New technologies establish contact with the outside world, and Nepali people are not immune to this. This contact situation has impacted not only on what they wear and eat, but also how they express themselves and communicate with each other. Thus, the global influence of English is as strong on the Nepali language as it is on any language in the world. In an interview a participant (A0390405) expresses his opinion on the use of English due to global influence alongthe following lines:

> *R02: ke garnu, hamro afno **technology** chaina, arthat hamle **technology**-ko develop gareko chaina. Jammai naya bikash bhayeko pravidi haru **English**-ma cha. Nepali-ma tyo sabda haru chaina tesaile tiniharulai **accept** garnai parcha. Yo **globalinfluence** hamro dainik jivan ma matra nabhayera hamro bhasa ma pani pareko cha.

Translation: *What to do? We do not have our own technology i.e., we have not developed technology at all. Those English words related to newly developed technology have to be accepted and used as we do not have Nepali equivalent words and most of them are invariably English. This global influence reaches our daily social life including our language.*

The participant argues that globalisation has impacted on our language through the use of new technology. Many new technology-related words are in English and - unlike for *computer* (see previous section) - we have not developed native Nepali words for all these concepts. This development has added many new English words to the linguistic repertoire of Nepalese people.

In relation to this, a government employee (A0770515) states:

*R02: hamro afno matri bhasa prati moho hunda hundai pani ahile **globalisation**-ko karanle angreji ko badho prayog ko karan le garda hamle angreji siknu parne badhyata cha **english** ramro huneko lagi **employementopportunity** hune **culture**-ko **develop** bhako cha testai bidesh janda pani **communication**-ko madyam **english** nai hune bhakole garda afno bhasa **identity**-ko kura gare pani **english** bhasa ma janu parne badhyata cha.

Translation: *In spite of our emotional attachment to our mother tongue, we are compelled to learn English due to globalisation. This has led to the development of a culture of viewing English as an opportunity for attractive employment. Moreover, English is a medium of communication outside our country. So we have to take recourse to English beyond our country border, forgetting our own linguistic identity.*

In the same vein, a participant from the NGO focus group discussion (A0710504) views the incorporation of English into Nepali conversations as being associated with westernisation. He says:

*F28: Some people view that the more people attach to the western life style the more modern they seem to be. People are not judged other on the basis of their Nepali language ability but on the basis of English language ability. Due to more attention drawn by the English language, mixing English in conversation has become common.

A participant from a focus group discussion points out that westernisation has entered Nepal through 'globalisation', which has resulted in more English elements being added to the Nepali linguistic repertoire. In this regard, like Treffers-Daller (2000),

Vandenbroucke (2016:87) rightly states that "globalisation today is the use of English in linguistic repertoires all over the world". Due to this, the tendency of inserting English language elements in the conversation of Nepalese people has gradually developed. The significance of the English language is growing in Nepal, supporting the practice of Nepali-English code-switching.

5.3.5   Development and Mobility

Eight percent of respondents are of the opinion that the acquisition of new English words and their use have become "musts" in all walks of life due to development and mobility. It has become impossible for most Nepalese professionals to receive and share ideas and information on contemporary issues related to their own professions without using some English. For people in these professions, it has become essential to increase their knowledge of English in order to understand the latest scientific or technological advancements.

Fundamentally, the opinion of this group is based on the fact that mixing English has become necessary across all professional groups. Even a farmer who goes to a veterinary surgery in a rural area has to know the name of the medicine or pesticide in English to use on his farm. Now groups of people from many professions cannot avoid the growing use of English terms for newly-developed products and technology. The use of English has become entwined with new technology among all professions. A businesswoman in an interview (A0430409) says:

> *R02: nepali ko badhi prayog huncha bhane angreji ko pani kehi had
>
> samma prayog hunchajastai mero pasal ma bhako ausadhi lina aune le
>
> pani angreji nam liyera auncha ra angreji nam le magcha ani samasya

nai hundaina ausodhiko nam thaha nahunele pani lekhera lyaune bhayo

gharbata nai.ani bistarai bani pardai jancha.

Translation: *Though we use more Nepali in my shop, we use English to some extent. There are some medicines related to farming and veterinary in English. Farmers come to my shop and ask for medicines by their English name. If they do not know the English name by heart, they bring it, getting their children to write it on a piece of paper for the first time. After buying the same thing more frequently, they become accustomed to new names in English.*

The above quotation illustrates the importance of knowing the English names of newly-developed imported goods for both shopkeepers and customers. Business people and farmers, like other professions, have to be familiar with the English names of goods they use in their daily lives.

5.3.6   Lack of Nepali Words

Lack of Nepali words is another reason that accounts for the mixing of English words in the conversation of Nepalese people. Five percent of the total respondents cite "lack of Nepali words" as a reason for mixing English in conversations.

The following example from an NGO focus group discussion (A0710504) supports this perceived reason for mixing English in conversation:

> *F27: kahile kahi ta yesto pani huncha hami sanga nepali ma sabda nai
>
> hundaina jasto TV lai nepalima ke bhanne ra **phone**-lai ke bhanne malai
>
> testo lagcha.

Translation: *Sometimes we have to use English words as we lack equivalent Nepali words. We do not have words equivalent to English words for instance TV and phone.*

In the above statement the NGO participant argues that we lack words in Nepali. Due to this reason we have to use English words in our conversation.

A government employee puts forward a more differentiated and sophisticated view on this issue in an FGD (A0420408). He argues that lexical gaps, real or perceived, necessitate either taking recourse to native Nepali derivational processes or borrowing from the L2 which - in many cases (see Chapter 2) - is English.

> Hami sanga prayog garna prasasta Nepali **words**haru chaina **Englishwords**ko sattama. Yo euta mudda bho. Yo bhanda pani mahatopurna kura ke cha bhane hami kahaile pani baikalpik Nepali sabda haru khokdaino.

Translation: *We do not have enough Nepali words to use in place of English words. This is one issue. More than this is – we never try to seek Nepali words which can be used to express an idea being expressed in the English words.*

This participant argues that our failure to "seek" or invent Nepali words to express new ideas and index new things has resulted in the use of English terms or elements, i.e. lexical borrowing. He suggests that we have to focus on two conditions, first to use existing Nepali words in our conversation, and second, to coin (derive) new Nepali words to cover new ideas, concepts and objects.

It is undeniable that where the Nepali language lacks a more precise term, the English language can be brought in to fill the gap. Unlike in the case when there is a choice between Nepali and English in the form of (near-) translation equivalents (see *computer* and *charpi*in section 5.3.1), in this case there is no choice. In fact, single-word code-switches, or nonce borrowings are frequently the beginning of loanwords (Bloomfield, 1933; Thomason, 2001; Haspelmath, 2009), and cultural borrowings are triggered by an actual or perceived gap in the vocabulary of the recipient language (Treffers-Daller, 2000), in this case Nepali. Hence the first reason for code-switching discussed in this section, 'easier and quicker to express', and the last, 'to fill the lexical gap,' in theory exist independently and do not overlap. I, of course, cannot rule out two possibilities. The first one is that there is a translation equivalent in the Nepali vocabulary, but not in the speaker's individual mental lexicon, the store of words in a person's mind. Individual lexical gaps are psychologically as real to speakers as "actual" lexical gaps and thus need to be treated as such (even though establishing this is beyond the scope of this study). The second possibility is that – on a metalinguistic level – my participants may be reluctant to admit to the prestige factor of English (evidence for this has already been presented) and how it influences their linguistic behaviour. That is, they may well know the Nepali translation equivalent, opt for the non-native English word because they think that the borrowing is somehow "better" or more prestigious. This then gives rise to increased frequency of use of the English term or expression, which may consequently be perceived as 'easier and quicker to express'. This possibility can give rise to lexical shift at the world level; if it goes beyond the lexical level, it may lead to language change (see Chapter 7).

These are the main reasons for mixing English in conversation pointed out by respondents in the questionnaire surveys. However, out of these there are mainly two reasons for mixing English in conversation. These are 'easier and quicker to express' and 'habit',

which constitute 78% of the total responses. What the quantitative data from the questionnaires do not show is that these reasons for code-switching or borrowing English words or expressions overlap. This is why the quantitative data have been supplemented with qualitative data from the interviews and focus group discussions. These quotes amply demonstrate that the reasons for inserting English language elements into Nepali speech are not discrete.

In the next section I will analyse the data gathered for this project with respect to which groups of participants in this study mix more English into their Nepali conversations. In other words, I will present the results on the actual mixing of English into the Nepali of my respondents in relation to the social variables under investigation for this project – age, gender, education, profession and geographical location. The discussion is structured accordingly.

5.4   Degree of Mixing English in Terms of Social Variables

The following is a discussion of the results on the relationship between the linguistic data collected for this project, i.e. the Nepali-English code-switched conversations, and sociodemographic variables of the speakers who produced them. Among the structural aspects of Nepali-English CS, I investigated patterns of insertions of English nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, prepositions and conjunctions, as well as phrases, clauses and sentences, into the spoken Nepali I recorded. The social and demographic variables I look at in my research are: age, gender, education, profession and geographic location. In the following sections I will systematically outline the influence of these socioeconomic factors on the actual bilingual behaviour of my participants by relating the results on insertion patterns to each of the above-mentioned social variables. I will start with age.

5.4.1 Age

Table 5.9 presents the number of English noun, verb, adverb, adjective, preposition, phrase clause and sentence level insertions into the Nepali speech produced by my participants of three different groups (18-29, 30-49, 50+) during interview and focus group discussions.

Table 5.9: English insertions by age group

Age	N	V	Adv	Adj	Phr	Pre	Cla	Conj	Sent	Total
18-29	1,067	212	45	168	202	3	61	11	26	1,795
30-49	2,191	518	104	340	519	23	12	21	26	3,754
50+	887	163	59	133	170	5	9	4	12	1,442
Total	4,145	893	208	641	891	31	82	36	64	6,991

Table 5.9 shows that the middle age group (30-49) has incorporated the largest number of English elements into their Nepali speech (3,754). This group is followed by the younger group (18-29; 1,795) and the older group (50+, 1,442) respectively. The same pattern emerges when we look at nouns, verbs, adjectives, phrases and conjunctions. The other categories, adverbs and prepositions, show a similar pattern with the exception that the older age group in this case incorporates slightly more of these categories into their Nepali than the youngest age group.

This pattern of participants from the middle age group inserting most English elements into their Nepali is not unexpected because the middle-aged participants have received more formal instruction in English than the +50 group; they learned English from nursery. The participants from the youngest age group also received English lessons from nursery onward; some of them may, however, have not yet completed their formal education,

which may negatively impact on the amount and type of English they have access to. The oldest age group, by contrast, started learning English later in life, i.e. in primary school.

Another potential reason why I may have found this CS pattern is to do with a related social variable, that of profession. The middle-aged group is most likely to be employed in jobs that require them to use English, such as fairly high-ranking posts in government and non-government organisations. My younger participants are too young to occupy such positions and many of my older participants never reached the education level to move into professions that require good knowledge of English.

Another possible explanatory factor for the relationship between age and CS patterns found in this study is that most of my middle age group participants live and work in urban settings. Which of these other social variables, singly or combined, best accounts for the linguistics patterns found will be investigated with a General Linear Model (GLM) at the end of this section.

5.4.2 Gender

The following table presents mixing of different English grammatical categories by my male and female respondents.

Table 5.10: English insertion by gender

Gender	N	V	Adv	Adj	Phr	Pre	Cla	Conj	Sent	Total
Male	3,087	713	148	484	663	27	79	24	48	5,273
Female	1,058	180	60	157	228	4	3	12	16	1,718
Total	4,145	893	208	641	891	31	82	36	64	6,991

Table 5.10 shows that my male participants mix considerably more English elements into their Nepali than my female participants (5,273 versus 1,718). This holds true for all grammatical categories investigated (nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, phrases, prepositions, clauses, conjunctions and sentences).

The result on gender and mixing behaviour can be attributed to the level of education men and women attain in the Nepali context and their main occupation. Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 2009:61) show that fewer women attend school than men and a higher number of women are involved in housework. More specifically, CBS data show the percentage of females attending school is 21.5% against males at 51.7%. Similarly, CBS statistics show that 39.7% of women were engaged in housework in 2009, in comparison with 4.6% of men. The reduced incorporation of English into the Nepali speech produced by my female respondents in comparison with my male respondents is thus likely to be influenced by the level of education they achieve and the professions they are engaged in. This means my female participants achieve a lower educational level and less English language instruction than my male participants. My male participants are furthermore involved in jobs outside their home more than my female participants, which also exposes them more to English.

The attitude of Nepalese society towards female education and occupation has not yet completely changed. There is still some discrimination against sending daughters to school and against women taking on jobs away from home. Among more conservative sections of the Nepalese community, educating sons is still thought of as an investment by parents for their security in old age. Educating daughters, on the other hand, is thought of as a no-return investment as they go to their own home after marriage to look after

their husband and children (Panthee & McCutcheon, 2015:32). These social attitudes impact on the use of English in the conversations of male and female Nepalese.

Whether gender has a significant effect on English insertions into the conversations of my participants will be investigated and revealed at the end of this section.

5.4.3 Education

The following table presents the number of English insertions, in terms of different grammatical categories, into the Nepali of my respondents with different levels of education. Education as a social variable was introduced in Chapter 3 section 5, and the four levels used in this study are: illiterate to under School Leaving Certificate (SLC), SLC to Intermediate (I.A.) or Plus Two (+2), BA and MA (the latter two being at the higher education level).

Table 5.11: English insertion by education

Education level	N	V	Adv	Adj	Phr	Pre	Cla	Conj	Sent	Total
Illiterate-SLC	206	38	8	47	25	1	0	1	1	327
SLC – Plus Two	678	109	15	128	96	0	1	3	0	1,030
Bachelor's	1,462	332	62	174	384	19	67	19	27	2,546
Master's	1,799	416	123	292	386	11	12	13	36	3,088
Total	4,145	895	208	641	891	31	80	36	64	6,991

Table 5.11 shows the relation between the linguistic phenomenon of Nepali-English code-switching and the speakers' level of education. It illustrates that the higher the educational

level of the respondents, the more English they incorporate into their Nepali. My Master's degree holders incorporate the most (3,088); Bachelor's degree holders are not far behind (2,546), but the gap between respondents with higher degrees and the remaining two groups widens considerably. Respondents with a School Leaving Certificate and Plus Two level education incorporate less than half (1,030) the number of English language elements into their Nepali than the lowest HE group, and illiterate or semi-literate respondents without SLC only use approximately a third (327) of the latter's English in their Nepali speech. A similar pattern of incorporating English is found for all grammatical categories but what is striking is that the two lowest education levels incorporate hardly any English prepositions and conjunctions (functional categories) as well as clauses and sentences into their Nepali.The fact that only urban graduates use English prepositions in their Nepali speech supports the notion that only speakers with good knowledge of the language the inserted element originates from, i.e. English in this case, use them.This suggests that the incorporation of English functional categories and higher level English language elements can be attributed to the English medium education the speakers have received. In other words, in order to use longer stretches of English or elements that function as grammatical glue in sentences, i.e., function words, more formal or English medium instruction seems to be required.

The more than tripling of English language elements used by speakers with a School Leaving Certificate and Plus Two level education in comparison with the lower educational group can be accounted for by the fact that better SLCs frequently go hand-in-hand with attendance of English-medium private schools and upward mobility (Awasthi, 2015). Many parents send their children to private boarding schools or public (government run) schools which have shifted from Nepali to English as a medium of instruction. These students receive lessons in English, use this to prepare reports and even

write their exams in English. Table 5.12, which presents English insertions by level of education in my corpus, shows that speakers with Intermediate (I.A.) or Plus Two (+2) level of education also use the English they learn at school in interviews and focus group discussions.

The more than doubling of English language elements used by participants with HE level education in comparison with participants with no university degree can best be explained by the fact that most of the textbooks used in higher education are available in English; Nepali translation is rare. Students studying at higher level in Nepal thus have to read books written in English. They also have to attempt to answer exam questions written completely in English. This situation leads to educated Nepalese people having access to English at all levels, not just the word level.

A good education is prerequisite for many professional jobs. The jobs educated groups of people hold are likely to require them to use more English, which may in turn lead to them incorporating more English into their Nepali, not just in a work context, but also in work-related contexts such as the professional focus group discussions, sociolinguistic interviews and natural speech. For these reasons the social variables of education and profession are not expected to be discrete. This will be tested using General Linear Model (GML) at the end of this section. In sum, getting educated is associated with knowledge of English in Nepal and elsewhere. The higher the educational level, the more English people use.

5.4.4 Profession

The following table presents the English grammatical categories investigated in this thesis inserted into the Nepali spoken by the respondents from different professions.

Table 5.12: English insertion by profession

Professions	N	V	Adv	Adj	Phr	Pre	Cla	Conj	Sent	Total
Farmers	526	97	19	117	69	1	0	1	1	831
Business people	674	140	27	72	117	3	2	6	2	1,043
Government employees	705	126	54	122	116	2	7	3	1	1,136
Teachers	748	119	19	117	150	0	58	2	13	1,226
Media, NGO & social workers	1,492	411	89	213	439	25	15	24	47	2,755
Total	4,145	893	208	641	891	31	82	36	64	6,991

In general, knowledge of English is either essential, required or at least beneficial in many professions in Nepal. These categories are also reflected in the results of this study. Table 5.12 shows that two professional groups mix more English into their conversation at all linguistic levels than all other professions; these are media people, NGO and social workers (2,755) and teachers (1,226). These two professional groups are then followed by government employees (1,136), business people (1,043), and farmers (834). The same pattern is found with the noun grammatical category. However different patterns are found among other grammatical categories.

Media, NGO and social workers have to deal with international organisations. Hence, the medium of spoken and written communication is always English. These professions also have to work as mediators between government bodies and international agencies. They encounter English terms related to development every time they deal with their professional work. Their frequent use of English with customers and colleagues in their professions seems to entice them to also use English at various levels in their day-to-day

conversations, as evidenced by their large number of English insertions in the data they provided for this study.

In the teaching profession, knowledge of English is preferred in private English-medium schools. In English-medium schools, all subjects except Nepali are taught in English and the text books are written in English, which makes knowledge of English essential. Even speaking English in school premises is encouraged (see Chapter 6 section 6). Hence, preference is given to those potential candidates for teaching jobs who were schooled at English-medium schools. This is also likely to influence teachers' private and semi-private speech, which contains a large number of English insertions, as demonstrated by Table 5.12.

Government employees predominantly use Nepali in their work life as most of their customers are Nepalese people; occasionally they have to interact in English with foreign nationals or government employees. State employees hold their position in government jobs (from low to high) depending on their academic qualification. They therefore acquired English while attending schools, colleges and universities and also use it in focus groups and interviews, but not to the extent of media, NGO and social workers and teachers. This professional group, however, uses slightly more English in their Nepali than the last two professions –business people and farmers.

For the next profession, business people, English is preferable. Those business people who are directly involved in the tourism sector naturally develop their English proficiency through direct contact with English-speaking customers. This frequent use of English while dealing with foreign customers seems to influence Nepali business people's

linguistic behaviour in the direction of incorporating English language elements in their Nepali conversations, leading to Nepali-English CS.

In the case of the next profession, farmers, it has become advantageous to be able to read and write some English. In farming, agricultural workers have to be familiar with new technologies and procedures for doing well in their professions in the modern context. This is why there is a trend for educated Nepalese people to be involved in agriculture these days. Farmers who still follow the traditional ways of farming fall behind, and cannot compete in the modern market. Hence, even the development of the farming sector is associated with knowledge of English to some degree, though not as much as all other professions, i.e. business people, government employees and particularly teachers, NGO, media and social workers.

5.4.5 Geographical Locations

The following table presents the number of English elements from various grammatical categories mixed into their Nepali by respondents from urban and rural locations.

Table 5.13: English insertion by geographical locations

Geographical locations	N	V	Adv	Adj	Phr	Pre	Cla	Conj	Sent	Total
Urban	3,343	750	171	502	768	29	80	28	60	5,731
Rural	802	143	37	139	123	2	2	8	4	1,260
Total	4,145	893	208	641	891	31	82	36	64	6,991

Table 5.13 shows that my respondents from urban areas incorporate almost five times as much English into their Nepali (5,731) than the respondents from rural area (1,260). A similar pattern exists in all grammatical categories.

This finding can be attributed to various reasons. One is that English medium schools and colleges are concentrated more in urban than rural areas. Also, the professions urban people are involved in, such as the media, NGOs as well as social work, entail them to incorporate more English into their Nepali than rural people.

Urban areas also represent modern life and culture. This is reflected in the social and economic life of urbanites. City people experience western life through the latest fashion being used back in western countries and enjoy western cultural celebrations such as English New Year and Christmas Day. This allows Nepalese people who participate in these occasions to identify with a modern way of life. To give one example, which illustrates the use of English captions for economic activities in urban markets: *'buy one get one free'*, *'50% discount'* and *'sale'* are frequently written in English on shop windows rather than in Nepali. This linguistic landscape, which will be explored in more detail in the next chapter, is very common and does not necessarily target the foreign nationals but mainly local customers.

Urban areas furthermore tend to be more vibrant than rural areas due to various activities such as national and international events, including business activities. Most of the newest technologies are introduced by national and international enterprises and are used in urban areas. Because of these activities, urban areas become a more attractive place for highly educated people seeking opportunities to uplift their living standard. According to the National Population and Housing Census, CBS (2011), the literacy rate in urban areas is 82.2%, while that in rural areas is 62.5%.

The systematic descriptive analysis of the relationship between the sociodemographic variables explored in this project and the insertion of English language elements into

Nepali has already provided a good picture of the main factors behind the linguistic phenomenon under investigation in this thesis. By methodologically exploring the interaction between the social and demographic data with the language data collected for this project it has been possible to earmark some social factors that are likely to be significant in explaining the code-switching patterns found in the speech data. The variable that emerged most recently on the sociolinguistic landscape and is thus underexplored, i.e. geographical location, seems to be very important. Education, particularly in combination with the professions a certain educational level allows one to occupy, may also turn out to be a significant social factor in the analysis of why some participants code-switch more than others. Age and gender, two of the most widely explored factors in variationist sociolinguistic research, also seem to influence my participants' code-switching behaviour; the difference between the two gender groups, however, is not as marked as that between urban and rural participants. To find out which social variables are statistically significant and which ones are not, and to establish which social variables are discrete and which ones overlap, statistical tools were applied to the data. The results will be presented in the following section.

5.4.6 Independent Sample and ANOVA Test

As stated above, to establish which social factors have the most significant impact on the bilingual behaviour of my participants, statistical tools were used to test the difference between all social variables. This section presents when the independent social variables (age, gender, education, profession and geographical location) become statistically significantin relation to the dependent variable (DV), the actual speech data my respondents produced. The significance level was set at 0.05 for this study, which is standard in variationist sociolinguistics. For the following analyses a p-value less than 0.05 thus means that there is a significant difference between the number of English

insertions (DV) produced by my participants with the social characteristics denoted by the independent variables (IV).

Table 5.14: Independent sample/ANOVA test of DV and IV

Social variables	F	T	P Value	Significant
Age	.359	n/a	.699	
18-29				-No
30-49				-No
50+				-No
Gender	n/a	.578	.564	
Male				-No
Female				-No
Education	6.044	n/a	.001	
Illiterate - < SLC				-No
> SLC +Two				-No
Bachelors			.029	*Yes
Masters			.004	*Yes
Professions	5.517	n/a	.000	
Farmers				-No
Teachers				-No
Business				-No
Government			.001	*Yes
Media/NGO			.020	*Yes
Geo-Location	n/a	-4.359	.000	
Rural			.000	*Yes
Urban			.000	*Yes

Table 5.14 presents a synopsis of the social variables that have significant differences to the dependent variable, the insertion of English into Nepali speech.

The statistical results show that age and gender do not have a significant impact on the number of English insertions into Nepali; membership of some educational and professional groups and geographic location, on the other hand, do. In the following paragraphs I will discuss each social variable and its significant or not significant impact on the Nepali-English speech of my participants one by one. For gender and geographical location, t-tests were used (because there are only two groups); for age, education and profession ANOVA tests were used (because there are three or more groups for these variables). I start the discussion with the t-tests (for gender and geographical location).

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare the number of English insertions into the Nepali speech of my male and female participants. There was no significant difference (t=.578, p=.564) in insertion of English elements for male (M=1.39, SD=.60) and for female (M=1.33, SD=.53) participants (see Appendix P1). This result suggests that gender is not a discrete independent social variable with effect on the insertion of English into the speech of Nepalese people.

Similarly, an independent-sample t-test was conducted to compare the number of insertions of English into the speech of my urban and rural respondents. There is a significant difference (t=(-)4.359, p<.001) in the number of these insertions between the sample from urban (M= 1.49, SD=.547) and rural (M=1.04, SD=.546) locations (see Appendix P2). This result suggests that insertion of English is significantly influenced by geographical location.

A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the number of English insertions between the three age groups; participants were divided into 18-29, 30-49 and 50+. There was no significant difference in insertion of English at the p<.05 level for the three age groups (F=.359, p=.699). This result shows that age does not have a significant effect on the number of English insertions into the speech of Nepalese people. (see Appendix P3)

Another one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the insertion of English into Nepali between the four education groups included in this project – illiterate-under SLC, SLC +Two, Bachelors' and Masters'. There is a significant difference in the number of English insertions between these four educational groups at the p<.05 level (F=6.044, p=.001). A Post Hoc comparisons test showed that there is significant difference in the insertion of English between the illiterate-under SLC (M=1.00, SD=.598) group and participants educated to both BAlevel(M=1.33, SD=.580, p=.048) and Masters' level (M=1.62, SD=.490, p<.001). Similarly, there is a significant difference in the number of English insertions between the SLC+Two group (M=1.23, SD=.570) and participants educated to Masters' level (M=1.62, SD=.490, p=.003). Finally, there is a significant difference between participants within HE, i.e. Bachelors' (M=1.33, SD=.580) and Masters' (M=1.62, SD=.490, p=.010). This suggests that there is a significant difference in the number of English insertions into the speech of Nepalese people mainly from the low and higher education levels. (see Appendix 4)

Similarly, a one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the linguistic behaviour of participants belonging to the five professional groups investigated in this project – farmers, business people, teachers, government employees and media/NGO people. There is a significant difference in the number of English insertions between these five professional groups at the p<.05 level (F=5.517, p<.001). Post Hoc comparison tests

indicate that there is a significant difference between farmers (M=1.06, SD=.612) and media/NGO people (M=1.63, SD=.525, p<.001), and between farmers (M=1.06, SD=.612) and government employees (M=1.56, SD=.435, p=.001), and between media/NGO people (M=1.63, SD=.525) and business people (M=1.31, SD=.637, p=.030). However, there is no significant difference in the number of English insertions into the Nepali speech produced by the other professional groups investigated for this project (see Appendix P5).

To summarise, the statistical results have shown that age and gender do not have a significant impact on the number of English insertions into Nepali. The common expectation that younger people mix English more in their speech than any other age group is thus shown not to be statistically significant in this study in spite of the numerical differences between them. People living in urban areas, however, mix significantly more English words into their spoken Nepali than those living in rural areas, as do highly educated speakers in white collar professions. The two social variables that account best for the variance in terms of the insertion of English elements into Nepali thus are education and geographical location. In the next section, I will investigate to what degree the social variables that are regarded as discrete begin to overlap each other.

5.4.7 Discrete and Overlapping Social Variables

To identify which of the independent variables investigated in this project are discrete, I ran Pearson's correlation tests. None of the five socio-demographic variables (gender, age, education, profession, and geographic location) can be considered as discrete, that is, having an influence on the dependent variable in isolation or separate from any other independent variable. They all had varying degrees of correlations with each other (see Table 5.15), however some correlations were very weak and only just below the p<.05 level.

Table 5.15: Correlations between independent variables

Social Variables	R	P-Value	Strength	Significant
Gender to Age	(-),170	.033	Low to weak	Yes
Education to Age	(-).166	.047	Low to weak	Yes
Education to Profession	.480	.000	Medium	Yes
Education to Geo-Location	.307	.000	Medium to low	Yes

Table 5.15 presents the social variables that have significant correlation to each other.

To identify which of my independent variables overlap, I ran three General Linear Models (GLM) among the independent variables (IV) in relation to the dependent variable (DV). The three statistically significant independent social variables of this project (see Table 5.15) are education, profession and geographical location(this finding is independently supported by the Pearson's correlation tests (Table 5.16) which also indicated medium to low strength and significant correlations to the DV for education ($r=.331$, $p<.001$), profession ($r=.268$, $p=.001$) and geographical location ($r=.334$, $p<.001$)).The aim of the GLM is to explore in more detail the overlapping quality of the three statistically significant independent social variables. In each GLM I tested the effects of each independent variable (main effects but in the presence of the other IV), and the interactions between them, against the DV, i.e. the English insertions by my participants into their Nepali speech.

Figure 5.2 illustrates the varying degrees of overlap between the three statistically significant independent variables of this project (education, profession and geographical location) in their impact on the dependent variable (total number of English insertions).

Figure 5.2: English words (mean) by location, education and profession
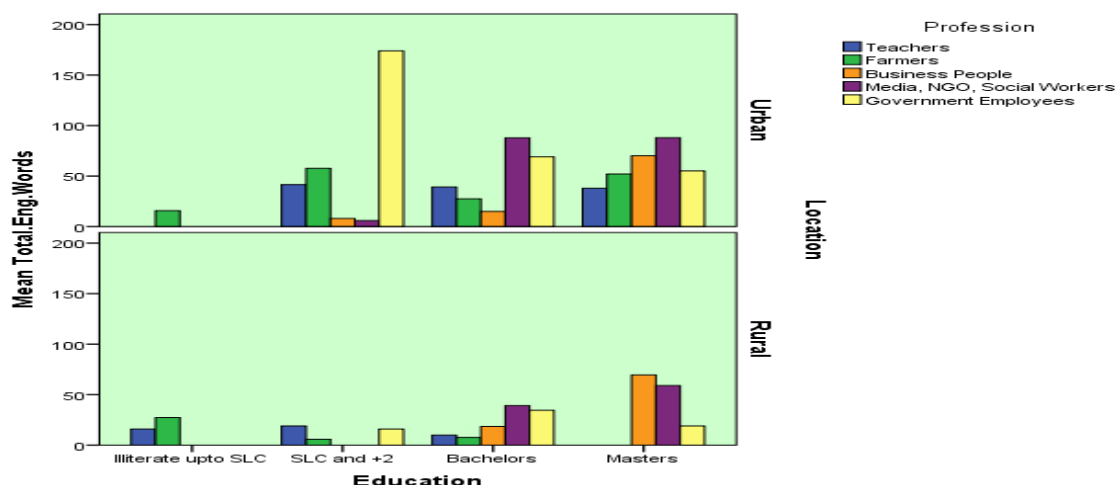
The Test of Between-Subjects Effects in the General Linear Model for education and geographical location shows that, in the presence of each other, both education (p=.006) and geographical location (p=.017) individually retain a significant main effect in relation to the DV. They account for 9% and 4% (respectively) of the change in the DV. The interaction between education and geographical location (p=.047) is also statistically significant and accounts for 6% of the change in the DV (see Table 5.17). In other words, together education and geographical location account for 6% of the variance in English insertions in the data. This result indicates that education and geographical location maintain their significant main effect even in the presence of each other. It can therefore be concluded that they havea low degree of overlap (mutuality in their variance) in relation to the DV (Adj R^2=.190).

Table 5.16: Test between geographical locations and education levels

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects				
Dependent Variable: Log10 Total Number of English Word Used				
Source	Type III Sum of Squares	F	Sig.	Partial Eta^2
Corrected Model	11.049[a]	5.784	.000	.229
Geoloc	1.587	5.815	.017	.041

Edulevel	3.590	4.385	.006	.088
Geoloc * Edulevel	2.233	2.727	.047	057
Error	37.112			
Total	319.818			
Corrected Total	48.161			
	a. R Squared = .229 (Adjusted R Squared = .190)			

The same Test of Between-Subjects Effects for the two independent variables education (p=.118) and profession (p=.350) shows that (in the presence of each other) each variable does not maintain a significant main effect in relation to the DVandthey account for 5% and 3% (respectively) of the change in the DV. The interaction between education and profession (p=.395) equally does not have a significant effect and accounts for 7% of the change in the DV (see Table 5.17). This result shows that (in the presence of one another) education and profession do not maintain a significant main effect; they therefore have a moderate to high degree of overlap in their variance with relation to the DV (Adj R_2=.138).

Table 5.17: Test between professions and level of education

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects				
Dependent Variable: Log10 Total Number of English Word Used				
Source	Type III Sum of Squares	F	Sig.	Partial Eta^2
Corrected Model	11.275[a]	2.426	.003	.234
Profession	1.302	1.121	.350	.034
Edulevel	1.739	1.996	.118	.045
Profession * Edulevel	2.777	1.062	.395	.070
Error	36.886			
Total	319.818			

Corrected Total	48.161			

a. R Squared = .234 (Adjusted R Squared = .138)

The final General Linear Model carried out between the two independent variables geographical location (p=.010) and profession (p=.130) shows that only geographical location maintained a significant main effect in relation to the DV, and they account for 5% and 5% (respectively) of the change in the DV. The interaction between geographical location and profession (p=.318) does not have a significant effect and accounts for 3% of the change in the DV (see Table 5.18). This result shows that (in the presence of one another) only geographical location (and not profession) maintain a significant main effect, and they do not have a significant interaction; they therefore have a moderate to low degree of overlap in their variance with relation to the DV (Adj R_2=.171)

Table 5.18: Test of between geographical locations and professions

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects				
Dependent Variable: Log10 Total Number of English Word Used				
Source	Type III Sum of Squares	F	Sig.	Partial Eta^2
Corrected Model	10.727[a]	4.266	.000	.223
Geogrloc	1.932	6.914	.010	.049
Profession	2.026	1.813	.130	.051
Geogrloc * Profession	1.331	1.191	.318	.034
Error	37.435			
Total	319.818	144		
Corrected Total	48.161	143		
a. R Squared = .223 (Adjusted R Squared = .171)				

Based on the results of these three models, we can reasonably conclude that geographical location is an important independent social variable which determines the degree to which respondents insert English in their Nepali speech (as it maintained a significant main effect in both the education-geographical location and the profession-geographical locations GLMs). Education and profession had a moderate to high degree of overlap (or shared variance) with each other in their relation to the DV. This means thatthe differences in educational attainment entail the differences in profession in relation to the insertion of English in Nepali.The participant's profession did not maintain a significant main effect in both models that included it (profession-education, and profession-geographical location). This in turn indicates that profession not only overlaps with education (as mentioned earlier), but also overlaps with geographical location (albeit to a lesser degree than with education).

In other words, my participants mix significantly more English into their Nepali speech when they live in urban rather than rural areas, or when they have a higher education or a white-collar profession. It is not the differences in age and gender that have a significant impact on the insertion of English into the speech of the Nepalese people; it is the differences in education/professions (these two have a relative degree of overlap) and geographical location that impact most significantly on the insertion of English into the speech of the Nepalese people.

5.5 Comparison Between Observed and Reported Data by Social Variables

My study is based on a mixed method research approach involving both quantitative and qualitative data. As we have already seen, there are observed speech data from interviews, focus group discussions and naturally occurring data to identify the degree of English

insertions into the Nepali speech of my respondents, and survey data to obtain self-reported data on participants' linguistics behaviour. Both types of data were collected because classical sociolinguistics studies (e.g. Labov, 1966; Trudgill, 1974 on within-language variation; and Blum &Gumperz, 1972 and Cheshire &Gardner-Chloros, 1999 on between-language variation) have shown that there can be a discrepancy between actual and reported behaviour. This discrepancy has been attributed to the greater prestige attached to certain linguistic forms over others (e.g. the articulation of post-vocalic r in New York by Labov, and the RP pronunciation of the –ing suffix in Norwich by Trudgill, and code-switching by Blum &Gumperz; see also Ayemoni, 2006; Sadighian,2011). These studies have furthermore shown that respondents can either over-report, i.e. state that they use more of one linguistics variable than they actually do, or under-report, i.e. state that they use less of a linguistic variable than they actually do, and that this over-and under-reporting is linked to the prestige attached to the linguistic forms and sociodemographic variables (e.g. gender). As this study aims to establish a sociolinguistic profile of the current linguistic situation in Nepal with regard to between-language variation or code-switching, I will analyse the self-reported data in relation to the observed data to identify whether similar patterns can be found in this research location.

In section 5.5.1, I will present and analyse both reported and recorded speech data according to the social variables age, gender, education, profession and geographical location. From the questionnaire survey, I will draw on results showing how many of the respondents report they are mixing English in their conversation. In the same vein, I will draw upon the results from the analysis of the recorded speech data to compare their actual code-switching behaviour with their reported behaviour. At the end of this section I will present an analysis of the difference between the number of English insertions at various linguistics levels (the dependent variable) produced by speaker participants from different

age, gender, educational and professional groups residing in different geographical locations (the independent variables).

5.5.1   Mixing English by Age Groups

Figure 5.3 shows the result of the reported data and the actual English mixing practice across three age groups (18-29, 30-49 and 50+).

Figure 5.3: Reported data and observed data on mixing English by age groups
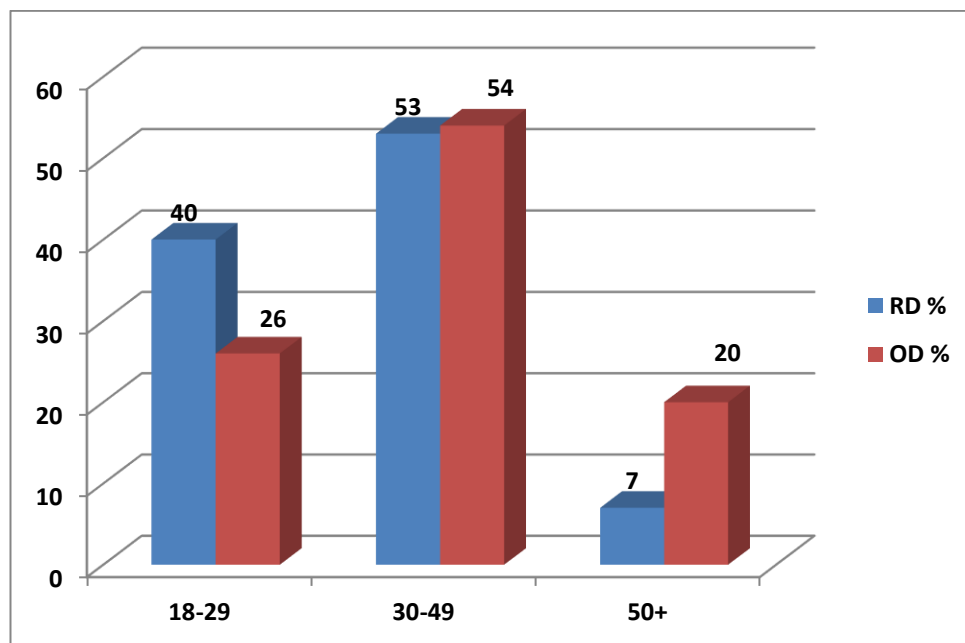
RD= Reported Data, OD= Observed Data. Pop. in RD= 178, in OD= 144.

Figure 5.3 presents a comparison of the reported data and the observed data on the English mixing practice of the respondents across the age groups 18-29, 30-49 and 50+. The results demonstrate that for the first age group the RD is higher than the OD over-report, i.e. the youngest participants over-report and state that they CS more than they actually do. For the second and third age groups, by contrast, the OD is higher than the RD. The middle-aged and older participants thus under-report by stating that they CS less than they actually do. There is a difference of 13% between RD and OD in the last/oldest age

group, 14% in the first/youngest age group, but a difference of only 1% in the second/middle age group. The difference between the RD and the OD in the second age group is not as big as the one between the RD and the OD in the youngest and oldest age groups. This shows that the middle age group has the most realistic assessment of their actual code-switching behaviour. The over-reporting of the youngest age group may be linked to the use of English being associated with modernity and a global identity (see previous section and Chapter 7).

5.5.2   Mixing English by Gender

Figure 5.4 shows the results of the reported data from the questionnaire survey and the observed data from the recorded speech data by gender.

Figure 5.4: Reported data and observed data on mixing English by gender

RD= Reported Data, OD= Observed Data. Pop. in RD= 178, in OD= 144.

Figure 5.4 shows that the female respondents claim to mix English more in their conversation than they actually do in practice. In contrast to this, male respondents actually mix English in their conversation more than they declare. The OD is 26% higher

than the RD in the male group. The gap between the RD and the OD for the female group is also 26%. The gap between RD and OD in both male and female is equal, but the difference is in the opposite direction.

To look at these fascinating results in more detail, female participants report that they mix approximately 51% English into their Nepali conversations. This is 2% higher than the reported data of the male participants (49%). However, there is a big gap between male and female participants in the OD. In the study the female participants actually mix 25% but report 51%; i.e. they considerably over-report on their use of English in their conversation. The male participants, by contrast, actually mix 75% but report 49%, i.e. they considerably under-report. This directly relates to the findings of Trudgill's (1974) Norwich study on the variation of prestige and non-prestige variables in observed and self-reported data. More specifically, Trudgill found that females over-report their use of prestige variables, whereas males tend to under-report prestige variables but over-report non-prestige variables. This allows me to suggest that the use of English language elements in Nepali conversations has to be regarded as prestigious linguistic behaviour. This finding relates to the metalinguistic comment by the participant in the NGO focus group discussion (A0710504) reported in section 5.3.4. This NGO worker suggested that, in the past, Nepali people used English in their Nepali conversations to gain prestige, but that this behaviour had reduced due to the increased use of English generally. The current study suggests that in the population sampled for this project, inserting English language elements into Nepali still carries prestige. I will discuss this in more detail in the discussion chapter.

5.5.3   Mixing English by Education

Figure 5.5 below shows the result of the reported and observed data across various levels of education.

Figure 5.5: Reported data and observed data on mixing English by education

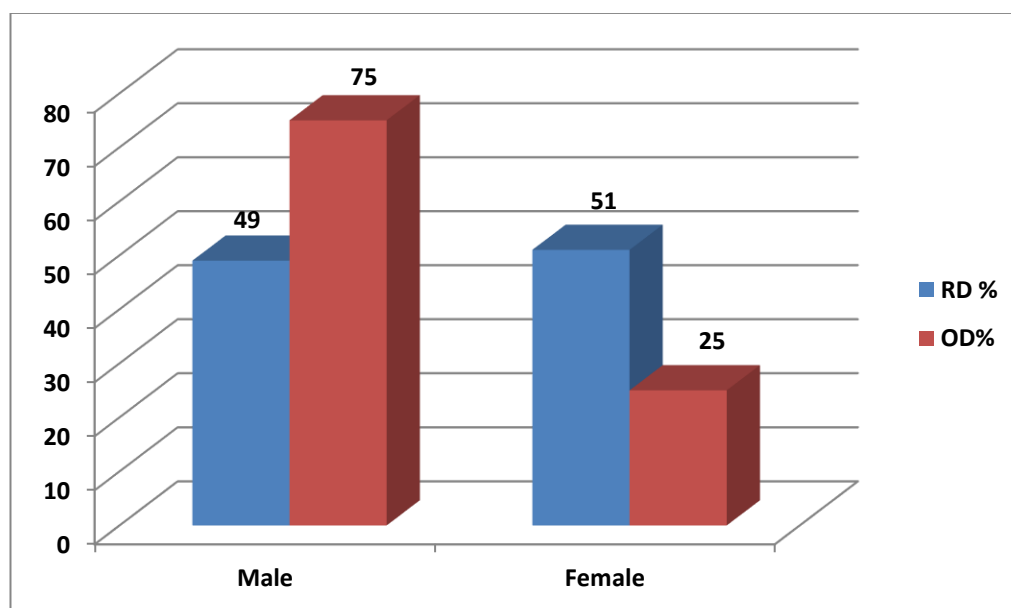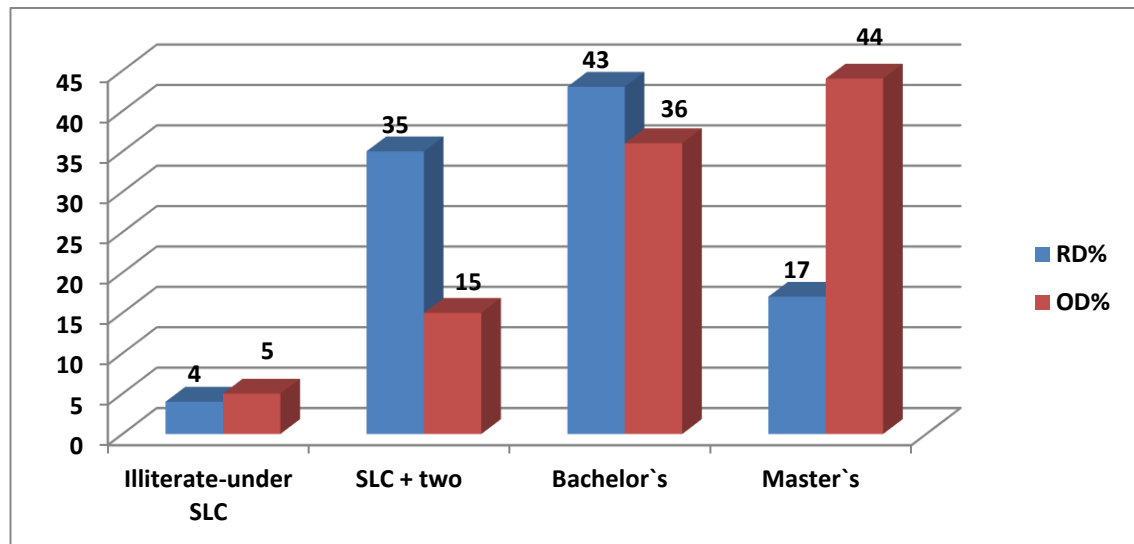RD= Reported Data, OD= Observed Data. Pop. in RD= 178, in OD= 144.

Figure 5.5 shows a regular increase in code-switching behaviour (from 5% among the illiterate to 15% among people with secondary education, to 36% at BA level, to 44% at MA level) in the observed data (OD) across all levels of education. In contrast, the same figure suggests increasing self-reported (RD) code-switching up to Bachelor'slevel (from 4 to 35 and 43%); from this point the RD plummets from 43% to 17% at Master's level. This further shows that participants with SLC +2 and BA education over-report, whereas illiterate people and post-graduates (MA) under-report. This suggests that very highly educated people in Nepal are likely to mix English more in their conversations, but the most highly educated ones (MA) do not feel the need to stress this in the reported data.

5.5.4 Mixing English by Professions

Figure 5.6 summarises the code-switching results as reported by the respondents in the questionnaire survey (RD) as well as in the recorded speech data (OD) according to the professions of the respondents– teachers, farmers, business people, media, NGO and social workers, and government employees.

Figure 5.6: Reported data and observed data on mixing English by profession
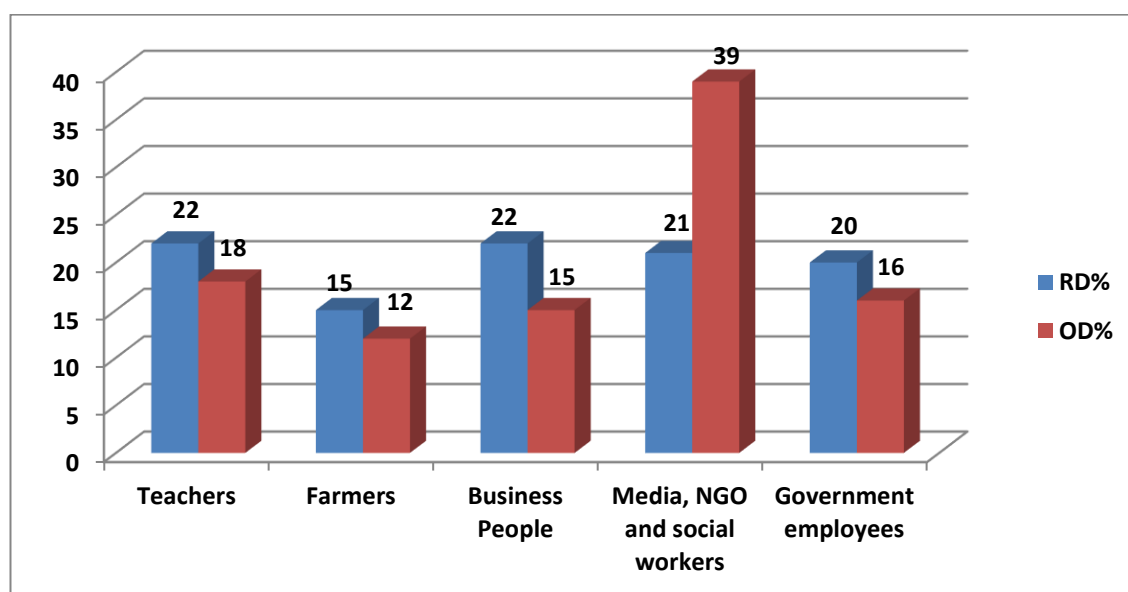
RD= Reported Data, OD= Observed Data. Pop. in RD= 178, in OD= 144.

Figure 5.6 shows that the RD is higher than the OD in all the professions except media, NGO and social workers. The latter group reports mixing English 21% in their conversation, which is 18% less than they actually do in the spoken data collected from this group (39%). Figure 5.6 furthermore suggests that media, NGO, and social workers use comparatively more English than the other professions. This will be dealt with in the discussion chapter, where I focus in particular on the role of the media in bringing Nepali-English CS into conversation. It is partly due to the people involved in the media sector that the practice of mixing English in conversation has been transmitted to audiences

irrespective of their age, gender, education, profession and geographical location for use in their daily lives.

5.5.5 Mixing English by Geographical Locations

Figure 5.7 presents the comparative results obtained from the questionnaire survey reported data (RD) and the observed data (OD) in both urban and rural settings.

Figure 5.7: Reported data and observed data on mixing English by geographical location
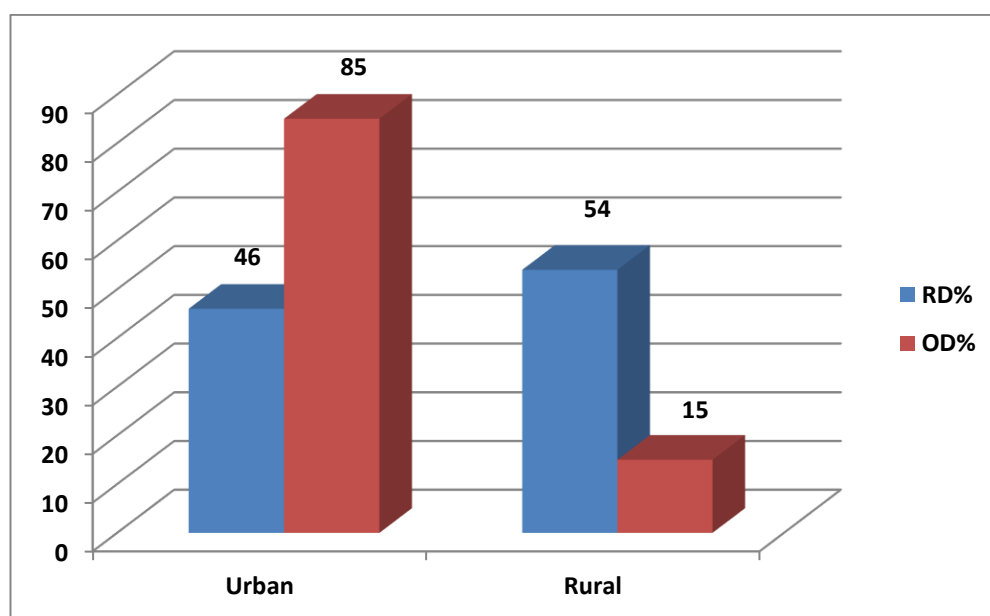
RD= Reported Data, OD= Observed Data. Pop. in RD= 178, in OD= 144.

Figure 5.7 reveals that the trends of reported data and observed data in urban and rural areas are in sharp contrast. The reported data in the urban area is 46% whereas the observed data is 85%. By contrast, the reported data in the rural area is 54% whereas the observed data is 15%. This means that respondents from urban research settings considerably under-report their use of English, whereas respondents from rural settings considerably over-report their use of English.

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These differences are similar to the differences between male and female participants presented in section 5.5 above. Just as females over-report and males under-report, rural people over-report and urban people under-report.

I draw upon the meta-linguistic statements from the interviews and focus group discussions to further corroborate some of the results above. A participant from the business people focus group discussion (A0290317) states:

> *F17: kahsma **highly educated** manishharu jo**education**-ko chetrama
>
> lageka chan badhi **English** prayog garchan bolichalima. Jati badhi
>
> **educated** bhayo uti dherai **English** misincha uniharuko bolaima.

Translation:*It is the highly educated people involved in the education sector who mix English more in their conversation. The more educated the people are, the more English words they mix in their conversations.*

Similarly, a government respondent from the focus group discussion attributes the occurrence of more English in Nepali conversations to education. For example, highly educated doctors use more English while speaking to their colleagues. Nepalese people overhear this conversation and acquire English expressions at the lexical, phrasal and sentence level and start using them in their conversations while talking about medical-related topics. Thus, the less educated people also learn and use English in conversation, even though it is primarily at the lexical level, as we saw in the previous sections.

When talking about the group of people who mix English more in their conversation, one of my key informants (A1190623) states:

Due to increasing use of modern technology, a system to use technology
in every sector has been developed these days. I just now used 'system
develop' bhakole (due to new system in place) instead of the Nepali
phrase 'prakrikya bikash bhakole'. Hence, mostly educated Nepalese
people are more responsible in using English in their conversation than
other groups of people.

This key informant views educational background as influencing Nepali-English code-switching behaviour. This is supported by the findings of this study which suggest that the higher the educational level, the more the participants mix English in their conversation. Being educated himself, this key informant can furthermore be observed to mix English at the phrasal level, e.g. *system develop* in the above example (A1190623). He uses a flagged code-switch to highlight that he used the English *system develop*, which he could have expressed in Nepali, but did not.

A government employee from a focus group discussion (A0320319) believes that English has wider influence in urban areas than in remote areas because of the increasing number of English-medium schools in urban areas. By contrast, rural people use their own local-level vocabularies more in conversation.

5.6   Summary

Section 5.1 of this chapter has explained and analyzed the use of English in the conversation of the Nepalese participants. Among single elements such as verbs, adverbs, adjectives, prepositions and conjunctions, the occurrence of English nouns is more dominant in the Nepalese conversations recorded. Section 5.3 showed that the most fundamental/important reason behind using English elements in Nepali is associated with

language economy or simplicity in use. The participants report that it is easier and simpler to communicate certain concepts in the foreign/second language, i.e. English, than in the first language, Nepali. This has been accepted by the respondents in the questionnaire survey and the qualitative interviews. This view exists across all social groups – age, gender, education, profession and geographical location.

The descriptive systematic comparison between my participants' actual code-switching behaviour and the social groups they have been associated with in/for this project suggests that the geographical location they live in (urban versus rural), the educational level they have obtained, and their profession seem to considerably influence the number and type of English insertions they use in their Nepali speech. The quantitative analysis of the type of insertions the recorded speakers make furthermore suggests that more complex foreign language elements, and lexical categories such as function words, are only used by educated speakers.

The statistical analysis of actual English insertions into Nepali by social variables confirms that the independent variables 'level of education', 'profession' and 'geographical location' significantly influence the participants' Nepali/English code-switching behaviour as the dependent variable. Age and gender, by contrast, were shown not to have a significant influence on the use of English in the conversations they were recorded in.Interestingly, the most widely researched social variables in sociolinguistics, age and gender, are thus not statistically significant in this project, whereas education, profession and the "new" variable geographic location have been found to significantly influence my participants' bilingual code-switching behaviour.

The systematic pairwise comparison of the effect of the significant variables on my participants' number of English insertions into their Nepali in a General Linear Model reveals that geographic location in combination with education best explains the linguistic patterns found in the data collected for this project. The second-best model for the linguistic patterns found is a combination of geographical location and profession. A model including all three significant variables (education, profession and geographic location) only performs marginally better than a model only including education and geographic location. This shows that the social variables education and profession considerably overlap.

The next chapter covers the role of the media and schools in facilitating the Nepali-English CS linguistic phenomenon. This is followed by language contact and change.

Chapter 6: Societal and Cultural Factors in Nepali-English Language Contact

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 presents the role of societal and cultural factors that are proposed to influence language usage in Nepal. They include media, education, trade and tourism, and foreign employment. The chapter is divided into three sections. Section 6.1 analyses the role of the media and education in Nepali-English language and culture contact. Section 6.2 presents how trade and tourism, and foreign employment, impact on Nepali-English language contact. Finally, section 6.3 discusses the impact of language contact on the Nepali language itself. Both primary and secondary data are employed to analyze the issues under investigation, addressing research questions 4 and 5.

I have employed "community artifacts" as suggested by Levon (2013:211) in addition to a questionnaire survey and interviews in collecting the required data. In this chapter, I analyse the issues under investigation using field observation on community artifacts such as physical materials, images, broadcasts, and other media outputs which explicitly or implicitly contribute to providing avenues for the Nepalese people to engage in Nepali-English code-switching. The main aim of this chapter is to analyse how media, education, trade and tourism, and foreign employment provide avenues for Nepali-English language contact.

6.2 Media and Education

In the first subsection (6.2.1), I analyse the role of print media, including newspapers and advertisements, internet technology (websites, Facebook), and broadcast media, which

include TV and radio. In subsection 6.2.2, the use of English in the Nepali education system is analysed using both qualitative and quantitative data.

6.2.1 Media

In 2013, Nepal had 3,408 registered newspapers, 515 radio stations and 58 television channels. However, not all newspapers are published regularly. Among the 874 that the Press Council classified as regular, there were 165 dailies, 4 bi-weeklies, 559 weeklies, and 36 fortnightlies. The remaining 114 newspapers were not in publication when this survey was conducted in 2013. With regard to broadcasting, 360 of the radio stations were on air at the time. Table 6.1 summarises the development of the media in Nepal in terms of the number of different types of media in the country.

Table 6.1: The state of the media, 2013 (2070 BS)

	1951/58	1990	2013
Newspapers	37	456	3,408[1]
Radio stations	1	1	515[2]
Television channels	-	1	58[3]

Source: UNICEF (2013)

6.2.1.1 Print Media

Very few of the print media published on a daily basis adopt local languages as the medium of writing. Those local language publications have a very limited number of readers. The majority of newspapers are in Nepali followed by English. Under this section I include newspapers, advertisements and hoarding board messages containing English

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[1]Press Council Nepal, Annual Report, 2013. The Council does not release circulation figures for newspapers.
[2]MOIC, November 2013 http://www.moic.gov.np/pdf/fm-list-2070-05-03.pdf
[3]MOIC, November 2013 http://www.moic.gov.np/pdf/tv-list-2070-07-07-final.pdf

along with Nepali. These media are included in the term *linguistic landscape*, first

conceptualized by Landry & Bourhis (1997). The term *linguistic landscape* denotes "the

language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names,

commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings" (Landry & Bourhis,

1997:25).

In this context, Lu (2014:75) states regarding the emergence of Chinese-English code-

switching in communication among Chinese nationals:

> If one takes a look at newspapers, TV programs, commercial flyers and
>
> posters, job advertisements, street name plates, shop signs etc., it is easy
>
> to see English words mixed up among Chinese characters.

Likewise, a similar trend of mixing Hindi with English in advertisements was found on

the shop fronts, billboards and print/online media examined by McCormick & Agnihotri

(2009), Tridevi (2011) and Bhatia (2012) in their studies (cited in Kathpalia & Wee Ong,

2015:557).

All the avenues stated by Lu above and cited in Kathpalia & Wee Ong will be analyzed

in the Nepali context, i.e. with English words inserted into Nepali, in the following

section.

Newspapers

The following images are from the popular Nepali daily newspapers *Gorkhapatra*, the

oldest newspaper, and *Kantipur*, the first daily newspaper in the private sector. Other

English daily newspapers include *Republica* and *Kathmandu Post*.

Picture 6.1: Images of popular newspapers in Nepal

The above pictures present images of some Kathmandu-based popular newspapers published in English on a daily basis.

The country's largest selling newspaper is the *Kantipur*, which claims a daily sale of 250,000. It prints in multiple locations and has a good national distribution network. The *Kantipur* claims that at least nine people read every copy of the newspaper sold. If true, this would give it a total nationwide readership of nearly 2.5 million (Infoassaid, 2011:78).

The following Table 6.2 presents the reported habits of respondents in the questionnaire survey of reading newspapers written in Nepali and English.

Table 6.2: Respondents' newspaper-reading habits

The newspapers you read are written in:		
	Frequency	Percent
English	3	1.5
Nepali	119	59.5
Both English and Nepali	66	33.0
Not applicable*	12	6.0
Total	200	100.0

*Not applicable means the respondents are not able to read.

Table 6.2 shows that only 1.5% of participants read English-only newspapers. About 60% of respondents read Nepali newspapers while 33% report that they read Nepali and English newspapers. Six percent cannot read any newspaper at all. This shows that the number of Nepali people reading newspapers in both English and Nepali is increasing. This number is expected to rise further as the number of people who are educated in English-medium schools increases.

The advertisements presented below show that most of them are published in both Nepali and English. They frequently contain English at the lexical, phrasal and sentence levels in their writing, which readers cannot avoid if they read the advert. Nepalese people tend to use the English elements used in advertisements as presented below.

Advertisements

The names of many publishing houses and newspapers are in both Nepali and English. Although these names are in Nepali, English occurs through the process of transliterating the Nepali names. Some of the names are in English alone. The contents, news and views of the newspapers are published in either Nepali or English, depending on the nature of the newspapers. The English newspapers publish their content solely in English, and the Nepali newspapers in Nepali.

However, there are spaces for classified advertisements in both Nepali and English newspapers for business purposes. The medium here is both Nepali and English. The images below are from the daily Nepali newspaper *Kantipur* published on November 21, 2015, p.11. They represent common patterns of advertisements followed by all Nepali print media.

Picture 6.2: Job advertisements showing requirements for office personnel

Picture 6.2 above shows two pieces of advertising inviting applications for jobs. These are for two different locations. The first one is for `कोटेश्वरचोक`'(Koteshworchok) in the southern part of Kathmandu and the second is for`चवहिलचोक` (Chavahil chok) in the northern part. Although the first rows of the advertisements look like monolingual Nepali

writing, they also contain some English words. `कर्मचारीहरुअर्जेन्ट` is written at the top of both pieces of advertisements. The first word is Nepali,`कर्मचारीहरु` (personnel); the second one from the English *urgent* has been transliterated as अर्जेन्ट and embedded into Nepali. The second row of the first part of the advertisement contains-

`काम	अफिस	भित्रै
Gloss: job (n)	office	inside (prep)

Translation: *Job inside the office*.

No interview 100% job

In the above excerpt, the first phrase contains the English word `अफिस` (*office*). The second phrase *No interview, 100% job* is entirely in English.

Similarly, the second and thirds rows of the second column contain:

Part-time/full-time. `वीनाअन्तर्वाता`

Part-time/full-time. Without   interview.

100% job guarantee.

The first row of the above excerpt contains both English and Nepali. The final information '*100% job guarantee*' is provided entirely in English. It assures applicants that they will get the job 100% without having to do an interview. Similarly, in the second column of the advertisement, English is used to offer the job guarantee and to state the employment level, i.e. *part-time/full-time*. Thus, the English language is noticeable to different degrees

in almost every advertisement. This further assists Nepalese people in using those English words in their everyday conversation. Hence, this enhances the frequent use of English in the life of the Nepalese people through recurrent use.

Advertisements published in newspapers are also transliterated. Though they look like Devanagari, the Nepali script, they contain English elements transliterated into Nepali.

Picture 6.3: An advertisement for hotel training

Picture 6.3 is an advertisement for hotel training published in the *Kantipur* on November 22, 2015, p.7. This advert invites applications from jobseekers who want to be part of the hotel business. The above advertisement contains the phrase 'होटेलतालीम'. The first word is the transliterated form of the English word 'Hotel' and the second one is the Nepali 'तालीम' equivalent of the English word 'training'.

Unlike the examples hitherto given, the advert presented in Picture 6.4 below is in English only, although it was published in the Nepali daily *Kantipur* on November 21, 2015, p.7.

Picture 6.4: English monolingual advertisement

Pictures 6.3 and 6.4 provide evidence of how Nepali and English are used in the print media. The appearance of an advertisement in Nepali alone is very rare; advertisements are published either in mixed Nepali and English, or in English monolingually as in Picture 6.4. Moreover, the very names of the print media are influenced by English, either through complete English names, for instance *The Kathmandu Post*, *The Himalayan Times*, *The Republica* and *The Rising Nepal,* to name but a few, or Nepali names written in English and Nepali, for instance *Kantipur*, *Gorkhapatra*, *Annapurna* and *Sagarmatha* and so on.

Advertisements for factory products

According to Bhatia (1992:198), mixing English into print media advertisements to draw the attention of customers is acceptable practice in many countries. In his study, Bhatia found that English is the most favoured language to be mixed in advertisements in countries that have high or low historical receptivity of English (195). In the context of Nepal, it is difficult to trace the exact date when publication of English advertisements

began. However, it is apparent that mixing English in advertisements (printed, broadcast
and telecast over media) has become a common phenomenon nowadays.

Pictures 6.5 - 6.7 illustrate how English words are used for product names.

Picture 6.5: Product name monolingual advertisements
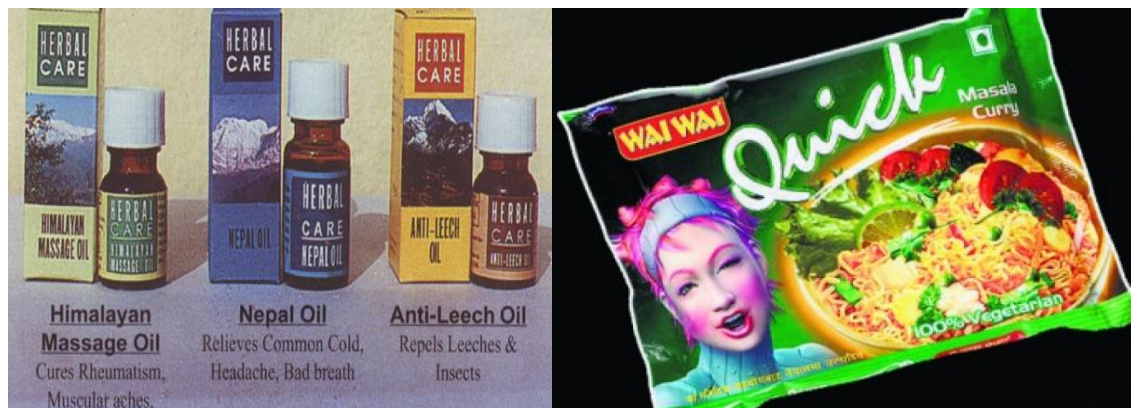
Picture 6.5 shows product names; the first part is about a herbal oil for different types of
ailments, the second concerns Wai Wai noodles for vegetarians. As in Bhatia's (1987)
study, English occupies prominent spaces in the above advertisements and in the naming
of products. Bhatia found that more than 90% of the 1,200 advertisements he examined
carry product names in English (35).

Picture 6.6: Product names: a bilingual advertisement

Company names and logos are other preferred places for English in advertisements. Some names are entirely in English. If not English, they are given an English look and flavour by being written in Roman script (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2013:579-580). The following images illustrate this point.

Picture 6.7: Company nameboards

The images in Picture 6.7 show the transliterated Nepali names for *Forever Beauty Parlour and Training Centre* and *Api Power Company Limited* respectively.

In addition to print media advertisements, I have captured some images of bilingual hoarding boards (signboards and institutions' names) during my fieldwork. Hoarding boards are also used for advertising, so there is some degree of overlap between these two types of media.

Hoarding boards

I have photographed some hoarding boards to analyse them in terms of mixing English with Nepali.

Picture 6.8: A bilingual notice board

Picture 6.8 above contains the English name of the social organisation 'Friends Service Council Nepal' transliterated in Nepali as `फ्रेन्डससर्भिसकाउन्सिलनेपाल`. The writing on the hoarding board looks like monolingual Nepali, but all words except *Nepal* are in English.

Picture 6.9: A bilingual signboard

Picture 6.9 above also demonstrates the name of an organisation in both Nepali and English. The organisation's name 'Atma Gyan Prachar Sangh' is transliterated from Nepali into English and its English abbreviation is put in brackets ('AGPS'). The Nepali phrase 'केन्द्रीयकार्यालय' is repeated/rewritten in English as 'Central Office'.

I captured some images of noticeboards on my camera during my field visit.

Picture 6.10: A transliterated canteen wall menu

Picture 6.10 shows the canteen menu at Manamohan Memorial Hospital, Kathmandu. This type of menu is normally in the form of a small booklet kept on the table for customers to select a meal of their choice. The Nepali equivalent name is *Manamohan Smriti Aspatal* (मनमोहनस्मृतिअस्पताल). These two names coexist on the signboard. The Nepali word *Aspatal* is borrowed and derived from the English word/expression *Hospital* through nativization.

The heading at the top of the menu looks to be written in Nepali alone. Out of the three words *manamohan canteen menu*, only the first word is Nepali, while the rest are from English transliterated into Nepali. The first four rows of the second column contain Nepali and English compound words to index food items served in the canteen. For instance, *buff* thukpa, *chicken* thukpa, *mixed* thukpa and *egg* thukpa. All these compound nouns suggest different types of soup, i.e. the soup is served with different vegetables or meat items. These food item names mixed with English are shorter than their Nepali equivalents. For instance, `*buff* thukpa` (बफथुकपा) is (भैंसीकोथुकपा) in Nepali. *Buff*, the short form of *buffalo*

not only entails language economy; religious stigma was attached to buffalo meat for the high caste of Brahmin people. In the past, *buff* items were prohibited for members of the Brahmin caste, yet enjoyed in secret (especially *buff mo:mo*, a rice flour dish with buff mince). Because the unclipped Nepali word `भैंसीँ' may have social stigma attached to it for some Brahmin caste people, a short form of buffalo, i.e.*buff* was coined to index food items prepared from buffalo meat.

Similarly, the third column of the canteen menu in Picture 6.10 contains some entirely transliterated food items such as *egg **curry** khana* 'एगकरीखाना', ***cold drinks*** 'कोल्डड्रिंक्स', ***plain** lassi* 'प्लेन लस्सी', ***banana** lassi* 'बनाना लस्सी', ***hot lemon*** 'हट लेमन', ***lemon tea*** 'लेमन टि', while in the fourth column we find *khaja **set*** 'खाजा सेट', *puri **set*** 'पुरी सेट' and *roti **set*** 'रोटि सेट'.

The above menu is representative of many menus of restaurants which serve Nepali cuisine. These food item names are then disseminated by customers to the public through recurrent use in their daily normal conversation/parlance.

Regarding restaurant menus, a businesswoman made the following statement in an interview (A1090604):

> *R02: hamro **menu** huncha tesma chain Korean **languageplusenglish**-
>
> ma cha teso garda Korean haruko lagi pani bho ra **english** aru
>
> **nationalities**-haruko lagi pani hune bho.

Translation: *In our menu we have Korean plus English. This is readable to those people who know Korean and those who know English.*

Picture 6.11: English alphabet used to index ownership

Picture 6.11 demonstrates how the English alphabet is used instead of the Nepali alphabet in a public place, an open vegetable market. The English letters *A* and *B* are used to index the stalls belonging to different market traders. A similar practice exists on public transport where letters of the English alphabet are used to index the sides of seat numbers on buses and coaches.

Picture 6.12: English name used in trade

Picture 6.12 shows the name 'Hotel Peaceful' written completely in English. Similarly, there are many restaurants, private institutions and trading stores which bear English names and are written either in Roman or Devanagari script. Nepali people are confronted with this situation as soon as they are on the street as customers and passers-by. Sometimes public vehicle stops, e.g. bus stops, are also named in English. People then repeat these English names to fix their rendezvous points or give directions. The English names are uttered several times by people of various social classes, thereby making the English words very familiar among them.

Following this, I show the use of English in technology, that is on the internet, on social networks such as Facebook, and for SMS.

Technology: Internet, Web, Social Networks, SMS

The Nepali and English languages are in contact either through face-to-face interaction, i.e. direct participation of the people or agents bringing the two languages together, or through technology-mediated conversations such as those via SMS and social networks such as Facebook, among others. In the past, the personal interaction between Nepali people and foreign people speaking foreign languages was the only medium of Nepali and English language contact. Nowadays, due to new technology, people living in one corner of the world can be in touch with people living in another corner within a matter of a minute through information technology. I will show in this section that, like hoarding boards, the writing on many websites, social network sites such as Facebook and SMS are also full of English mixed with Nepali.

Websites

Nepal has entered the world of technology. It has become more or less mandatory for all business organisations to design a website to provide their customers with information

about their business. Nowadays every government and non-government organisation has its own website. Almost all the websites introduced by the government (Govts) and non-government organisations (NGOs) contain English at various levels. Some are entirely in English. The Nepali websites also contain some English. Although non-English language websites are rapidly increasing in number (Crystal, 2001:216), most of the web's content is in English (Lockard, 2000:178).

Some Illustrations of Websites

The images below, Pictures 6.13-6.16, show websites in both Nepali and English. Some are entirely in either English or Nepali, while some are mixed.

The following website (Picture 6.13) of Radio Nepal contains both Nepali and English. The website of the Ministry of Education (Picture 6.14), on the other hand, contains monolingual language elements – the first is entirely in English and the second entirely in Nepali.

Picture 6.13: Radio Nepal website
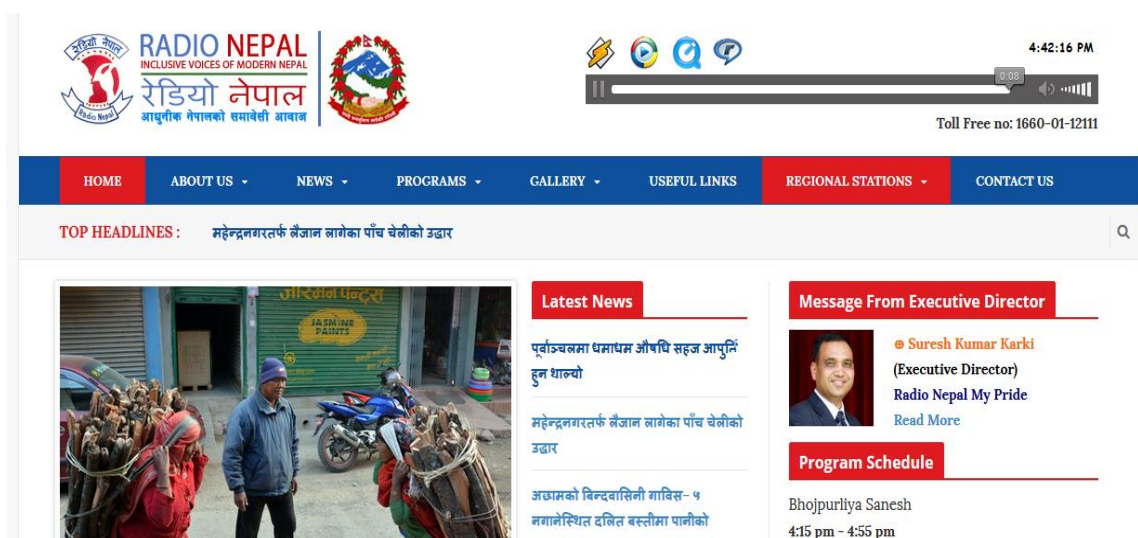
Picture 6.14: Ministry of Education website<http://www.moe.gov.np/>
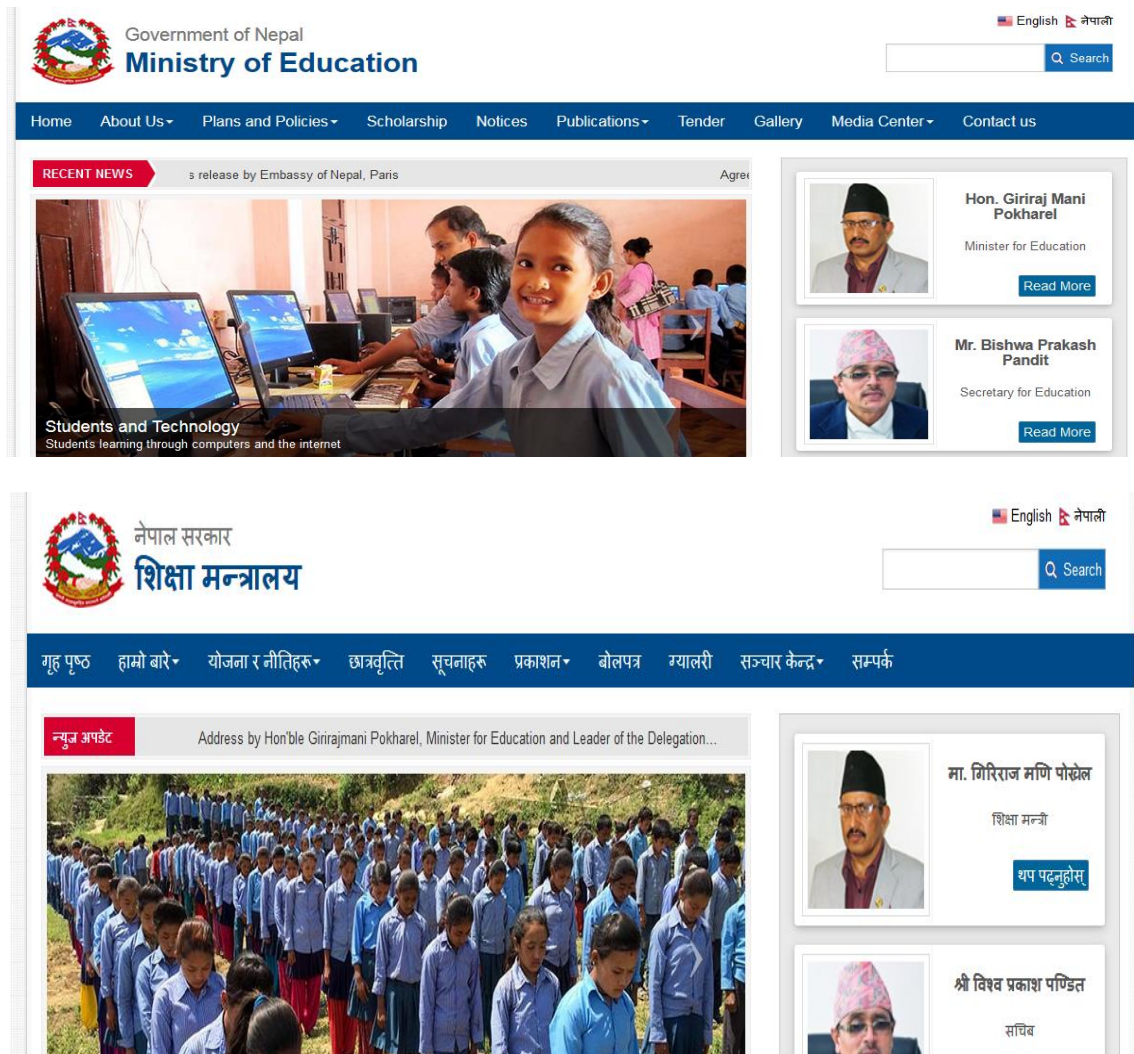
The website of a famous travel agency presented below is entirely in English.

Picture 6.15: Website of a travel agencyhttp://www.yetitravels.com/
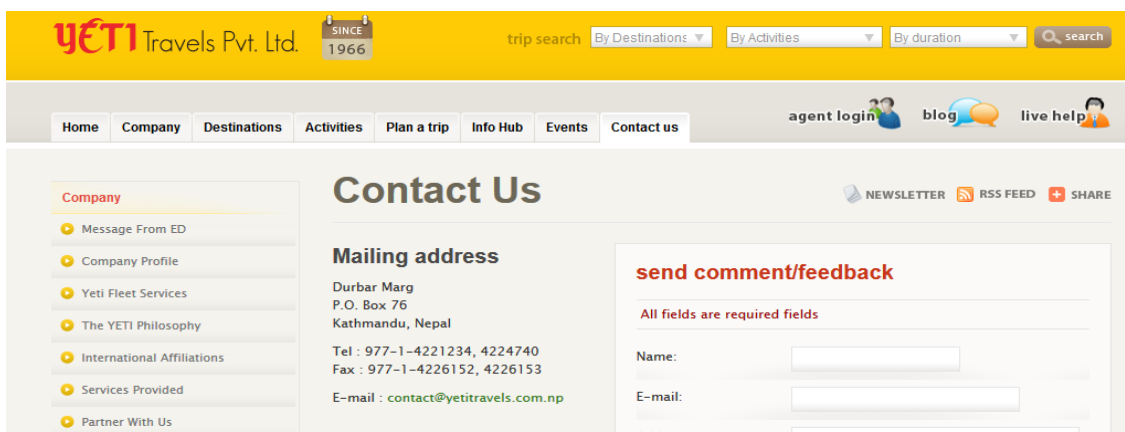
The following is the website of a private college; it is in English only.

Picture 6.16: College website <http://www.lacm.edu.np/>

This section has demonstrated that websites are major agents for bringing English to Nepalese people of all walks of life.

Short Message Service (SMS)

After the description of websites which use both Nepali and English, I have extracted an example of bilingual (English-Nepali) language use by Nepalese people while chatting online. The extract is presented below. The following is a written SMS conversation between two Nepalese people who do not know each other well and are not face-to-face. They chat on DCnepal Chat, which is provided by the website of the DC Nepal online news blog.

DCnepal Chat

Dec 21, 2015, 5:03 AM

hello_winter (guest): Ki *spring* ho?

Dec 21, 2015, 5:04 AM

Guest9551 (guest): *i know is that a namehot*

Dec 21, 2015, 5:04 AM

hello_winter (guest): *I also don't know*

Dec 21, 2015, 5:04 AM

Guest9551 (guest): *ok*

Dec 21, 2015, 5:04 AM

Guest9551 (guest): kata bata ho ni (*where are you from?*)

Dec 21, 2015, 5:05 AM

Guest5571 (guest): timi (*you*)

Dec 21, 2015, 5:05 AM

hello_winter (guest): Mo ta *tourist* ho kahie eta kahile uta (*I am a tourist I have no*

fixedlocation)

Dec 21, 2015, 5:06 AM

Guest5571 (guest): ma pani teho ho (*So am I*)

Dec 21, 2015, 5:06 AM

Guest5571 (guest): *fix chainna* (*No fix*)

Dec 21, 2015, 5:06 AM

hello_winter (guest): *No permanent stay*

Dec 21, 2015, 5:06 AM

Guest5571 (guest): *real name* ke ho ni (*what is your real name?*)

Dec 21, 2015, 5:06 AM

Guest5571 (guest): *nice*

Dec 21, 2015, 5:07 AM

hello_winter (guest): *Public chating* ma *introduce* k garnu *bro* (*Why should I introduce*

myself in public chatting brother?)

Dec 21, 2015, 5:07 AM

hello_winter (guest): *Casual* gaff-gaff garum (*Let's have a casual conversation*)

<http://www.dcnepal.com/chat.php>

The above chat is between two guests, known as Guest5571 and hello_winter. These participants have chosen names in English for the purpose of chatting online. Similar to the data presented and analysed in Chapter 5, they are mixing English at all levels, from the lexical to the sentence level, into their Nepali. For example, parts of speech such as interjections (*ok*), nouns (*spring*, *tourist*) and adjectives (*nice*, *casual*) have been inserted at the lexical level, while phrases such as *real name*, *no permanent stay* and *public chatting* have been used at the clausal level. Likewise, English verbs such as *fix* and *introduce* have been used with Nepali operators to yield **fix chainna** ('no fix') and **Public chating** ma **introduce** k garnu **bro** ('Why should I introduce myself in public chatting brother?').

This extract has shown how Nepali and English are used bilingually in chatting; the next section will look at English in contact with Nepali on Facebook.

Facebook

Pictures 6.17 and 6.18 present screenshots of bilingual Facebook pages.

Picture 6.17: Bilingual text on Facebook

कोईकोईकेटीहरु --- तरकारीबजारमागोलभेंडाकिन्नजान्छनअनि

Some girls   --- vegetable market-in tomato   to buy go   and

Some girls go to vegetable market to buy tomato and

Facebookमाstatusराख्छन'**Shopping at CIVIL mall'**.

Facebook in   status update   'Shopping at CIVIL mall'.

Update status in Facebook 'Shopping at CIVIL mall'.

Picture 6.18: Bilingual text message

In the above text message some English words are also written in Nepali orthography (transliterated), e.g. *mobile set*, *simcard* and *recharge card*.

Wifeभनेकोमोवाइलसेट , **Husband**भनेकोसिमकार्ड

Wife is   mobile set, husband is   sim card

उनीहरुबीचकोसम्बन्धरिचार्जकार्ड

They   between relation recharge card

छोराभए**incoming call**,   छोरीभए**outgoing call**

Son is   incoming call,   daughter   is   outgoing call.

दुवैनभए**missed call** ……　　 he he

Both　　be (nonpst)neg.　　　missed call…….　　he he

Translation:

Wife is mobile set, husband is sim card.

The relation between them is recharge card.

If there is son, it is incoming call. If there is daughter, it is outgoing call.

If not both, it is missed call.

Examples 6.17 and 6.18 illustrate the frequent use of English at various levels (lexical, phrase and sentence) on Nepali Facebook pages. These English insertions facilitate the occurrence of English in the conversation of Nepalese people.

In this context, I would like to quote one of my participants from a discussion among business people.

> F18: angreji misawot hunuma **tweny-five percentmedia**-ko karan le
>
> bhako jasto lagcha (A0290317)

Translation: *The businessman believes that 25% mixing English in conversation is attributed to the media.*

In the above statement the businessman attributes the mixing of English to the media, including TV, radio and other technologies such as SMS and the internet.

This section has illustrated the heavy presence of English in traditional and more recent electronic (SMS) media and web-based forms of communication. No Nepali person who

opens a newspaper or webpage can avoid English. For this reason it can be argued that the media are a major agent in facilitating Nepali-English language contact.

6.2.1.2 Broadcast Media

The dominant language in broadcasting media such as radio and television is Nepali. There are a few radio and television programmes in local languages, targeting particular local/ethnic language speakers. There are a number of privately-run television channels in addition to the government-run *The Nepal Television*. Similarly, there are a lot of radio stations that have opened and been run in the private sector in addition to the government-run *The Radio Nepal*.

The broadcast media names are in English, for instance *atv TV*('avenues television'), *news 24* and *ABC television* (which stands for 'accuracy, balance and credibility').

Picture 6.19: Names of telecast media

Some names of radio stations in Nepal are as follows:

Picture 6.20: Names of broadcast media

Pictures 6.19 and 6.20 illustrate that many broadcast media names are also in English. The names are usually given in both Nepali Devanagiri and English orthography on logos. Because the text is provided in both English and Nepali and in both scripts, it is easy for Nepali-English bilinguals to read both the advertisements analysed in the previous section and the above names of broadcast media. Most radio and television stations accommodate English along with Nepali into their logo and when broadcasting various programmes. Similarly, the following is the programme schedule of a radio station. This provides evidence on how Nepali and English are mixed even in the names of media programmes.

Programme schedule of Radio Kantipur

- **9:00 – 09:15am**: Kantipur News

- **9:15 – 09:30am**: Traffic Update Information

- **9:30 – 10:00am:**Entertainment Buzz

- **10:00 – 10:05am:**Kantipur Diary

- **10:05 – 11:00am:**NCELL wish u all the best

- **11:00 – 11:05 am:** Kantipur Diary

- **11:05 – 12:00 am**: Preeti Aaja Ka NariRashmila

- **12:00 – 12:10am:** Kantipur Diary

<http://radiokantipur.ekantipur.com/programs/#sthash.CXp67XA8.dpuf>

The following are images of TV programmes telecast by different TV channels. The programmes are 'Tough talk', 'The RD Show' and 'Black & White'.

Picture 6.21: Logos of TV programmes' names

To link this section to the previous one, I present below a transcript of a spoken interaction between the host and a guest on one of the above TV programmes, 'Black & White'. The data contain several instances of Nepali-English code-switching.

'Black & White' is a popular weekly programme telecast through an image TV channel. This programme is presented by Mr Bijaya Lama, a famous cine artist cum pilot. The main purpose of this programme is to develop a positive attitude towards life among its audience. Hence, people from all walks of life who have been successful in their profession are invited onto the programme. It was not possible to obtain precise audience numbers, but this programme reaches a large audience across Nepal. The following episode was telecast on June 25, 2015.

Host: Namaste ani swogat cha tapainlain '***Black &White'*** ma.

Guest: ***Thank you***.

Host: Aja hami ekdam ***straight from the heart we will talk***.

Guest: ***OK.***

Host: Yayavar ***I would like to start from there***. Brajesh khanal ***script writer, screen play writer***Nepali chalchitrako euta stamba.

Guest: Stamba nai nabhanau.

Host: Lekhan vida ma, ***you have done a lot of movie***. Satari?

Guest: Ah ***almost seventy***.

Host: Rat bhar rat bhar basera pani lekhnu hunthyore.

Guest: Ah, kunai bela ***at a time*** tin ta ***project*** mero hatma hunthyo. ***I could not say no to anyone. On top of that, that was my struggling face.***

Host: Hh!

Guest: ***I needed the dough***.

Host: Tapain ko yayavar ko euta *dialogue*sunanuna.

Guest: Euta *frustrated old man character* cha. Usko barema *reaction* dindai maile mero *newly-wed wife*lai bhaneko thiye - teslai bhancha *diarrhoea of words and constipation of ideas…*

In the above transcription the English elements are italicised. Like the host, the guest is a cine artist cum author involved in media and writing. This piece of conversation from a talk show episode contains all types of Nepali-English CS: intra-sentential CS, inter-sentential CS and tag-switching. The English formulaic expressions *good morning* and *thank you* are very common among Nepalese people. Even some Nepalese people with little formal education use them in their conversation. English expressions of this sort are carried to the audience via the media.

At first, English at various levels is used in print and broadcasting media, and then copied by the general population. Through use in the media, new English-language expressions enter Nepali everyday language use. For instance, the guest in the above talk show extract produces an interesting expression, *diarrhoea of words and constipation of ideas,* worth quoting to and for the audience. Some of these expressions are ephemeral, while some become entrenched in everyday language use. Hence, the media play a vital role in giving birth to an innovative medium of expression, i.e. the English language, for the general audience to use in their conversation. This section attests to a conclusion Tagliamonte and Roberts draw from their analysis of language use in a popular TV series, that "language is more innovative in the media than in the general population" (Tagliamonte & Roberts, 2005:296).

The following extract is an example of advertisement broadcasting on television.

Prostyle on'music of your choice' is brought to you by Prostyle

dandruff control hair oil, Jagadamba steels, Jagadamba cements

sharp, close-up, NCELL and Coca-Cola open happiness.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=hth5gWhrQ8Y#t=34>

The above advertisement is played during an image channel programme entitled 'Music of your choice'. In this advertisement all product names for indispensable goods required by Nepalese people in their day-to-day life are given in English, e.g. *Prostyle dandruff control hair oil*, *jagadamba steels* and *close-up*. It is unsurprising that English words such as *dandruff*, *steel* and *close-up* are picked up by the audience and imported into their native language Nepali.

There are 87 foreign TV channels (to name but a few, *Animal Planet, Discovery Travel & Living, MTV, Zoom, ESPN, CNN* etc.) permitted for downlink by the Nepalese Government in April 2011 (Infoassaid, 2011:68-69). These foreign TV channels provide further English language access to a large number of Nepali people.

A United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) survey of three rural districts in 2009 found that 72% of households had access to a radio and 52% had television (Infoassaid, 2011:11).

Table 6.3 below presents reported responses by my survey participants on listening and watching radio and television programmes in different languages.

Table 6.3: Responses to listening to radio and watching television programmes in different languages

Language pattern of listening to and watching radio/TV by respondents		
	Frequency	**Percent**
Nepali	98	49
English	6	3
Both Nepali and English	93	46.5
Other	3	1.5
Total	**200**	**100**

Table 6.3 above shows that 49% of respondents prefer radio and TV programmes in Nepali, 3% prefer programmes in English, 46.5% in both Nepali and English mixed and 1.5% in other local languages such as Gurung, Newari, Maithili, Bhojpuri and Tamang. This shows a positive attitude toward the formation of a bilingual Nepali-English mode of spoken interaction in the broadcast media in Nepal.

6.3.2   Education

Along with media, education plays an important role in spreading English in Nepal. English has taken its place in Nepal's education system. This is reflected in the large number of English textbooks prescribed at the various levels of government schools. English language teaching started in 2003 from Grade I after the revision of the primary curriculum in 2002 (Primary Education Curriculum, 2006). Prior to this, English was taught from Grade IV onwards. This revision has also made provision on the medium of instruction, using Nepali, English with Nepali, and students' mother tongues for different subjects. Hence, teaching in English is not restricted to teaching English as a subject.

Other subjects such as science, social studies and geography are also taught in English. Some privately-run schools and colleges have adopted English as their only medium of instruction.

6.3.2.1 Medium of Instruction

The following Figure 6.1 presents information provided by participants in the questionnaire survey on the medium of instruction.

Figure 6.1: Reported medium of instruction at various levels of education
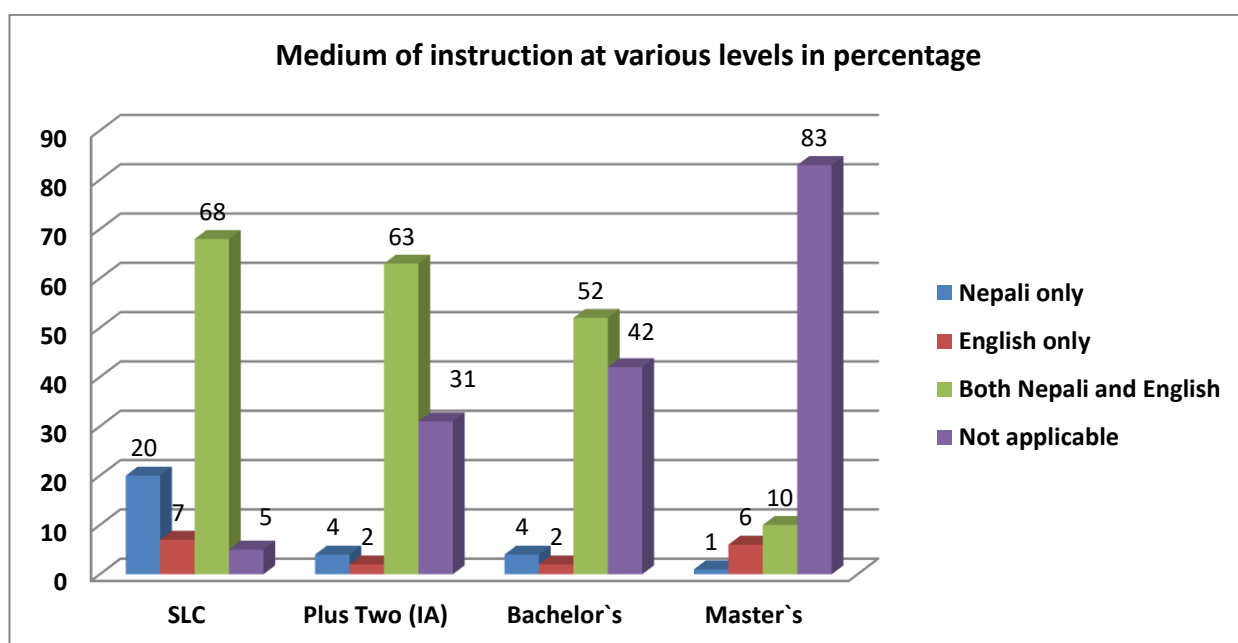
Figure 6.1 above summarises the medium of instruction in which respondents received their education at various levels, from SLC (School Leaving Certificate) to MA. A larger number of respondents said that they were educated in both Nepali and English at various levels of their schooling and in higher education. The smallest percentage of the respondents claimed they were educated only in English. This is already changing, as evidenced by the following statement made by a female government employee from a rural area:

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*R02: sahari chetra ma afna keta keti harule angreji bolyo bhane gaurav garne manish haru pani chan tyo parampara bistarai gaun tira pani aisakyo ahile ta gauma angreji **medium**-ma padhaunaa suru garisakya cha **private**-ma matra na bhayera sarkari **school** haruma pani (A0590416)

Translation:

There are a lot of parents in the urban areas who are proud of their children's ability to speak English, this trend has now been extended to the rural area parents also. Today instruction in English is no longer limited to urban areas only. The rural area government schools have also started to instruct their children in English.

One of the respondents from a business group interview makes the following statement in relation to this topic.

*R02: **private boarding school**-ma nai padhchan. hamro **education** sarkari sikchya paddati system ramro chaina ahile thorai sudhar bhairako cha ahile bistarai **parents**-haruko jhukab pani **english**-ma nai bhako le **englishmediumschools**-haru kholdai ayo ra yo badhdai gako cha. (A1000531)

Translation:

I also send my children to private English boarding schools. Our government education system is not good enough. However, there has been some improvement. Recently, parents are also being attracted towards English medium education recently introduced in the government schools. Subsequently, there are more English medium schools accessible to the students.

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The trend of teaching in English is not limited to private boarding schools. Now even some government schools have introduced the English medium to attract students.

Responses of respondents on the use of English as a medium of instruction

Figure 6.1 presented the data from the questionnaire survey on the medium of instruction in which respondents received their schooling at various levels. In Table 6.4 I present the attitude of respondents towards English as a medium of instruction.

Table 6.4: Should English be the medium of instruction at all levels of education?

English should be the medium of instruction at all levels of education		
	Frequency	**Percent**
Agree	116	58
Strongly agree	64	32
Disagree	16	8
Strongly disagree	4	2
Total	200	100

Table 6.4 shows that 58% of respondents would like to make English the medium of instruction at all levels of education, from school to higher education level. Thirty-two percent of respondents strongly agree with making English the medium of instruction at all levels. Only 8% of the respondents disagree and 2% strongly disagree.

Nepalese people from all walks of life have now accepted English education as compulsory. They feel that making Nepali the only medium of instruction has become an obsolete idea in a globalised world. Nowadays no country on this globe remains untouched by the outside world. The participants in this study view the English language as the main catalyst for keeping Nepal in touch with the outside world.

English has been used to name not only businesses, newspapers and broadcast media but also many education institutions in Nepal.

6.3.2.2 Educational Institutions' Policy on the Use of English

Section 6.3.2.2 presents how school names are given and written, and which languages schools employ to issue school notices.

Government school names

Even though most government-run schools have Nepali names, they are also written in English, that is they are transliterated into English. In the case of privately-run schools, they are all named in English. The following are examples from government schools.

Picture 6.22: A government school name in English

Only English elements are found in Picture 6.22. In the first line the first two words are transliterated, *Shree Shivalaya,* while the last two words, *Secondary School,* are English. On the second row *Estd.,* the short form of established, and the year the school was

founded are in English. On the third row, the place name is in English, while the telephone number on the last line is also entirely in English.

Picture 6.23: Bilingual government school signboard

Picture 6.23 shows that both Nepali and English and the respective scripts they are written in are used in this government school signboard. The first row of the board is all Nepali. The second is a transliteration of the first one. The only difference between the names written in Devanagiri and English orthography is that the first two words are in Nepali and the last two in English, i.e. the Nepali माध्यामिकविद्यालय '*madhyamik vidyalaya'* is translated into English as *secondary school*. The English *ESTD*, the abbreviation of established, is the translation equivalent of the Nepali word स्थापित(*sthapit*).

Private school names

Most private school names are in English. An example is presented in picture 6.23.

Picture 6.24: A private school shortened name in English

It is common practice that schools shorten their long name into an acronym. For instance, in Picture 6.24 the long name Samakoshi English Boarding School is shortened to SEB School.

Picture 6.25: Private school name in English

Picture 6.26: Private school name in English

Picture 6.25 shows the unique name of a private school. Through this name, the school manager wants to distinguish his/her school from government schools. Similarly, Picture 6.26 shows the English name associated with the foreign geographical location Texas. Moreover, 'international school' is added to its name to attract guardians and students with their claim of an international standard of teaching.

The politics of English school names

A sister organisation of one of the main political parties staged a protest against private boarding schools with English or foreign names, as 90% of schools with foreign names are set up in the private sector. Subsequently the government issued a direction to all colleges to remove their English names. In addition to the image of schools and colleges, there are private schools bearing English names such as *Donbosco International Higher Secondary School*, *Texas International College* and *Florida College*. The practice has slowed down now due to the government directive; however, some schools and colleges continue to offer their services and courses under English names.

Most of my respondents were against English school names. These participants think that the school owners use English names as a financial strategy to earn money. Some participants claim that some of the boarding schools are cheating parents into paying higher fees by claiming that they give their children a completely English education. This is not the case in all schools. One of the teacher participants expresses his dissatisfaction with this practice in an interview by pointing out the way the word *international* is added to the school's or college's name as mentioned before. He ridicules them by pointing out that these schools are not teaching international students at all: "Why are they using the word 'international'? It is ridiculous" (A0350401).

In the following extract a respondent in an individual interview explains the motivation behind using English names for schools.

> *R02: esle am manisharuko man jitna akarsan garcha bhanne am mancheko dharana cha. angreji ma padhai huncha bhanne sandesh dina khojeko ho jasto lagcha **englsih**-ma lekheko **signboard** herara yo **school**-ma ta **englishmedium**-ma padhai huncha bhanne abhibhavak haru ko manyata cha. (A0560415)

Translation:

The common concept is that this practice of naming schools in English wins the heart of all the parents. I think the message they want to give to the general people is that they teach pupils in the English medium. Moreover, all the people have perceived the idea that the schools have adopted English as the medium of instruction simply by looking at the sign board with the English name on it.

Another respondent from an individual interview states that private schools are under pressure to choose English names.

*R02: afno byapar lai bajarma **establish** garna pani yesto gareko hunuparcha angreji nam rakhda **parents**-harulai akarshak garna pani ho katipayale ta nasuhaune nam haru rakheko paiyo jasto ki **englishfootballclub**-ko nam vidyalayama rakheko cha yo ati hasyaspad cha. (A0410407)
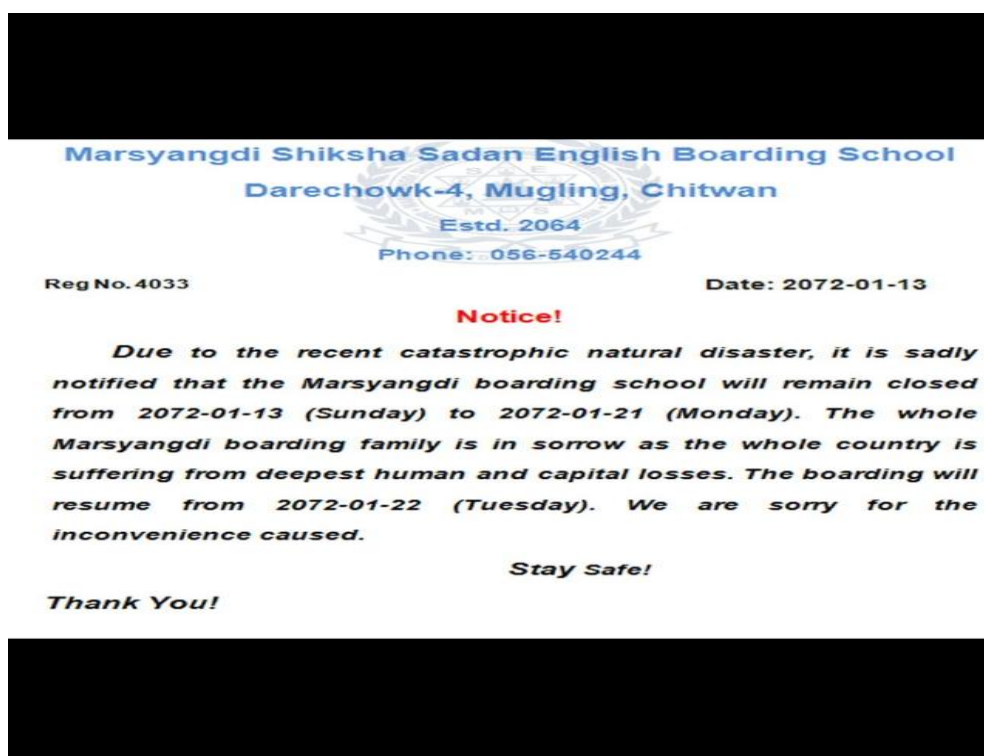
Translation:

The education institutions needed to take English names to establish themselves in the market. The private school owners presume that naming their institutions in English attracts the parents. Some of them have chosen an odd name from the English football club Chelsea. The school's name 'Chelsea International Academy' in Kathmandu is a ridiculous example.

School notices and announcements

In addition to their choice of English names, many private schools opt for English to issue notices to students and parents.

Picture 6.27: A notice issued by a private school

Marsyangdi Shiksha Sadan English Boarding School
Darechowk-4, Mugling, Chitwan
Estd. 2064
Phone: 056-540244

Reg No. 4033   Date: 2072-01-13

Notice!

Due to the recent catastrophic natural disaster, it is sadly notified that the Marsyangdi boarding school will remain closed from 2072-01-13 (Sunday) to 2072-01-21 (Monday). The whole Marsyangdi boarding family is in sorrow as the whole country is suffering from deepest human and capital losses. The boarding will resume from 2072-01-22 (Tuesday). We are sorry for the inconvenience caused.

Stay Safe!

Thank You!

Marsyangdi Shiksha Sadan in Picture 6.27 is a Nepali name written in English. The English phrase *English Boarding School* has been added at the end.

The notice above is representative of many notices provided by English medium private boarding schools. The notice was issued to all parents and local people on the closure of the school due to the devastating earthquake in 2015. In an individual interview a teacher comments on schools' practices regarding issuing notices as follows.

> *R02: vidyarthi ra **teachers**-harulai suchana dinda angreji ma nai huncha **parents** harulai pani praya dherai jaso english ma nai **notice** dinchaun. (A0410407)

Translation:

We always issue notices in English to the teachers and the students and mostly to the parents as well.

Thus, many private schools issue notices in English to inform parents about all academic and extra-curricular activities. The use of English is not restricted to notices; many employees of private schools also speak English - along with Nepali - in teacher-parent meetings. Making announcements in English to host a cultural programme is a common phenomenon at school. Even state-run schools are under pressure to follow English medium private institutions in instructing their pupils through English language notices.

Picture 6.28: A notice on a private school premises

Students are strongly encouraged to speak English while on the premises of private English boarding schools. The above sign, encouraging students speak English at all times, was photographed on the wall of a school yard. The administration publishes signs like this to make sure that their students speak English with their friends and teachers. Penalising those caught speaking Nepali can also be witnessed in some private boarding schools, as evidenced in the following extract from an interview. The following is a remark made by a teacher:

> *R02: **schooladministration**-le ladirakheko awastha cha kati paya
>
> vidyalayama **teacher**-lai pani **fine** lagaune nepali bolyo bhane bhanne.
>
> (A0410407)

Translation:

The school administration imposes the condition of speaking English compulsorily. If teachers are found speaking Nepali to their pupils, they will be fined.

Similarly, a teacher in an urban area also reports that speaking English is imposed on teachers and students in private schools.

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*R02: tyo prasanga anusar huncha ramro **boardingschool**-haru bhitra angreji nai bolnu parcha natra **students** lai **penalise** garchan. (A0350401)

Translation:

Good private schools maintain a strictly English-speaking environment within the school's premises. Students found to be speaking Nepali are penalised.

The evidence presented above indicates that there is strong encouragement to use English in Nepalese education, particularly in the private sector. The English-speaking policy followed by many Nepalese schools suggests that Nepalese people are strongly encouraged to become bilingual but using English rather than their local language as their second language.

6.3.2.3 Education Policy

English Medium Instruction (EMI) was introduced formally after the Nepali government revised the Education Act in 2006 (Phyak, 2016:208). The revision of the Education Act has allowed public schools to adopt English as the medium of instruction. Subsequently, the Curriculum Development Centre has also started designing and publishing books in English for public schools (see textbooks section below).

This is further supported by the government schools' compliance with the Nepali government's policy on English education across the country. The newspapers also report the development of the English medium trend among government schools. The newspaper reports are as follows.

Santosh Neupane reports in *My Republica* under the title 'English language attracting government schools' published on Saturday March 26, 2014:

> Students from government schools are weak in English. Most people try to enrol their children in private schools while families with weak financial backgrounds send their children to government schools. There is a wide gap between the academic standards in private and government schools and hence many government schools are working hard to compete with private schools. Teachers say that government schools have introduced English medium in the curriculum to provide up to date education to students.

He further reports:

> Lately, community schools in Chitwan have started using the English as the medium of instruction. Ishwori Kandel, Chairperson of Nepal English Language Association Chitwan says that schools started teaching in English as many students were withdrawing from schools. Since the schools started teaching in English, students have stopped leaving and their guardians are also happy.

A news article entitled 'The internal migration in Parbat district stopped after the introduction of English', published in an online news blog on January 5, 2015, supports the news reports on the impact of English education on internal migration:

> After teaching was started in English medium in a village government school, the occurrence of the internal emigration from a village of Parbat district to enrol the children in an English boarding school in the city has stopped.

The news article further explains that, over the last few years, the process of migration has stopped in the southern part of rural Hosrangdi VDC (Village Development Committee) in Parbat district, after students in a local lower secondary school began to be taught in English. This shows the attraction of English medium education for parents.

In the government schools of Parbat district, students are taught in English from nursery to Class VIII. Since the introduction of English medium teaching, parents have stopped migrating to the town for their children's English education. One of the parents, Ishwori Bhusal, says that "we will do better improving our existing education than leaving the village".

Parents from the neighbouring VDC have also started sending their children to a government school. This school has made arrangements for students to stay in a hostel at a discount. The school's headmaster, Mr Chet Prasad Rana, reports in a blog that, as a result of English medium education being offered, 30 more students have been enrolled. He further adds that nowadays emigration has stopped, and due to the increasing number of students coming from outside the VDC, he has had to arrange hostels for the students (http://www.onlinekhabar.com/2016/01/371122/#sthash.xjjv1HGp.dpuf). These measures again support the importance parents attach to English medium education.

A government teacher expresses his opinion on the necessity of English medium instruction in the following extract (A0350401):

> *R02: **yes** ho hami sarkari bhayeko bhaye pani hamile bigatka kehi
>
> barsa yeta angreji **medium**-ma padhaundai ayeka chaun yo awasyakta
>
> pani banyo jasto **maths** padhaunda ganitko **terminology** bidyarthi le
>
> angreji mai padhnu parcha ho pachi **higherlevel-**ma pani nepali ma nai

padhai hune bhayeta thikaii thiyo mathi lo **level** ma gayera angreji

medium-ma nai padhai huncha bhane talai bata kina angreji **medium**

lai kina prayas nagarne. (A0350401)

Translation:

We have been teaching our students in English medium for the last few years. We have

to adopt English as a medium of instruction because when teaching maths, the students

have to be familiar with some English terms which are very useful at the higher level

where they are required to learn in English. Why should we not begin this at the lower

level when they are required to do so at higher level?

The same government teacher furthermore notes:

> **private schools**-haru le **englishmedium**-ma padhaune bhako le
>
> **governmentschools** harulai pani telsai **compete** garna
>
> **englishmedium**-lai apnai sake ko cha. (A0480409)

Translation:

Government schools have also adopted English medium instruction to increase their

education quality to the level of those private schools where English medium instruction

is already in place.

Private and government schools

The above data show the efforts made by some government schools to attract pupils to

their institution by introducing English medium education. The management of many

government schools is aware of the fact that parents, pointing out that there is bad

management and a lack of qualified teachers and teaching and learning materials, have

stigmatised government schools. Due to this, parents prefer private English schools to government schools.

Parents' choice of school

As mentioned previously, the pressure on government schools to adopt English as a medium of instruction is increasing. Most respondents report that they have placed their children in private schools. They have good reasons for doing so. In spite of the efforts by some government schools to enhance the quality of their education, they are still behind in attracting as many students as the privately-run schools. Most respondents enrol their children in private schools, for various reasons which are explained below. One respondent from the business people FGD points out the lack of quality in government schools. In the following extract he says that government schools lack teaching materials, and courses of study could be better managed. Due to this, government schools lag behind private schools.

A female interviewee expresses her opinion on the government education system in the following lines**:**

> *R02: **private boarding**-ma padchan **sarkari schools**-ma **material**-ko abhav **course of study**-ko ramro beywasthapan chaina tehi bhayera pani ho **quality**-ko hisavle sarkari **schoolprivateschool** bhanda pachadi cha. (A0690502)

Translation:

Government schools are behind private schools because government schools lack educational materials and cannot manage the course of study properly.

Likewise, in the following excerpt a parent expresses her opinion about private and government schools.

> *R02: **private**-ma padhcha kina ki **governmentschool**-ma **teachers**-haru **negligence** garne **sincerelyclass** naline bhakole tesma padhai ramro hundaina tehi bhayera ho ani ahile **competition** cha tesaile **privateschool**-ma padhepachi **qualified** huncha ki bhanera tetai titara padhna pathako chu. (A1030601)

Translation:

My child studies in a private school because teachers and government schools are not committed to their jobs. This is the age of competition. My child can compete in any challenge after getting a qualification in a private school.

Similarly, a female participant in the teacher FGD makes the following remark on the choice of English medium school for her children:

> *F10: ke garnu hami **discuss** bahas garchaun tara ke garne hame **educated**-harule pani **privateschool**-mai padhna pathaunu parcha bhanne **concept** hami afaima cha **maximumgovernmentschool** padhaune **teachers**-harule afu chain sarkari school-ma kam garne tara chora choriharulai chain **privateboardingschool**-ma padhauncha tyo pani ho **point**. (A0240309)

Translation:

What to do. We, educated people, frequently hold debates and discussion about the improvement of the government school system, but we have developed a concept of

private schooling. We teach in government schools but send our children to private schools.

Through the above data I have looked at how parents prefer private schools to government schools. In the following section I will look at the textbooks prescribed by both government and private schools.

Textbooks

Here, my intention is not to compare education between government and private schools. As my research area is the sociolinguistics of bilingualism in Nepal, I discuss/mention this to justify how the publication of textbooks in English and the effort to teach students in English has further constructed a wider avenue for the two languages Nepali and English to coexist in the education system of Nepal.

The publication of textbooks in English from nursery to higher secondary is in place to introduce English medium education. The Ministry of Education, the government of Nepal and the Curriculum Development Centre publish textbooks for government-run schools. Previously, only the textbooks for English language as a subject were published in English. English was taught as a subject in government schools starting from Grade IV up to higher education level. Over the last few years, textbooks on all subjects, not just English, have been published in both Nepali and English from Grade I. Thus, even government school students have access to English medium education like their private boarding school friends from the pre-primary level.

The following images of textbook covers illustrate this.

Picture 6.29: Grade II textbook and Grade V textbook
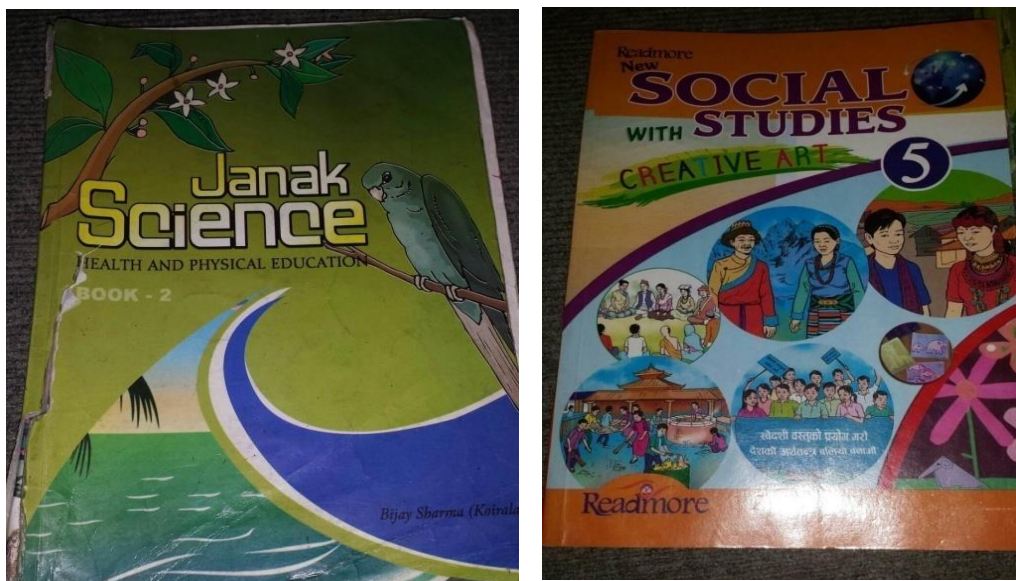
The above images of textbook covers are for Grade II and Grade V respectively. The subjects are science (health and physical education) and social studies. These books are the English versions of the Nepali text books "स्वास्थ्यरशारीरिकशिछ्या" and "सामाजीकअध्ययन". The English publication ensures that English medium instruction is in place even in government-run schools from the primary level.

A government employee from a focus group discussion attributes his mixing of English into his Nepali conversation to schooling. In his case, he happened to study both Nepali and English from Grade I onwards. After his schooling, in his workplace, he also adopted a bilingual language mode (Grosjean, 1998), frequently switching between Nepali and English. Obviously, this circumstance supports him in the use of English in his conversation. This is expressed in the following lines:

> *F21: mero sandarvama chain maile angreji ra nepali duitai bhasa sikne
>
> ra sikaune kramma duitai bhasako prayaog bhayo maile padhda kheri
>
> pani nepali ra angreji ma nai padhe ra kam garda pani duita bhasako
>
> prayog garnu parcha elle garda swobhavik rupma duitai bhasako prayog

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bhayo mero bolichalima tulanatmak rupma guanma gayen bhane kam

angreji sabdako prayog hola tara jhukera tenha pani angreji sabdako

prayog huncha nabujheko jasto awasthama ma **correction** garihalchu

yesko karan chain mero **study** mero **experience** ra mero **practice**-ko

influence jasto lagcha. (A0320319)

Translation:

In my case, both English and Nepali were used in course of learning. I have to use both
languages in my workplace. Due to this, both Nepali and English are used in
conversation. Comparatively I mix less in the rural area but sometimes I use English by
mistake even there. This is attributed to my study, experience and practice.

Likewise, in an individual interview a teacher from the rural area makes the following

statement:

*R02: sobhabik rupma misincha jani jani hoina phutta **englishwords**

haru bolda niski halcha padhaunda ani vidyarthile bujhne pani bho ahile

praya jaso **school**-haruma **socialstudiesenglish**-ma cha ani hamika pani

scienconetothreeenglish-ma cha. (A0550415)

Translation:

Mixing English has become a common practice in our conversation. This happens even
when teaching in class. Most of the schools have social studies books in English. We also
have books on science in English from Grade I to Grade III.

Similarly, in the following statement a teacher from the urban area provides information on the publication and use of English textbooks, originally intended for public schools, in government schools:

> ahile ta yesto bhaisakeko cha ki sarkari **schools**-haruma pani **privatepublication**-le prakashan gareko **english**-ma lekheko pathya pustak haru napal adhirajya bhari nai pugi sakeko cha padhai tyo anurup hola nahola tyo afno thaunma cha tara tesari angreji ko **trenddevelop** hundai cha yo chain niji starko vidyalaya sanga **competition** garna ko lagi ho. (A0410407)

Translation:

Now the English textbooks published by private publishers have taken their place in government schools across the country. Whether teaching and learning can take place according to the private school standard or not that is another issue in its own right. However, a trend of English is being developed in government schools to compete with the private school system.

A business person in a question-and-answer session following a FGD states:

> *F18: **tweny**-**fivepercentmedia**-ko karan le bhako jasto lagcha ahile ta **governmentschool**-haruma pani dhamadham kitavharu **english**-ma **publish** bhako cha. (A0290317)

Translation:

25% of the reason is covered by the media in bringing Nepali-English language contact situation in Nepal. Now, all the textbooks are published in the English medium by the government schools.

Both participants thus confirm that even government print schools have introduced textbooks written in English. This further intensifies Nepali-English language contact and facilitates the use of a Nepali-English bilingual language mode in many situations.

After analysing the education domain, I turn my attention to the use of English in trade and tourism. I investigate these domains to shed light on how the trade and tourism domains facilitate the use of English in the conversation of Nepalese people.

6.3.2.4 Trade and Tourism

Trade and tourism is another way of bringing the English language into contact with Nepali. People from different countries work together in trade and tourism using English. As a global language, English has a prominent role in connecting people speaking different native languages. Nepal has trade connections, particularly with India and China. Trade with India commenced due to the relation between the Nepali government and the East India Company under British rules, as we saw in Chapter 2. Though the Nepali government had established trade relations with other neighbouring countries, its contact with an English-speaking country was first established by the visit of the military official Captain Kirkpatrick on his mission to Nepal in 1792. This trade connection intensified after the Treaty of Sugauli between the Nepali government and the British East India Company in 1816 (Gautam, 1995:2052).

Now all trade both within Nepal and with its neighbouring nations embraces English to some extent. Justifying this, a businesswoman from Kathmandu says:

> *R02: nepali **market**-ma **trade** garda angreji nai **important** hoina hami
>
> nepali bhasa nai prayog garna sakchaun tara **system** nai **english**-ma cha
>
> jasto euta **billpad** bhannus **voucher english**-ma **print** huncha **bank**-ko
>
> **check** book nepali ra angreji duita ma **print** huncha hami sampurna

karobar **totally** nepalima garchaun tapani hamro **system**-haru chai **english**-ma cha jasto tapainlai **Example** diun hami karyalayako bewasthapan ramro chaina bhandainau hami **office**-ko **management** ramro chaina bhanchaun. (A1000531)

Translation:

*In the Nepali market English itself is not important when operating business within the country since we can use Nepali. However, all the system of operating our daily transactions is in both English and Nepali. For instance, **bank voucher**, **bill pad**, **bank statement** and **checkbook** are all printed in English. Though we do all transactions in Nepali, the system of transaction is in English. For instance, we never say* **अफिसब्यवास्थापन** *(office management) in Nepali. We say it in English – **office management** ramro bhayena.*

***Office management**ramro   bhayana*

Gloss: Office management   good   be (non past) neg.

Translation:*The office management was not good.*

The following two images show receipts printed in Devanagari, but completed in handwriting in English.

Picture 6.30: Receipt in Devanagari
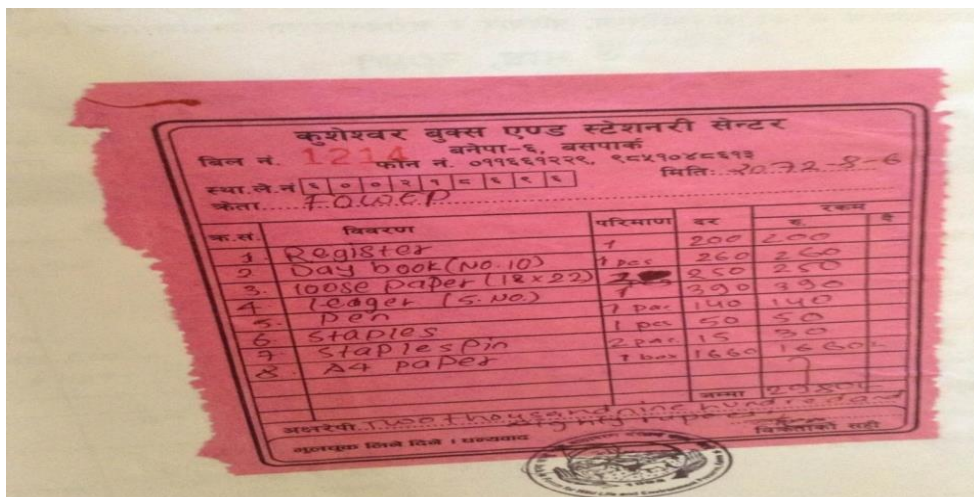
Picture 6.31: Bilingual receipt
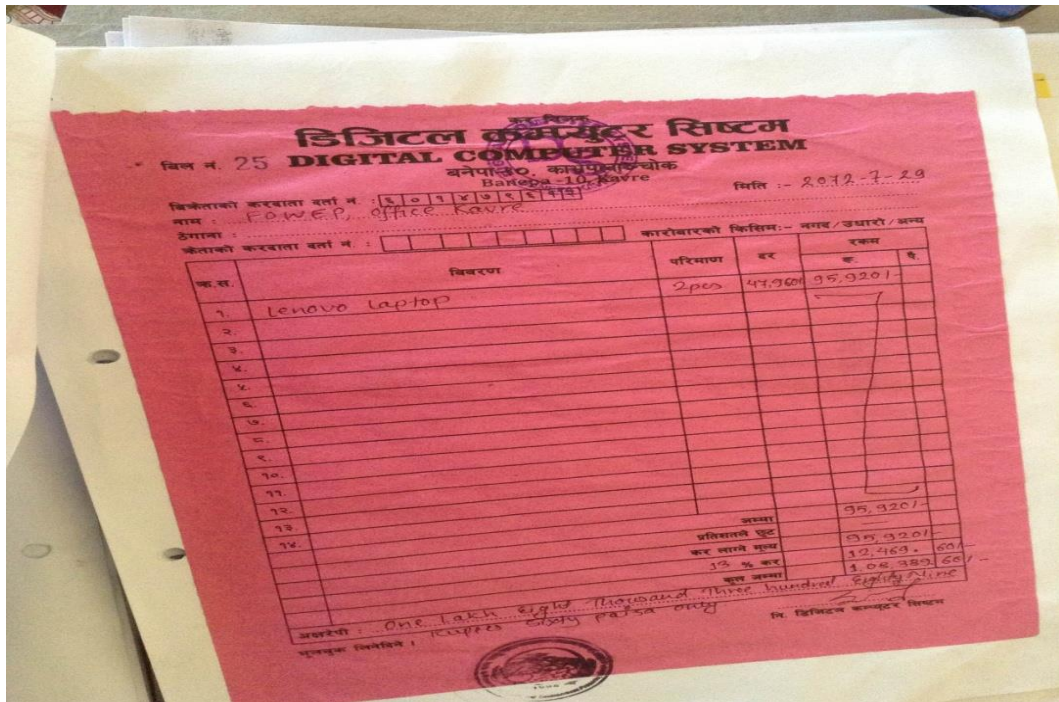
Pictures 6.30 and 6.31 show the presence of Nepali and English on receipts provided by business people to their customers. The first receipt, shown in Picture 6.22a, has कुशेश्वोरबुक्सएंडस्टेशनरीसेन्टर(Kushewor Books and Stationery Centre) written in Nepali only at the top, whereas the second receipt, shown in Picture 6.22b, has both Nepali and English letters. The bill number is in English in both receipts. The particulars are also written in English.

The following Picture 6.32 is a cash receipt voucher of a privately-run bank. This receipt has more English than Nepali elements.

Picture 6.32: A bilingual voucher

A businessman involved in tourism makes the following statement regarding the use of English in the tourism sector/in his tourism business in relation to my question about the English name of his agency.

> *R02: yo **tourismbusiness** bhako bhayera yesko **globallyimpact** bhako bhayera mero bicharma angrejilai nai vishwama pratinidhitwa **represent** garna sakcha **linkage** garna sakcha **communicate** garna pani sajilo tyo bhako le esko nam agreji ma rahanu gayo, hamle afno **advertisement**-ko lagi angreji ma janai parcha kina ki hamro karyachetra nai angreji ho testai kunai **particularlanguage** pani prayog garnu parne huncha **internationalclients**-lai dhyanma rakhera **english**-ma nai hunuparha yo ta ho ni hamlai **correspondemail** bata **queries**-ko **reply** garnu parcha hamlai **clients**-lai angreji ma nai **convince** garnu parcha **termsandcondition**-haru english-ma nai lekhiyeko huncha hamro **worldwidelink** bhako **business** ho tesaile angreji ko **knowledge**-le pharak parihalcha hamlai.(A0390405)

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Translation:

This is the tourism business, it has links with the world. Hence, keeping worldwide clients in mind, we chose an English name for our company. We take recourse to English to promote our business through advertisements. We correspond in English through email to the international clients to convince them. All terms and conditions between our clients and us the company is in English. Hence, the knowledge of English makes all the difference in operating the tourism business due to its worldwide link.

In this context it is worth quoting the following statement made by a government employee in an interview from a rural area.

> *R02: tyo ta batawaran **environment**- ko prabhav nai ho sabai le prayog gare pachi napadheka budha paka haru pani anusaran gari halchan # pokhara ma ta bhaisi le pani **english** bolcha bhanchan tesko matab ke bhane ni tyo **touristarea** bhayeko le sabaile **english** bolna sakne bhayo nai. (A0490409)

Translation:

The use and importance of English have been increased due to our environment. Everybody is using English at various levels on a daily basis irrespective of their educational background. Even the uneducated people use English in their conversation by imitating. This English environment is created by the tourism industry also. In touristy areas in Nepal, even uneducated people can speak English. Hence, there is a popular saying – in Pokhara (one of the tourist areas) even a buffalo speaks English. This saying emphasizes the practical aspect of all the members of the community frequently visited by the tourists having to speak English.

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To support my argument around the importance of trade and tourism as agents in bringing English to all sections of Nepali society, I present data on the number of foreign visitors to Nepal below. Table 6.5 presents the number of foreigners who visited Nepal from 2010 to 2013. These foreign visitors to Nepal have been categorised on the basis of Kachru's (1985) concentric model. In this model 'inner circle' countries are the UK and the USA, Canada and Australia, i.e. countries where English is spoken as a first language; 'outer circle' countries are India and Sri Lanka, where English is spoken as a second language; and the 'expanding circle' country is Japan, where English is spoken as a foreign language. Similarly, Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Netherlands and Spain are countries where English is spoken as a foreign language.

Table 6.5: Data on foreign visitors from 2010-2013 on the basis of Kachru's (1985:12-14) concentric circles

2010

	Inner Circle	Expanding and Outer Circle	Others	Not specified
Visitors	16.10%	55.33%	28%	0.57%

2011

	Inner Circle	Expanding and Outer Circle	Others	Not specified
Visitors	15.37%	56.83%	24%	3.47%

2012

	Inner Circle	Expanding and Outer Circle	Others	Not specified
Visitors	19.88%	76.17%	3.09%	0.86%

2013

	Inner Circle	Expanding and Outer Circle	Others	Not specified
Visitors	17.98%	68.76%	13.26%	NA

Data adapted from Nepal Tourism Statistics 2013, Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation

Table 6.5 indicates that English is the dominant language of communication in the Nepali tourism industry. Tourists from English native speaking countries and from expanding and outer circle countries adopt English as a medium of communication in Nepal.

In the following section 6.3.2.5, I will describe another factor that facilitates English language elements to be inserted into Nepali conversations, namely foreign employment.

6.3.2.5 Foreign Employment

Nepal depends on foreign employment for fulfilling the basic needs of its people such as food, lodging, schooling and so on. Foreign employment had previously been limited to the neighbouring country India; now it has extended to other foreign countries, for example the Gulf and some European countries. Globalisation and the economic reform adopted by the country in 1990 have widened the scope of international emigration from Nepal. As a result, migration to Gulf countries and Tiger States (e.g. Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and South Korea), the United States of America or Europe only started in the late 1980s (Seddon, Adhikari & Gurung, 2002, cited in Ranjita Nepal, 2013:59).

In foreign countries, Nepalese people take jobs either in the armed forces or in civil or private organisations. Population groups engaging in foreign employment are accountable for bringing the English and Nepali languages into contact. Migrant workers have brought English words denoting goods of daily needs to Nepal. Some of the words are quite new to the Nepali language as they do not really exist in Nepali culture, for instance, *sandwich* and *burger*. These food items, new to the Nepali menu, have now been included into the

Nepali diet to some extent. In this regard, it is worth quoting one of the participants, who has the following to say on this topic.

> *R02: unharu le tyo agreji sabda haru afno pariwar jan bata ***radiotelivison*** patrapatrika bata nai siknu bhako jasto lagcha . katipaya sabda haru ta afaile pani bolnuhuncha jastai `*towel*`, `*breakfast*` and `*register*` yesta sabda haru `paltan` ma siknu bhako rahecha. Indai ma service garda dherai naya angreji sabdaharu siknu bho ani gaunma ayera ti sabdaharu lai prayog ma lyaunu bho arule pani nakkal garera ti sabda haru lai prachalanma lyaunu bho. (A0420408)

In the statement above, the participant says that some people have learned English words through print and broadcast media and some from their own family members and relatives. Moreover, some people who were in foreign services (Indian and British armed forces) in the past still use some English in their conversation. For instance, they say *towel*, *breakfast* and *register*. When asked where they learned these words from, they reply they learned them in the platoon, or 'paltan' in their own word. This English word *platoon* has been nativised and integrated into Nepali (L1).

In this context, I would like to present a longer extract from a conversation I had with an ex-army man aged 75. The recording was made during the field study in Jaubari VDC. Due to its length, I give only the English translation.

> There were no schools like in these days. We lacked writing and reading materials. We used to improvise writing and reading materials for ourselves out of wild weeds. I grew up a young man suitable for joining the army. At that time, galla wala (an army man to recruit soldiers) used to come to villages and take the physically good-looking youths to

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India. I was also one of them. Then common people were not allowed to learn reading and writing. We had to do that secretly. I also used to go with them and learnt some Nepali alphabet and primary numbers in Nepali. There was no facility of learning English alphabet in the villages like today's children have. I learnt Hindi, English and Maths in the army. We used to write Nepali in English i.e. through Roman English. In Roman English all the letters are English but the content is Nepali. It was difficult at that time for the relatives back home to read those letters written in Roman. Hence, they had to look for someone literate in English who can read the letters sent by us from India.

On the query of his using some English words in his conversation, he became very excited and tried to take me back to his past life. He continued narrating.

I cannot speak English properly because I have not happened to learn that much English. However, in army training we had to learn basic English. It was necessary for promotion. Good knowledge of English was advantageous to the army profession. I learnt there writing the English alphabet, some English words. We had to submit tasks to the 'guruji' trainer. If we made a mistake, he would give us punishment. My knowledge of English is limited to word level only. I passed in spelling some English words. Similarly, we had to solve simple math problems - addition and subtraction. I enjoyed my army life a lot in spite of life threat. Now I am enjoying my retired life.

This old ex-army man I spoke to mixed some English words in his conversation. He became very happy and excited getting me to listen to his past life experience. He mixed

words like *retire*, *pension*, *gratuity*, *recruit*, *soldier* and *major* into his otherwise Nepali narrative. During the course of our conversation he gave an instruction to his friend working on the stone wall, as follows.

Example:

  Scheme ramro bhayena, tyo daya ***side*** ko ***portion*** lai   phuta.`

Gloss: Scheme good be NPST that right side-poss. Portion-DAT. Break.

Translation:

The scheme is not good. Break the portion of the stone on the right side.

He utters these English words easily in his conversation. Some of his friends are also ex-army men. Using English in their conversation is common. This allows other people who did not learn English in the army to acquire a few English words and use them by imitation. Whatever their pronunciation sounds like, they understand each other. The English language units are completely integrated into Nepali (L1 or L2). The English integrated into Nepali monolingual speech or conversation of the village people is phonologically very different from the bilingual speech or conversation of highly educated urban people. However, my research focus in the current project is not on phonological aspects of Nepali-English CS. To study whether the English insertions are phonologically integrated into the Nepali language (the phonological part) is left for future research.

So far, I have presented evidence for the media, education, trade/tourism and foreign employment as harbingers for Nepali–English language contact. All these societal, cultural and economic factors are involved in bringing about a Nepali-English bilingual situation in Nepal. I analyze the impact of Nepali-English language contact in section 6.4.

6.4   Nepali-English Language Contact and Change

This section presents data analysis on Nepali-English language contact and change. The section includes language contact and change at the lexical and grammatical level. This is followed by another subsection, 6.4.1, which analyses lexical borrowing and convergence as a result of contact-induced change. In the following section, Nepali-English CS data resulting from Nepali-English language contact will be analysed based on Myers-Scotton's (1993) seven possible scenarios for outcomes of language contact and Myers-Scotton's (2002) hypothesis for language attrition.

Myers-Scotton (1993a:214-28) posits seven possible scenarios in which CS can occur as an important tool in the language convergence and language change process: (a) significant borrowing of content morphemes without borrowing of system morphemes; (b) relexification of the ML with content morphemes from EL (i.e. very extensive borrowing of content morphemes); (c) language change in a group of languages (in multilingual communities), induced by the high frequency of use of only one of the languages as the ML in CS situations; (d) ML turnovers, where the speakers accept the L2 as a dominant language, and as the language in which they are more proficient, but still engage in CS between L1 and L2; (e) language shift induced by CS; (f) language death; and (g) the creation of pidgins and creoles.

Myers-Scotton's (2002) hypothesis for language attrition proposes that content morphemes are more susceptible to change through attrition/convergence.

As stated before, this study focuses on change at the lexical and morphological level, disregarding the phonological aspect.

6.4.1   Linguistic Outcome of Nepali-English Language Contact

Section 6.4.1 examines the outcome of the language contact situation under investigation as a result of over two hundred years of contact starting from the Sugauli Treaty with the East India Company in 1816. It is more than half a century since Nepali came in direct contact with English, if we take the inception of English education in Nepal in 1951 as the starting point (Bista, 2011:1).

In this study I am analysing the impact of Nepali-English language contact through the examination of language at a given point in time, that is the synchronic aspect of language contact, discounting the examination of language development over time, that is, diachronic aspects of language change. By doing so, this study follows the synchronic studies on CS by Backus, 1996; Halmari, 1997; Haust, 1995; Nortier, 1990; Treffers-Daller, 1994, Duran Eppler, 2010; and many others.

A language may change through the influence of other languages it is in contact with, which is called contact induced change (Thomason, 2001). A possible outcome of contact induced change is convergence (Myers-Scotton, 2002), which means that the languages in contact become more similar to each other due to unidirectional and/or bidirectional influence at the various levels of language. The following section 6.4.1.1 covers borrowing, convergence and the development of the Nepali-English bilingual situation brought about by Nepali-English language contact.

6.4.1.1 Change at Lexical Level

Borrowing

The Nepali language has borrowed English at various levels from lexical, phrase to sentence, as shown in Chapter 5. For example, the English word *doctor* is used more frequently in the conversations recorded than its Nepali counterpart *chikitsak*, as are the

words *teacher* (Nepali *sikchak)* and *driver* (Nepali *chalak).* Below, I give a few examples

of English borrowings.

*N24: tyo gadiko **driver**-le raksi khako cha (Conversation in village setting, A0900525)

 Gloss: the vehicle's driver drink (pres. Perfect)

Translation: The vehicle's driver has drunk.

*F01: tyo chain **poison** visadhi nahaleko (Farmer in suburban area, A0200305)

Gloss: that one poison use (past, neg.)

Translation: Poison was not used for that one.

*F09: **naturallymales**-haru agadi**forward** huncha

Gloss: naturally males   forward be (pres.)

Translation: Males are naturally forward.

(Teachers' focus group discussion, A0240309)

*F11: ho **equaleducation** chaina   males ra females ko bichma

Gloss: yes equal education be (pres. Neg.)   males and females between

Translation: There is no equal education among male and female.

(Teachers' focus group discussion, A0240309)

However, the Nepali counterparts of the above English nouns are still used in formal

situations, i.e. in written form.

Calque or loan translation

Nepalese people tend to use both English and its Nepali translation equivalent together

(see Chapter 5). For instance, the English expression *information technology* is also used

in its Nepali loan translation or calque (Myers-Scotton, 2006:218), i.e. the literal or word-

by-word translation of the English original, which is *suchana pravidi* in Nepali. Through the observation of the linguistic landscape in the field study areas, Kathmandu and Gorkha, some of the following loan translations were observed in offices; others were used by the participants and observed people in different settings, both formal and informal, such as offices, schools, (tea)shops and on public transport.

English words	**Literal or loan translation in Nepali**
information technology	suchana prabhidi
information centre	suchana kendra
information department	suchana bibhag
fiscal year	arthik barsa
academic year	shaikchik barsa
opening ceremony	aam samaroho
inaugural speech	udghatan bhasan
umbrella organization	chata sangathan
invitation letter	nimantrana patra
planning commission	yojana ayog
public service commission	lok sewa ayog
education department	sikchya bibhag
welfare fund	kalyan kosh
provident fund	sanchaya kosh
general assembly	maha sabha
post office	hulak karyalaya
health post	swasthya chauki
police post	prahari chauki

Health post or its loan translation *swasthya chauki*, and *post office* or its loan translation *hulak karyalaya* were also found to have been used by people in rural areas such as Jaubari, Bhacchek and Shrinath Kote. However, the loan translations *swasthya chauki* and *hulak karyalaya* were also used in formal settings, for instance in written form. People in both urban and rural areas tend to use the English words *health post* and *post office* more often than their Nepali calque or loan translation *swasthya chauki* and *hulak karyalaya*. This has been attributed to language economy, i.e. to the perception that the English expressions are quicker and easier to use than the Nepali loan translations, discussed in Chapter 5 section 5.3.

People in the field study area were furthermore heard to use the acronyms PM, the short form of Prime Minister, and VC, the short form of Vice-Chancellor. The use of short terms or acronyms for these designations is attributed to the same reason, i.e. language economy, as analyzed and discussed in Chapter 5. All the above-mentioned loan translations are prominently used in formal interactions or written form. Their English counterparts are mostly used in informal or spoken form. Both terms, the English original and its Nepali loan translation, are used interchangeably, facilitating the development of a Nepali-English bilingual situation, as both the Nepali and English words have equal places in the language repertoire of Nepalese people.

More recently, a new loan word, *dozer terror,* has become very popular among Nepalese people. It designates the maximum use of bulldozers in both the city and rural areas. In the urban area they are used to demolish illegally-constructed buildings on either side of the road. Similarly, they are used in the rural area to construct roads, thereby making the land vulnerable to landslides in the hilly areas. As with the other loan translations discussed in this section, Nepalese people use the two words *dozer terror* and *dozer atanka* interchangeably in their daily conversations.

6.4.1.2 Hybridised Verbs and Bilingual Complex Verbs (BCVs)

One of the outcomes of language contact is the formation of hybridised verbs, i.e. verbs formed with English uninflected bare verbs and the Nepali helping/auxiliary verbs 'DO' or 'BE', as discussed in Chapter 5. That is, the English bare verbs are inserted into the Nepali grammatical frame with the help of the Nepali verbs 'DO' or 'BE'. The formation of hybridised verbs in Nepali-English CS data is predicted by Myers-Scotton's (2002) Matrix Language Frame model. Similar contact-induced language formation processes have been described under the term Bilingual Complex Verbs (BCVs) and are frequently documented in Indo-Aryan languages such as Urdu, Hindi, Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati as well as Nepali (Hook, 1974; Abbi, 1991; Butt, 2017; Thomson, 2010, cited in Chatterjee, 2016).

English bare verbs and nouns with Nepali helping verbs (DO)

agreementrenew gardiyena (Farmers focus group discussion, A0200305)

Gloss: agreement renew do.pres.neg.

Translation: They do not renew agreement.

fertiliserfree banaune bhanera thulo *campaign* garyo

Gloss: fertiliser free make   big   campaign do(past)

Translation: They did big campaign to make fertiliser free.

        tara *success* huna sakena (A0200305).

Gloss: but success be can not.

Translation: but can not be success.

*F11: tyo nam *change* garna government-le

Gloss: the name change do government

        jati *pressure*diya pani ter puchhar gardaina.

Gloss: however pressure give (past) obey (past, neg.)

Translation: However, pressure the government put on private schools to change the English name, they did not obey the government.

The English verbs in bold in the above examples are all bare forms, i.e. they do not have their own tense markers. Tense and aspect markers are system morphemes according to Myers-Scotton's MLF model. In the above examples, the English verb elements *renew*, *free*, *change* and *pressure* are bare forms which can only become finite, i.e. receive tense and/or aspect by adding system morphemes from Nepali.

Similar language contact-induced constructions are not only found with English bare verbs, but also with English adjectives in the speech of my Nepali participants. I present a few examples below.

English adjectives and nouns with Nepali stative verbs (BE)

*F15: bhansar   ali   ***strict*** cha (Business people FGD, A0280317)

Gloss: revenue   a bit   strict be.

Translation: The revenue office is a bit strict.

*F21: ma aru   bhanda kam ***lost*** hunchu (Government employee, A0310319)

Gloss: I   some one else than   less lost be.

Translation: I am less lost than some one else.

*F29: yo ***concept*** chain ***wrong*** bhayo (NGO people, A0700504)

Gloss: this concept   wrong BE(past),

Translation: The concept was wrong.

*N08: sana *classes*-haru   chain patakai *systematic* chaina (conversation in teashop, A0820518)

Sana classes haru chain patakai systematic chaina.

Gloss: small classes   quite   systematic BE pres. Neg.

Translation: Small classes are not quite systematic.

This section and Chapter 5 have demonstrated that English verbs, nouns and adjectives are largely borrowed into Nepali. This situation has been created by Nepali-English language contact. Globalisation facilitates Nepali people to be familiar with the world's newly-developed technology. This new technology keeps adding new words, mostly English, into Nepali people's linguistic repertoire. This process of adding new English elements to develop the Nepali-English CS phenomenon in conversation is increasing day by day.

Clause and sentence level

Many of the larger English units observed in Nepali conversations are formulaic in nature, as already indicated in Chapter 5. In this section I will focus on specific formulaic expressions which have entered the Nepali language though language contact, i.e. wishes and greetings. Based on the field data obtained through observation, I will show how words and phrases expressing wishes and greetings are used in Nepali sentence frames in the following section.

Words and phrases expressing wishes and greetings

*N10: *welcome* cha hai *welcome*.(Wedding ceremony, A0220308)

Gloss: welcome be   welcome

Translation: Welcome to you.

*N22: ***birthday*** bhaneko hola***new year*** re hera na (Foreign employment talk, A0750513)

Gloss: birthday may have said new year say.

Translation: He may have said birthday but by mistake he says new year.

*N56: sampurna ***students***-lai ***best of luck*** bhanna chahanchu (Teachers and parents meeting, A1150618)

   Sampurna students-lai   best of luch banna chahanchu

 Gloss: All   students to   best of luck I would like to extend.

Translation: I would like to extend my best of luck to all the students.

Welcome, *birthday*, *new year* and the expression of the wish *best of luck* in the above examples demonstrate that the English language has even penetrated highly formulaic and personal speech acts such as expressions of wishes and greetings.

To express wishes for New Year, festivals and birthdays, English expressions such as *Happy Vijaya Dashami*, *Happy Dipawali*, *Happy New Year* and *Happy Birthday* are found more in informal conversation; Nepali expressions are used more in formal situations and in the written form. For instance, *Happy New Year* is used more frequently in informal situations than its Nepali counterpart *Nava barshako subhakamana*. Similarly, the English birthday wish *Happy Birthday* is used more often in informal contexts than its Nepali counterpart *Janma dinko shubhakamana*; the Nepali birthday expression is used in more formal situations. Similarly, the English greeting *Good morning* has started taking the place of its Nepali counterpart *Namaste*. To express gratitude, Nepali has the word *dhanyabad* which is mostly used in the written form and in formal speech. The English expression *thank you* is taking the place of its Nepali counterpart *dhanyabad* in more informal contexts. All these examples show that Nepali and English expressions are used side by side, with the borrowed English expressions

having higher prevalence in informal contexts, while the native Nepali expressions are used more frequently in formal spoken contexts and the written medium. This situation is likely to change because, as the number of educated people increases, the use of English elements from lexical to sentence levels also increases.

At sentence level there are some emotional expressions such as *I love you* which are expressed more in English than Nepali. A teacher participant in a FGD (A0250309) uses this expression as an illustration of how the English expression *I love you* is quicker and easier to produce than the Nepali expression *ma timilai maya garchu*. Although this is debatable from a psycholinguistic point of view, the participants claim that some expressions are better made in English than Nepali. Similar English expressions such as *see you again* and *don't kiss me* are displayed on the back of means of transportation in urban areas. This has facilitated the borrowing of English at formulaic expression/sentence level in the conversations of Nepalese people. However, the use of English at sentence level is very low compared to nouns and verbs, as we saw in Chapter 5. Formulaic expressions like the ones discussed in this section, however, may pave the way for further contact-induced language change at the higher sentence level.

Development of additive bilingualism and Nenglish

The empirical data obtained through audio recording and observation show evidence of both English and Nepali elements in the conversations of Nepalese people. A specific case is the repetition of elements from both participant languages in Nepali-English code-switching. This shows that the borrowing of English, or Nepali-English CS, facilitates the increasing use of English from word to sentence level. This furthermore demonstrates that English elements used in the Nepali-English CS data are additional means of expressing the same thing in the existing linguistic repertoire of my Nepali participants.

Regarding the development of Nenglish – Nepali-English CS in Nepal I believe there should not be a debate as in India (Trivedi, 2011: vii) that either it is English in Hindi or Hindi in English. My empirical data containing primarily classical Nepali-English CS (Myers-Scotton 2001) show that it is English in Nepali and not vice versa.

Word order change in language contact

The English constituents from lexical to phrase, clause and sentence level do not occupy the same place in the Nepali-English CS data as they do in English. English has been hybridised when used in conversations by Nepalese people in terms of grammar. English (EL) elements depend on the grammar of Nepali (ML) to assign tenses and aspect. The above-mentioned example is an illustrating case in point:

*N08-   sana classes-haru patakkai   *systematic* chaina.

Gloss: The small classes   quite   *systematic*.are not

Translation: The small classes are not quite systematic.

The above example shows that the word order slot for the English element *systematic* is in final position in its own monolingual English structure. But when it is used in Nepali-English CS, it is followed by the Nepali stative verb 'BE' with the present tense negative *chaina* ('are not').

Convergence

With respect to Myers-Scotton's (1993:214-28) seven possible scenarios in which CS can occur as an important tool in language convergence and the language change process, this study has shown several things. The recorded and observed speech data demonstrate significant borrowing of content morphemes, especially nouns and verbs, without

borrowing of system morphemes (Myers-Scotton's scenario (a)). There is little evidence for relexification of the ML Nepali with content morphemes from EL (i.e. very extensive borrowing of content morphemes, as in Myers-Scotton's scenario (b)). Myers-Scotton's scenario (c), language change in a group of languages (in multilingual communities), induced by the high frequency of use of only one of the languages as the ML in CS situations, maximally applies to Nepali, but not English. ML turnovers (Myers-Scotton's scenario (d)), where the speakers accept the L2 as a dominant language, and as the language in which they are more proficient, but still engage in CS between L1 and L2, is also a long way off in Nepali. Myers-Scotton's scenario (e), language shift induced by CS, may become relevant if the use of English increases, especially among the younger generation of Nepali speakers. The data collected for this project also do not indicate that scenarios (f), language death, and (g) the creation of pidgins and creoles, are likely outcomes of Nepali-English language contact.

The unilateral influence of Nepali (L1) on English (L2), by contrast, is obvious in terms of the Nepali-English CS data presented and analysed in this study. In the following section I will deal with the issue of Nepali-English language contact and change based on the opinion of the participants.

6.4.1.3 Perspectives of the Respondents on the Outcome of Nepali-English CS

The respondents have both positive and negative opinions on the impact of Nepali-English language contact. Some say it is good to borrow English words into our existing vocabulary as it enriches our language. Some believe that it is not so good, as it corrupts our language, resulting in language attrition at least at the lexical level.

One of my respondents from a teachers' focus group discussion reacts to the impact of English on Nepali by saying:

*F12: Sanskrit bhasale aru bhasa bata kunai pani sabda linu hundaina bhanere **rigid** bhako le **dead** hunu paryo. Ahile sanskrit bhasa bolichali bata lop bhaisakyo khali likhit rupma matra jivit cha. Yedi Nepali bhasa pani sanskrit jastai **rigid** bhayo bhane yesko pani tehi hal huncha. Tesaile aru bhasa bata sabda haru lyaun afaima kharab hoina, baru tesle Nepali bhasa lai sambriddha banauncha. (A0250309)

Translation:

The Sanskrit language had to remain dead due to its rigidity towards foreign elements. If the Nepali language also becomes rigid to other languages, it will also have to face the same problem as Sanskrit did. Using English elements in our conversation is not bad in itself, rather it enriches our vocabulary.

On the other hand, a government employee voices his rather more cautious and concerned opinion on the impact of English in the following extract:

***R02:** Angreji sabdako Nepali bhasama prayog ko kura garne ho bhane, ahile English ko prabhav sabda ko taha ma matra cha yo kram badhdai jane ho bhane bakyo ko taha ma pani parcha. (A0340327)

Translation:

When talking about the use of English words in Nepali, these days the influence of English is more at the lexical level. If this process of mixing continues its influence, it will be extended to the sentence level also.

A female government employee in an interview expresses her opinion on the impact of English on Nepali as follows:

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*R02: awashya parcha kina ki nepali sabda haru nai birsane bho prayog

ma na lyayepachi ta lop hunenai bho. (A0450409)

Translation:

Of course, English has an impact on Nepali words. We forget the Nepali lexemes when we do not frequently use them in our daily life.

This is compatible with Myers-Scotton's (2002:206) Hypothesis 3 that Nepali content morphemes, for instance nouns, are not only the first to be acquired in contact situations promoting borrowing (see section 6.4.1.1), but also the "first out" in language attrition. Some evidence for this can be seen in the case of those educated in private English-medium schools. A businessman participating in a FGD expresses a similar opinion in the following lines:

*F19: esto ***costumers***-haru jasto ***boarding*** padhne keta ketiharu pani

auncha pachasi rupia bhaneko kati ho bhanera sodhni pani chan tyo

bhaneko ***eighty-five*** ho bhanyo. (A0290317)

Translation:

There come some customers, for example boarding school children, who do not understand the Nepali number 'pachasi'. They can understand it when they are explained it means eighty-five in English.

The argument the businessman puts forward in the above lines is that there is a possibility of gradual language loss, at least at the lexical level. The participant attributes this to the English education system in Nepal. However, the complete loss of the Nepali word is less likely to take place because it is still actively alive in written form. The two languages

coexist from lexical level to sentence level. This has been discussed in the previous section 6.2.

A key informant who teaches Nepali in higher education, a linguist and a main campaigner of the Nepali language movement, expresses a different opinion on the impact of Nepali-English language contact. He does not see any negative impact of English on Nepali, as can be overheard in anecdotal evidence claiming that Nepali has been hybridised and language contact may lead to its extinction, i.e. language death (Myers-Scotton's scenario (f)). I would like to quote him:

> It is not bad to accommodate the English words, clauses, phrases and sometimes sentences in the conversations. It has become common. We cannot stop this process due to globalisation. I do not foresee any harm to the Nepali language. I believe that this enriches our language [by] adding more vocabularies. We have to worry when we use foreign elements [that] completely substitute our native words. At this point we are using both English and Nepali together. I put forward some grammatical evidences to justify that the Nepali language is not substituted by the English language at the level of 'verb', 'case marker' and 'preposition'. We do not use the English noun with the English case marker and the English verbs with the English inflection to indicate tenses in Nepali. The English nouns are used with the Nepali plural markers and case markers in Nepali conversations. (Key informant, A1190623)

The key informant's opinion presented above is compatible with Hypothesis 5 of Myers-Scotton (2002:212) that "late system morphemes are least susceptible to absolute omission". In the recorded speech data only, the English bare verbs are used with Nepali tense markers. The English tense markers are not used.

6.5   Summary

In Chapter 6, I have analysed empirical data to investigate the role agents such as the media, education, trade/tourism and foreign employment play in bringing the English language into contact with existing Nepali linguistic repertoires. Under the media section, I drew on relevant data of Nepali-English mixtures in print media such as advertisements, hoarding boards and technology, social networks such as Facebook and online chatting. Following this, I gave significant empirical data from broadcasting media to show how English is mixed with Nepali at various levels. Likewise, trade and tourism were also analysed with a focus on the way English is used in Nepali, taking some illustrations from qualitative data. Foreign employment is the last agent I analysed, giving empirical evidence. Finally, I have concluded Chapter 6 with some significant examples of the outcome of Nepali-English language contact at the lexical and grammatical levels, keeping in mind the possible scenarios of language change and the language attrition hypothesis of Myers-Scotton (1993, 2002).

Chapter 7 will discuss all the analysed data in line with the relevant literature reviewed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 7: Discussion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the issues under investigation for this project in relation to the results. These include first, the extent of mixing in the Nepali-English data collected for this project; second, reasons for mixing English; third, which groups of people - in terms of social variables - mix English more into their Nepali; fourth, the role of social factors in mixing; and finally, the potential impact of Nepali-English language contact on my participants' language use and beyond. The discussion of these issues is based on the Nepali-English CS data analysed in Chapters 5 and 6. Both quantitative and qualitative data presented in the preceding chapters will be reviewed in relation to the literature presented in Chapter 3 and with a focus on the research questions and objectives.

This chapter is organised into six sections: first (7.2), structural aspects of Nepali-English CS; second (7.3), the behavioural aspects (reasons of CS) of Nepali-English CS, third (7.4), the social variables and Nepali-English CS, fourth (7.5), influence of the media, education, tourism, foreign trade and employment, on Nepali-English CS;fifth (7.6), Nepali-Englishlanguage contact and change. The sixth section (7.7) concludes the chapter. The above sections except the conclusion cover all five research questions of this study.

7.2 Structural Aspects of Nepali-English Code-switching

This section discusses the grammatical structure of Nepali-English CS, the reasons for it, and the relations between it and social variables (age, gender, level of education, profession and geographical location).

7.2.1 Degree of English Elements Mixed in Conversation

In the following I focus on different levels of English incorporated into Nepali, and the types of insertions and grammatical constraints on Nepali-English CS in relation to previous studies on similar topics. Nouns, verbs, phrases, adjectives, adverbs, clauses, sentences, conjunctions and prepositions are the English elements which respondents insert into their conversations. The patterns of Nepali-English CS found in the study include inter-sentential code-switching, intra-sentential code-switching and tag switches similar to the types of CS defined by Poplack (1980). However, the results do not completely support the results of Poplack (1980). The differences can be attributed to the different word order in Spanish- English and Nepali-English code-switching. The word orders of Spanish and English Poplack studied are more similar than the word orders of Nepali and English investigated in this project.

7.2.1.1 CS at the Lexical Level

Insertions at the lexical level mainly include English content words such as nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives, and a few function words such as conjunctions and prepositions. English function words are used less in the conversation of the Nepali speakers than English content words, as evidenced by the CS data presented in Chapter 5.

Nouns

The study has shown that English nouns are the part of speech used most in the conversations of Nepalese speakers. The use of English nouns in spoken Nepali interactions does not require as high a level of English language proficiency as the mixing of longer stretches of English elements (Myers-Scotton,1993). Nepalese people, irrespective of their age, gender, education, profession or urban/rural location, mix English nouns more frequently than any other word class. English nouns are easily used

in place of Nepali stems. They are inserted into Nepali conversations with Nepali case markers, as presented in Table 5.4 in Chapter 5. Substituting Nepali nouns for English nouns does not substantially change the meaning or syntactic structure of a Nepali sentence produced by a monolingual Nepalese person. The different word orders of English SVO and Nepali SOV do not restrict the use of the English nouns, as evidenced in the data presented in section 5.2.1.1 in Chapter 5.

Insertion of more English nouns into Nepali accords with the findings documented by Smith (2002), Gardner-Chloros (1995), Kőppe&Meisel (1995) and Myers-Scotton (1993), as well as the borrowability hierarchies of van Hout&Muysken (1994), Matras (2007, 2011) and Poplack, Wheeler & Westwood (1990), which show that English nouns tend to be inserted more than other English parts of speech.

Pfaff (1979:293) found that 87.8% of all switches in her study of Spanish-English code-switching are nouns; Poplack (1980) also found 10.84 times more nouns than verbs in her Spanish-English data. Likewise, Okasha (1999), in relation to Arabic-English code-switching, found that nouns are used six times more frequently than other word classes. Treffers-Daller (1994) found a similar trend in the occurrence of nouns in her Brussels Dutch–French corpus. Shen Chunxuan (2010) also established that embedded nouns take up the majority position among all the lexical categories in Chinese-English CS. Abbas et al. (2011) investigated Urdu-English code-switching and found the same trend. Similarly, Gopi Chetri (2012) in his study on Nepali-English code-switching found English nouns to be the most frequently inserted part of speech.

The above findings, documented in different language pairs and circumstances, are in line with the findings in my Nepali-English CS corpus. The frequent use of nouns in the data

can be accounted for by the high exposure of Nepalese people to English nouns, i.e. higher than other English parts of speech (see Chapter 6).

Verbs

English verbs are the second most frequent category in the Nepali-English CS data studied. Nepalese people are exposed to English verbs through friends, education and media, but less so than to English nouns. Hence the less frequent use of English verbs in comparison with English nouns in the Nepali-English CS data presented and analysed in Chapter 5.

Substituting English verbs for Nepali ones is as easy as inserting English nouns, because the English verb stems are not inserted into Nepali speech with English grammar. Rather, new verbs are formed through the use of the *do construction,* or verbaliser (Myers-Scotton, 2002:134), which is from the Matrix Language. English lexical verbs are used with the Nepali auxiliary verbs 'DO' and 'BE', as presented and analyzed in Examples 18-30 in section 5.2.1.2. Even less educated persons mix English verbs in their conversations, as in Example 26 in Chapter 5, Farmers FGD (A0200305), repeated here for convenience.

Example:

"F01: tapainko   **organic** khetiko ramro develop hunthyo

Gloss: you(hon.)–gen. organic crop of good   develop–be non pst

        Tara   thulo parinamma utpadan   garnasakdaina tyokaranlegarda

Gloss: But   huge quantity   product   do negthat   because of that

         pani **organic** kheti Pachipareko   jastolagcha."

Gloss: also   organic crop   behind fall- inflect. I suppose.

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Translation: *Organic crop could be developed well but it was not produced in a huge quantity because of this organic crop has fallen behind. I suppose.*

In the above example, a farmer in his early seventies inserts the English verb *develop* into his speech by adding Nepali 'BE' to the English-embedded singly-occurring lexical verb *develop*. He probably learned the English word from his friends or family members and he did not have any difficulty in using it as he is familiar with Nepali tenses. All tense forms assigned to embedded English verbs use Nepali grammar, as presented in Tables 5.7 and 5.8.

It can therefore be concluded that English verbs are allowed in Nepali conversation according to Nepali grammar rules. Because of the morpho-syntactic integration illustrated above, it is not particularly difficult to use English lexical verbs in Nepali conversation, and the majority of respondents report Nepali-English CS behaviour as a common, widely-accepted linguistic phenomenon.

New verbs are formed not only with English nouns and verbs but also with English singly-embedded participle adjectives and adverbs/prepositions, as presented in Table 5.7.

The results on verb integration most closely resemble those of Boumans' (1998) study on Dutch insertions into Moroccan Arabic. In Boumans' corpus, Dutch verbs are the third most frequently inserted Dutch category into the ML (Moroccan Arabic) and the Dutch lexical verbs are also embedded in the Arabic sentence frame with the help of periphrastic DO-constructions (*dar*+infinitive).

Adjectives

In the Nepali-English CS data obtained, English-embedded adjectives precede Nepali nouns and the Nepali 'BE' verb, as the data presented in Example 47 in Chapter 5 show, where the English adjective *positive* precedes the Nepali 'BE' verb. In English grammatical structure, the embedded English adjective *positive* is predicative, e.g. in *I am positive* the adjective *positive* comes after the English verb *am*. In a Nepali sentence frame, however, the adjective precedes the verb *chhu* to yield *ma positive chhu*. This also applies to adjectives used in conjunction with Nepali 'DO' verbs. Similarly, the English-embedded adjective *official* in Example 39 precedes the Nepali noun *bhasa*. *Official bhasa* corresponds to *official language* in English. The position of the adjective *official* is attributive in the case of both English and Nepali nouns.

The example above and the available data from the Nepali-English CS dataset show that, unlike in Poplack's (1980) Spanish-English data for example, there is no conflict site in the use of English adjectives, as both English and Nepali use the adjective + noun structure free from grammatical constraints.

Adverbs

Most of the English adverbs used in the Nepali-English CS data belong to the category of adverb of manner. This is again similar to Boumans' (1989) Dutch-Moroccan Arabic study. Examples 33, 34, 35 and 36 in Chapter 5 illustrate how English adverbs such as *completely*, *structurally, vaguely* and *totally* are used in the conversational data. All these English adverbs are inserted into Nepali grammatical structure according to Nepali grammatical rules.

Having discussed the mixing of English elements at lexical level in the content words domain, their mixing in the function words domain, also at lexical level, will be discussed below.

Conjunctions

The use of English conjunctions entails more language competence in the second language (L2), here English, than the insertion of content words because, as function words, conjunctions are involved in the construction of syntactic frames. I would like to argue that due to this, the Nepali-English CS data contain fewer instances of English conjunctions inserted into Nepali conversation. As in many other comparable studies such as Boumans (1998), Treffers-Daller (1994) and Duran Eppler (2010), the use of *and* and other coordinators is very common in my Nepali data. The coordinating conjunction *and* is used to combine elements at the word level, such as company names, e.g. *Tej and Karan Enterprises* or *KantipurSaving& Co-operative Limited* (A0910525 TV show data). Similarly, the conjunction used next frequently in conversation is *plus,* as illustrated in Example 47. This conjunction has been used to join two independent Nepali clauses in place of the Nepali conjunction *ra*, in this case for emphasis. In Example 47, the informal conjunction *plus* is placed between two Nepali sentences, while Example 48 contains the English conjunction *so*, again to join two Nepali sentences. These data show that the English conjunction *and* is used to join two foreign elements at word level, whereas *plus* and *so* are used to join two foreign elements at clausal level. The data presented and analysed in Chapter 5 (Examples 47, 56 and 58) thus contrast with Kachru (1977) and Chandola's (1963:12) view that it is impossible for a conjunction from one language to be used between two sentences in another language.

Prepositions

Generally, English prepositions are used less frequently in the data, but even uneducated people use prepositions such as *on* and *out* in their daily conversations. In informal speech, English prepositions are used to function as verbs in my data. This is illustrated by, for instance, *TV on garnu* 'switch on TV', or the next Example 42, which contains the preposition *out* being used as a verb, as in *yosaman out garnu* 'take this luggage out'. Hence, English prepositions can function as main verbs with Nepali 'DO' verbsin Nepali conversation. This again is similar to Treffers-Daller's (1994) and Boumans' (1998) studies. Both variationist sociolinguistics studies report that prepositions and prepositional phrases are less frequently inserted than other categories, such as nouns, verbs and adjectives. Boumans (1998:335) in particular notes that Dutch prepositions also combine with Moroccan verbs.

To summarise, the frequency with which English grammatical elements at the lexical/word level (nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, conjunctions and prepositions) are inserted by respondents into their Nepali speech is in line with the hierarchy established by previous researchers such as Sanskritist William Dwight Whitney (1881), Haugen (1950), Muysken (1981) and van Hout&Muysken (1994). These studies were carried out in terms of the borrowability of English lexical items. The present study also found that English nouns are more frequently borrowed and mixed than other lexical items in Nepalese conversations.

Regarding the extent of English insertions into otherwise Nepali conversations, the responses from the qualitative data were more focused on the word level. Most of the participants in the individual interviews and focus group discussions state that English is mostly used at lexical level in conversation. This is borne out in the natural speech data.

I will discuss English constituents mixed in the Nepali-English CS dataset that are longer than single words below. Nepali-English CS data beyond word level comprise phrases, clauses and whole sentences.

7.2.1.2 Degree of English Insertions at the Phrase Level

More knowledge of English is required to integrate English elements larger than single lexical items into Nepali sentence frames, because phrases enter exocentric relations with other sentence constituents. For the majority of the Nepali population, one of the major means of access to English is education. Hence, education is the primary measurement to assess the English proficiency of Nepalese people. This has been analysed in Chapter 6. I will therefore discuss the insertion of longer stretches of English elements in the Nepali-English CS dataset on the basis of level of education of the respondents.

Mixing of English above lexical level increases with level of education (see Table 5.12). Among the code-switched English phrases found in this study, compound nouns and noun phrases dominate. Compound nouns are easy to pick up as they are the combination of two nouns. Even uneducated or illiterate Nepali speakers were found to use the compound nouns *headmaster* 'head teacher' instead of *pradhanadhyapak*, *prime minister* instead of *pradhanmantri*, and *chief justice* for *pradhannayadhish*. These compound nouns are shorter to say and more accessible to all Nepali speakers irrespective of their education level. Therefore, they are more frequently used by the majority of Nepali speakers in their conversations compared to extended noun phrases such as adverb-noun constructions, e.g. *completely English* and *totally different*. Such English phrases were produced only by educated Nepali speakers in this study.

7.2.1.3 Degree of English Insertions at the Clause Level

A clause comprises many words combined in grammatical order. Hence, English clauses require Nepalese people to possess lexical and grammatical knowledge of both Nepali and English in order to use them in their speech. Obviously, this is more difficult. This has been demonstrated numerically (see Tables 5.10-14). The use of English clauses in the study is very rare, except in the case of NGO staff. This is similar to Treffers-Daller's (1994) and Boumans' (1998) studies. Unlike the current study, however, these two researchers do not link their dependent variable (linguistic insertions) to independent variables and thus cannot get conclusions about sociocultural factors.

As shown in Examples 56-58 in Chapter 5, all English clauses are inserted into speech according to Nepali grammar rules. However, clause internally, the English chunks follow English grammar rules. That is, English clauses are found to be used as Embedded Language Islands (Myers-Scotton,1999) with their own original grammar rules. There are no restrictions found in this study in embedding English clauses into Nepali sentence structures.

NGO staff use English at clause and sentence level more in their conversations than other respondents belonging to different professions. A likely reason for this is that Nepali speakers belonging to other professions do not encounter English as much – and in fewer domains – as NGO workers. Chapter 6 demonstrated that encountering English at lexical level is a common phenomenon, as this keeps recurring in the day-to-day life of all Nepalese speakers in all domains. As a consequence, English lexical insertions, particularly nouns, in Nepali speech are observed in the speech of all Nepalese people irrespective of their age, gender, education, profession or urban and rural location. By contrast, English elements at higher than lexical level are learned in a formal setting, i.e.

education institutes, and are used in fewer domains, thus giving average Nepali speakers a smaller chance to encounter them in their daily life. Hence, the more frequent occurrences of English at the lexical level are not enough to contribute to spreading English elements larger than words among Nepali speakers.

7.2.1.4 Degree of English Insertions at the Sentence Level

The speech data from various settings containing switched constituents at sentence level are higher across all more highly educated cohorts of respondents (see Table 5.12). In other words, the Table shows that the higher the educational level of the respondents, the more English-switched constituents at sentence level their speech contains. This study, similar to that of Myers-Scotton (1993:71), therefore concludes that the more proficient Nepalese people are in English as their second language, the longer the stretches of English elements inserted into their conversations.

That said, there are some people not admitted to schools who can speak English fluently due to their regular contact with English-speaking customers in their businesses, for instance hotels, trekking and tours. For these people, producing Nepali-English CS with English elements beyond lexical level is not unexpected, despite their educational background.

7.2.1.5 Types of Nepali-English Code-switching

The Nepali-English CS data comprise three types of CS: inter-sentential CS (English constituents switched at clause/sentence boundary), intra-sentential CS (English constituents switched within a clause/sentence) and tag-switching (which comprises short formulaic expressions). The last type is less frequently used in the data analysed. They are discussed with illustrations below. These types of Nepali-English CS accord with the types of CS proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993), Poplack (1980) and Lipsky (1995).

Inter-sentential CS

Examples 50-53 and 59-60 illustrate inter-sentential CS in this study. Nepali-English inter-sentential CS involves the occurrence of English clauses and sentences embedded in Nepali discourse. The limited number of examples listed indicates that this type of CS is not frequent in the Nepali-English CS data investigated. The infrequent use of Nepali-English inter-sentential CS suggests that mixing of English beyond word level requires Nepali speakers to be competent in English as a second language. This type of CS only occurs among highly educated participants whose profession requires them to hold conversations in English, such as NGO staff.

Intra-sentential CS

All occurrences of single English elements in Nepali, analysed in Examples 1-49 and 54-58, are categorised as intra-sentential CS. This type of CS prevails in this study. Nepali grammar rules have been found to dominate the construction of mixed utterances; English lexical items are inserted into this sentence frame by Nepali speakers. This type of CS can be produced by a majority of Nepali speakers, as inserting single English lexical items into a Nepali frame does not require as much second language competence as, for example, alternational code-switching. Single word insertions require less syntactic competence in English because identifying a word as e.g. a noun and then inserting it into a noun slot in a Nepali sentence requires less grammatical competence in English than the construction of an entire English noun phrase. As suggested by Poplack (1980) in her seminal work on spontaneous Spanish-English CS data, Nepali bilinguals are able to insert English elements into Nepali sentences and stay within the grammatical confines of each language irrespective of their degree of proficiency.

Tag-switching

In the Nepali-English CS data, tag-switching involves formulaic expressions. Nepalese people with a minimum knowledge of English were heard using English formulaic expressions in their Nepali speech through imitation. For instance, *sorry* (Example 41) and *best of luck* (Example 53A) are examples worth mentioning as evidence that this previously-established category of code-switching, i.e. 'tag-switching' (Poplack 1980) is also present in the Nepali-English CS data. The practice of greeting in English (*good morning*) instead of Nepali (*namaskar*), previously restricted to formal situations such as education institutes and limited elite groups, has now crossed its formal border and reached the majority of Nepali speakers through recurrent use. This is evidenced through the field notes gathered during my data collection. While I was interviewing a businessman in Jaubari VDC, a rural area, one of the customers greeted him with *good morning dai*, meaning 'good morning brother', rather than using the Nepali expression.

All three CS types are compatible with Myers-Scotton's classical code-switching (2006:241). In the home country context, the dominant language is Nepali. Hence, the Nepali language takes control of all grammatical structures of Nepali-English CS. Myers-Scotton's composite code-switching (2006:242) was not found in the investigated data. However, this can be evidenced in the speech of those Nepalese people who live abroad in English-speaking countries such as the UK, USA and Australia.

The Nepali-English CS data for this project furthermore contain the types of code-switching mentioned by Lipsky (1985); his classification of CS fits my data particularly well. Lipsky found three types of CS in his Spanish-English data. One of them is a monolingual type of CS observed in type I shift. This monolingual type of CS does not entail high proficiency in the L2. Lipsky only mentions L2 nouns in this type of CS, but

in my data there are also single elements which comprise not only nouns, but also other English parts of speech (EPS) such as verbs, adverbs, adjectives, prepositions and conjunctions. As claimed by Lipsky (1985), those less proficient in L2 can mix English nouns. In the Nepali-English CS data, less educated or even illiterate respondents were found to have mixed English nouns to a great extent, and other EPS to some extent. One explanatory factor for this is likely to lie in the English language learning experience of the participants. Older generation people started learning English at a later stage in life than the younger generation. As presented and analysed in Chapter 6, older generations did not have access to English education to the extent that younger generations have.

Jha (1989) was the first to look into Nepali-English code-switching, based on secondary data. According to him, there are three types of Nepali-English CS. Rather unsurprisingly they are CS at the lexical level, clause level and sentence level. The empirical evidence obtained in this research study supports Jha's (1989) classification of the use of English in Nepal.

7.2.1.6 Grammatical Constraints on Nepali-English CS

The following section discusses potential constraints on Nepali-English CS. They include the free morpheme constraint and equivalence constraint (Poplack, 1980) and the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model of Myers-Scotton (1993, 2002).

Free morpheme constraint

According to this constraint, code-switching is not allowed between a lexeme from one language and a bound morpheme from another. Contrary to this, the Nepali-English CS data contain many examples of mixed verbs formed by combining English lexemes with Nepali bound morphemes (see Tables 5.7 and 5.8 in Chapter 5).

Equivalence constraint

The *Equivalence Constraint* (Poplack 1980) is based on the assumption that the possibility of CS depends on equivalent word orders of the two languages involved in CS. It states that:

> Code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e. at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other. (Poplack, 1980:586)

Nepali and English are typologically different languages. Due to differences in their sentence structure, these two languages do not map onto each other, which would result in a mixed sentence violating the sentence structure of the embedded language.

The Equivalence Constraint is compatible with noun phrases from both participating languages; noun phrases in English and Nepali have the same structure. They do not lead to violation of the Equivalence Constraint. This is attributed to the pre-nominal position of adjectives in extended noun phrases, i.e. pre-modified nouns. In both Nepali and English, the adjective precedes the noun.

Poplack (1980) claimed these constraints, i.e. the Free Morpheme Constraint and the Equivalence Constraint, have universal validity. However, there are several researchers, including Bentahila& Davies (1983), Berk-Seligson (1986), Halmari (1997) and Duran Eppler (2010) among others, who have provided counter-evidence from their research. This study also does not support the universality claim for the free morpheme constraint and offers only limited support for the equivalence constraint (e.g. in noun phrases) due to different word order as stated in section 7.2.1 above.

This study shows that Nepali is the more dominant language in the Nepali-English contact situation. All the English elements are embedded according to Nepali grammar rules. The Nepali-English CS data follow the Matrix Language Frame model of Myers-Scotton (1993). In the data this study is based on, Nepali is the Matrix Language, because the larger number of elements is from Nepali and because Nepali morphosyntactic rules determine the grammatical structure in Nepali-English clauses (CPs) where the grammars of the two languages are in contact (Myers-Scotton, 2002:55).

The Nepali-English bilingual clause or CP consists of 1) Nepali ML islands with only Nepali morphemes, 2) mixed constituents with morphemes from both the ML and EL, and 3) EL islands with EL morphemes only.

Having discussed the structural aspects of Nepali-English CS data, the reasons for Nepalese people mixing English in their conversation are discussed next.

7.3   Behavioural Aspects of Nepali-English CS.

This section discusses the behavioural aspects of Nepali-English CS data which include the reasons for Nepali-English CS in terms of social variables (age, gender, level of education, profession and, urban and rural location). Research on the reasons for CS has been carried out by many researchers on different world language pairs (see Gardner-Chloros, 2009), but not Nepali-English.

7.3.1   Easier and Quicker to Express

This reason encompasses the broad concept that a single English element does the work of a longer stretch of Nepali morphemes. Nepalese people account for comfortable and quicker expression when using English for communication. This seems to have been

accepted by a majority of the Nepalese people. The literature also supports this idea through the notion of 'principle of economy' first formulated by Li (2000) in his study on Cantonese-English code-switching. The *principle of economy* is the use of fewer words from a foreign language in place of more words from the native language to express the same things. In other words, economising the use of words and choosing foreign elements for quicker expression.

Shreya Jain (2017) employs a similar notion to Li's principle of economy and calls it 'economy of articulation'. Jain's *economy of articulation*captures the concept that indexing some long words in Hindi is against the rule of economy of articulation. This first reason given by respondents for inserting English language elements into Nepali, i.e. that it is quicker and easier to express, is thus compatible with Jain's and Li's shared notion of economy in expression.

There are some concepts, ideas or objects which require longer Nepali words to index than English. Hence, Nepalese people opt for English elements because they are shorter and quicker to express than their Nepali equivalents. One illustrating example, the tag-switch *sorry*, was discussed above; the English *sorry* is shorter than the longer stretch of its counterpart in Nepali, *maphgarnuhola*. Likewise, the Nepali word *dhanyabad* is used less frequently in informal conversational settings than its English equivalent *thank you*. This may, moreover, indicate a shift in cultural practices. Many Nepali people do not practice a culture of thanking people as frequently and e.g. English and Americans do, and *dhanyabad*, equivalent to English *thank you*, is restricted to formal domains, which – in addition to its length – accounts for its infrequent use. The frequent use of the short English *thank you* in present-day Nepali culture may thus impact not only on the Nepali language, but also on Nepali culture; the English tradition of thanking is imported with

the English word *thank you*. Another English word frequently used in informal conversations is *welcome*. Its Nepali counterpart *swagatam* is only used in formal settings. Similarly, the foreign term *excuse me* is in vogue to draw people's attention to something in informal conversations. The same meaning can be expressed in Nepali, but it is longer than just two words.

There is an indication that some Nepali expressions seem to go out of use and are being replaced by equivalent English expressions. The qualitative data presented and analysed in section 5.3.1 of Chapter 5 substantiate this.

The next reason for mixing English in Nepali conversation is habit. Nepalese people encounter English elements at various levels in different settings on a daily basis, as the data presented and analysed in Chapter 6 show. This 'entrenchment' of English in the Nepal context eventually forms habit.

7.3.2 Habit

When Nepalese people repeatedly encounter English elements through, for example, media advertisements, as evidenced in Chapter 6, this seems to lead them to use those elements in conversation. The second largest proportion of respondents expressed the opinion that they habitually insert English in their conversation.

The recurrent use of English elements in a wide range of domains (e.g. family, workplace, media and education) in Nepal contributes to the regular practice of mixing English elements into Nepali. Subsequently, many Nepalese people have developed the habit of mixing English into their speech. It is the English education system which contributes most to forming this habit. The English education system in Nepal is fundamental in

shaping the attitude of Nepalese people to English. In other words, the positive attitude of Nepalese people to English is being fostered by educational institutions. This argument is supported by data from the NGO and government employee focus group discussions, as mentioned in subsection 5.3.3. This conclusion is similar to the one drawn in Li &Tse's (2002) study on Hong Kong; people there also habitually included English expressions of various lengths in their matrix language, Cantonese.

7.3.3   Globalisation

Global influence increases with time. With the development of advanced technology, the idea of looking at the world as a global village has emerged. This factor, as one of the contributors to the phenomenon under investigation in this study, brings the two languages Nepali and English, along with their cultures, into contact.

Nepalese people have access to the world via the media, trade, tourism and foreign employment. These factors have been presented in Chapter 6 and will be further discussed here. In the questionnaire, relatively few respondents give global influence as a reason for mixing English into Nepali; the same view is expressed in interviews, (e.g. the teacher A0410407), and in focus group discussions (e.g. FGD A0710504).

English without any doubt has taken a lingua franca role in easing the communication between groups of people belonging to two different linguistic areas and nations. Due to global influence, the Nepali language alone is no longer enough to develop one's career. Given this, Nepali speakers have developed a more positive attitude towards English than to other local languages such as Newari, Gurung and Tamang (see Appendices K, L & M).

7.3.4   Development and Mobility

The fourth reason, development and mobility, is compatible with the research finding of Gargesh (2006:90). His study is also based on South Asia. Nepal's linguistic and cultural background is similar to that of other countries in the region. Throughout South Asia, English is taken as a tool for developing one's career. Hence, mixing English into local languages becomes a common practice.

This conclusion is furthermore supported by the fact that private English boarding schools are mushrooming in Nepal. They have become the centre of attraction for many parents who enrol their children in English medium education. This is further substantiated by the empirical data analyzed in section 6.2.2.3 under education policy.

7.3.5   No Nepali Translation Equivalents

The fifth most frequently-noted reason for Nepali participants reporting the insertion of English elements into Nepali conversations is that they lack Nepali lexical items that denote the concepts they wish to express. These findings are compatible with some previous findings on the topic. The reason 'lack of Nepali words' ascribed by respondents in the questionnaire survey accords with research conducted by Li (2000) as well as with Jha's (1989) idea of a 'registral function' (function of register or word) of code-switching, and also with the first factor pointed out by Myers-Scotton (2005:6,7), i.e. the absence of Matrix Language lexicon to index new things or ideas imported through globalisation or contact with the outside world.

This reason is a particularly good example to illustrate that metalinguistic reasons given for importing English language elements into Nepali do not necessarily coincide with the facts. Participants, for example, use *computer* and *airport* to illustrate 'lack of Nepali

words' yet Nepali does have words for both concepts, namely *susankhya* and *bimanasthal*. This shows that Nepalese people opt for the English elements in spite of the existence of Nepali words. They consider *computer* to be a better candidate to denote the concept than its Nepali counterpart *susankhya*; likewise, the English element *airport* is in vogue among Nepalese people in place of the Nepali word *bimanasthal*. Ironically the Nepali words are used only by foreign people, particularly English people learning the Nepali language, as taken from anecdotal evidence in research.

Due to globalisation, there is an exchange of language and culture between two groups in contact. This situation prompts Nepalese people to choose foreign elements to index things/objects or ideas which did not exist in their traditional Nepali cultural background. One of the reasons why Nepali people report the insertion of English elements into their native language is to fill the lexical gap of Nepali words. We saw that these lexical gaps are sometimes more imaginary than real.

Having discussed the reasons for mixing English in Nepali conversation, the Nepali-English CS data will be discussed in the following section in terms of social variables - age, gender, education, profession and, urban and rural location.

7.4   Social Variables and Nepali-English CS

The social variables age, gender, education, profession and geographical location were investigated for this project to establish their influence on Nepali-English CS. Out of these five variables, age and gender are not significant. The other social variables, i.e. education, profession and geographical location, have been found to have a statistically significant influence on mixing English elements into the Nepali speech of the participants.

7.4.1 Age

The Nepali-English CS data reveals that there is no significant difference between age groups in terms of mixing English in their conversation. These findings are compatible with Hoffman's (1991) observations on CS in the speech of children and adults. The overall finding presented in Figure 5.3 of Chapter 5, however, is more compatible with the findings of Romaine (1995:123), who states that "the mixed speech style is common among people between the ages of 20 to 60 and involves both intra-sentential and inter-sentential code-switching". The age group that mix most in this study also ranges from the age of 18 to over 50.

According to the data analysed in Figure 5.3 of Chapter 5, the older cohort (50+) of respondents were found to mix English more than they thought. The younger age group (18-29), by contrast, reported using English more than they actually did. The middle cohort of respondents (30-49) had an almost equal result in reported and observed data, i.e. they mix most and their self-reported data match their actual linguistic behaviour. This indicates that this particular group (30-49) is neither in favour of code-switching as a prestige variable like the youngest group (18-29), nor against the insertion of English in their speech like the older group (50+). The older group (50+) may think that insertion of English elements in their speech is harmful linguistically. Similarly, the youngest group (18-29) may take the insertion of English into their speech as a sign of a modern identity. Both the youngest and the oldest age group, however, undermine their reported ideas through their observed data – the 18-29 group insert less English elements into their speech than they report (over-reporting); the older group (50+) insert more English elements into their speech than they report (under-reporting) (see Figure 5.3).

In the Nepali-English CS data the age factor does not have a statistically significant influence on the degree of mixing English into Nepali spoken interactions. The main reason for these results among the three cohorts of respondents is the different domains in which English is used. It is mainly in educational institutions where English is used by Nepalese youth in a formal setting. In informal settings, such as the home, public places and with friends, family and relatives, the Nepali language is more dominant. Were they in the diasporas (USA, UK or Australia), the situation would be different. Outside the home domain, the second and third generation of Nepali émigrés have adopted English as a lingua franca, with their Nepali restricted to the home domain only.

Having discussed the findings on the degree of English mixed by the three age groups of respondents, I will move onto the next social variable, gender.

7.4.2 Gender

Statistical tests suggest that the difference between male and female respondents regarding mixing English elements in their conversation is not significant. The findings of the actual recorded speech data on mixing English by gender from this study are therefore in line with Treffers-Daller's (1992) finding that there is no significant difference between men and women with regard to observed intra-sentential CS. This finding furthermore accords with that of Cheshire & Gardner-Chloros' (1998) study of the Greek-Cypriot community in England. In this community there is also no significant difference in the overall rate of code-switching between males and females, except slightly more intra-sentential code-switching by females than males.

Despite there being no significant difference between the genders in mixing English in conversation (see Figure 5.4 of Chapter 5), there is an interesting discrepancy between

the reported and observed data from male and female participants. These results show that women report using as many English language elements in their speech as men, but the actual speech data show the opposite. This finding indicates that the use of English in Nepali speech is a prestige variable. It is furthermore in line with the over-reporting of prestige variables documented in e.g. New York City by Labov (1966), Detroit by Wolfram (1969), and Norwich by Trudgill (1974). This indicates that over-reporting of prestige variables by women is a truly world-wide phenomenon, though documented at different times.

Female participants' over-reporting of their use of English may also be attributed to their recently raised self-esteem. The cultural background in Nepal with regard to gender equality is different from that of developed countries in the west. The construction of stereotypical gender identity in the Nepalese community traditionally entailed women speaking less and being shy, tolerant and submissive. The sociopolitical movement of the 'Ten Years Long Nepalese Civil War' (1996-2006) established a different paradigm in the history of Nepali tradition and culture by partly reversing old established norms and values. The over-reporting of English insertions by my female respondents may thus also be a reflection of Nepali women's increased self-confidence gained as a consequence of fairer and more equal treatment of men and women, and the equal opportunity policy for both genders adopted after the Civil War.

A comparison between the observed speech data and participants' self-reporting by gender and geographical location shows a further interesting difference. The gap between men and women's self-reporting of their use of English in Nepali is bigger in urban areas (female respondents 43 versus male respondents 37) than in the rural area (female respondents 47 versus male respondents 49). This accords with the idea presented by

Placencia (2001:199) that women living in urban areas want to be seen as using English as much as their male counterparts. That is, educated female city dwellers want to demonstrate their linguistic equality with their male counterparts, as suggested by Chris Weedon (1987, cited in Holmes (1997)).

The reported and observed data collected for this project suggest that city-dwelling females, influenced by modern Western ideas of gender equality, are open to experimenting with language use. The more they are exposed to education and a modern way of life, and the more they deviate from the traditional gender-specific tags attached to them, the more they want to be seen as modern by mixing English into their Nepali. The shift of their role from traditional paradigm to modern is obviously manifested, at least in their reported linguistic behaviour. That is to say, in a changing social situation, they want to move from their ascribed gender identity to a newly-constructed one, and have identified English-Nepali code-switching as an apt linguistic tool to do so. This is highly reminiscent of what Susan Gal (1978) found for German-Hungarian code-switching in the Austrian village of Oberwarth in the 1970s.

As mentioned before, Nepali-English CS beyond the lexical level is mainly accounted for by participants' level of education. The English language proficiency of Nepali speakers is primarily determined by the level of education they have attained. This will be further discussed under the independent variable 'education' in the following section. Education impacts more on Nepali-English CS than the social variables discussed so far.

7.4.3   Level of Education

In the Nepali education system, Nepali and English are primarily adopted as the main means of instruction. Out of the five social variables which were investigated in relation

to Nepali-English CS, education occupies a very significant position (see Table 5.12). Most of the bilingual Nepalese people with Nepali as their first language and English as their second language learned English in schools after they mastered their L1 at home. Similarly, for those whose first language is other than Nepali, English is their third language.

The majority of Nepalese people now have access to English through education. English is taught in a formal classroom setting in Nepal, and it is therefore in a formal language learning situation that the majority of participants add L2 (English) vocabulary and grammatical structures to their linguistic repertoire. Out of the four cohorts of education level (analyzed in Chapter 5) the first, illiterate to under SLC, has least access to English through education. The illiterate group has access to English through family, friends, media and tourism. As mentioned before, some illiterate Nepalese people working in the tourism industry speak better English than those with formal education. Hence, this group of people also mixes English at various levels in their conversation. However, out of four education groups, illiterate to under SLC and Masters' degree holders under-report. They insert more English elements into their speech than they report (see Figure 5.5). This indicates that the least and most educated Nepali people feel no need to claim to use English elements in their speech, unlike theSLC+Two and Bachelors' groups.

Level of education affects the patterns of Nepali-English CS. The higher the education, the longer the stretches of English in the Nepali participants' speech. However, all participants, irrespective of their age, gender or education, mix English in their conversation. Poplack (1982:14) also investigated the relationship between code-switching patterns and education. She found that more proficient bilinguals tend to code-switch intra-sententially, whereas less proficient bilinguals code-switch inter-sententially.

The findings of my thesis are not in line with Poplack's but rather with Myers-Scotton's (1993:71), which showed a relationship between education and types of insertion. As in Myers-Scotton's data, more educated Nepalese people's insertions involve more English-embedded language islands, whereas less educated or illiterate Nepalese people's code-switches involve more matrix language, that is Nepali, in their conversation. This finding is also compatible with that of Jacobson's (1990:114) study on Mexican-American code-switching, in which the differentiation in language use is caused by the levels of language proficiency. This finding furthermore accords with the idea of Ifechelobi (2015:3) that the higher the level of the L2 (English) as attained through education, the higher the frequency of its occurrence in conversations.

The impact of education on Nepali-English CS is likely to intensify in future. In the Nepalese sociolinguistic scenario, substituting Nepali for English - at least at lexical level - has been in progress in informal conversations for some time. The positive attitude of Nepalese people towards English education helps foster the English language in Nepal.

7.4.4 Profession

The statistical analysis of the relationship between the number of English insertions into Nepali (DV) and the sociolinguistic variables (IVs) investigated in this study presented in Chapter 5 revealed that, like education, profession is statistically significant, but not in the presence of education. This means that there is a moderate to high degree of overlap between the social variables of education and profession, and profession becomes not significant in an analysis (GLM) that takes all statistically significant variables into consideration. Adding profession to the General Linear Model does improve its performance, i.e. how well it accounts for the observed data, but not by much (by approximately 6% from 19% to 25%).

Out of the five profession groups, media, NGO staff and social workers mix English most in their conversation. A reason for this is that these groups must approach sponsors from abroad and normally do this in English. They must sign a contract paper for a project to start; such papers contain English terminology related to their profession. Some of these foreign elements which have no equivalent counterparts in the Nepali language are embedded into Nepali and spread quickly among Nepalese people through imitation. Similarly, there are some foreign elements which are widely used despite there being Nepali translation equivalents, as we have already seen for 'computer' and 'airport 'in section 7.3.5.

To summarise, to deal with foreigners, English is the only medium of communication between them and local Nepali people. It is the professional groups with most contact with foreign visitors to Nepal, i.e. media people, NGO staff and social workers, who have been found to code-switch most in this study.

7.4.5 Geographical Location

This study was carried out in both urban and rural areas, and the results show that there is a statistically highly significant difference between the Nepali-English CS behaviour in the two locations. Though the urban and rural dichotomy exists, the lifestyles of urban and rural dwellers have become more similar due to new technology, such as mobile phones, and improved transport facilities. Despite this narrowing of the urban-rural divide through new technologies and improved transportation, the difference between the English mixing behaviours of the two groups is highly significant. This facilitates their frequent use of English in conversation. By contrast, Nepali people living in rural areas do not have this opportunity. They can use English in fewer domains in comparison with city dwellers, which results in less English in their speech.

Hence, the statistical analysis conducted for this study has revealed some interesting and surprising facts. Out of the five social variables (IV)investigated, age and gender have no significant impact on the insertion of English into my participants' speech (DV; see Table 5.15). The most influential social variable (IV) is geographical location. The next most influential social variable (IV) is education. Profession is also significant, but – unsurprisingly – overlaps to a moderate to high degree with education.

Having discussed the Nepali-English CS data in terms of extent and structure, reasons/motivation and social variables, I will next focus my discussion on the role of different agents which facilitate Nepali-English CS in Nepal.

7.5 Influence of Media, Education, Tourism, Foreign Trade and Employment on Nepali-English Code-switching

This section discusses the role of agents such as media, education, trade, tourism and foreign employment in facilitating the Nepali-English CS phenomenon in Nepal. These are the agents through which English language elements at various levels, i.e. from lexical to sentence level, are entering the language repertoire of Nepali speakers.

These agents bring not only Nepali and English-speaking people, but also two cultures from geographically distant places, into contact. The connection through English leads one group, i.e. Nepali people, to mix English into their conversation. The linguistic repertoire formed by this group will be transferred to other people who are not directly in contact with foreign people or with English.

The next sections discuss the roles different agents play in facilitating English-Nepali language contact and thus address the research question on the role of media, education, trade and tourism in Nepali-English CS.

7.5.1 English in the Media

Under this section, the data on print and broadcast media analysed in Chapter 6 will be discussed. There are no media which do not adopt English for various purposes in Nepal, and the media influence people, i.e. their customers, in trade terms. The media present English language content to Nepali people through audio or visual channels, or both.

7.5.1.1 English in Print Media

The use of English in the media, as proposed by Rao (1938/1963, cited in Gargesh 2006:91), is one of the significant factors in spreading English. Likewise, Trudgill (2014:220) also attributes the spread of English to simple exposure to the media. Nepalese people have access to media in both urban and rural areas (see Chapter 3 section 3.6.1). I presented and analysed some Nepali-English mixed bilingual contents in print media in Chapter 6 and will discuss them in the following section. In this context, my argument is that the media present the images with English elements at various levels – ranging from lexical to sentence level - so that readers remember those English elements through recurring encounters with them.

Under print media, I investigated prominent newspapers published in both Nepali and English on a daily basis. These newspapers are officially published monolingually in either Nepali or English. Both types of newspapers, however, contain some bilingual Nepali and English materials. The use of English in the print media, for example, starts with the English names of many Nepali newspapers. Advertisements also contain

information in both Nepali and English. The English versions are either written completely in English orthography or transliterated into Nepali orthography. For instance, the English word *urgent* in Picture 6.2 has been presented through Nepali transliteration. The transliterated versions can be read by any Nepali who can read Devanagari. Readers then share what they have read in the newspapers, e.g. the word *urgent*, with other groups of people, e.g. their colleagues and relatives. The English word *urgent* thus comes into wider use and competes with the Nepali translation equivalent *turunta*. In addition to single English words, phrases like *no interview* and *100% job guarantee* can easily be picked up by others through listening to readers uttering them. This is how English at the lexical and phrasal levels is circulated across Nepalese people and spreads into the wider Nepali linguistic community.

The use of English in advertisements is a practice adopted in many countries with a positive attitude toward English. Bhatia (1998:198) believes that the use of English in advertisements is a practice adopted in many countries to draw consumers' attention to the message or details of the product. This includes Nepal, where English is frequently used in advertisements, not just in the print media. Here my focus is less on how much English is used in the advertisement, but rather on how English at various levels is used to influence the readers or audiences. Picture 6.5 in Chapter 6, for example, illustrated the use of English words and phrases such as *anti-leech oil* in Nepali newspaper ads. The English prefix *anti-* is very common in Nepal. Even an illiterate respondent from a village uses this English language element in the sentence *u mero anti ho* 'he is against me'. Similarly, the English adjectives *quick* and *vegetarian* are frequently used in Nepali advertisements. The latter in its shortened or clipped form *veg* seems to replace its Nepali counterpart *sakahari* in the speech of some Nepalese people. Unlike Bhatia (1987:35), who claims that 90% of all the 1,200 advertisements she looked at carried product names

in English, I did not quantify my results. However, it seems safe to claim that frequent use of English elements at various levels from lexical to sentences in advertisements in the Nepali print media serves to encourage Nepali speakers to use them in day-to-day conversations.

The research questionnaire data have shown that nearly 60% of respondents report reading only Nepali newspapers; almost 2% of them read only English newspapers, and 33% report reading newspapers in both Nepali and English (see Table 6.2 in Chapter 6). This is a clear indicator for the gradual development of a Nepali-English bilingual situation in Nepal.

7.5.1.2 English in Broadcast Media

Under broadcast media I analysed radio and television and found several illustrations of English being used at various levels. The analysis draws on primary data published by the National Population and Housing Census (2011). Table 3.1 shows that in 2011,53.56% of the urban population and 50.17% of the rural population possessed a radio, so there is not a big difference here. 60.67% of urban people and 30.66% of rural people possessed a television, so there is a bigger difference here. The most recent data on ownership of radio and TV sets (Media Survey Findings 2014), however, show that ownership of radios has decreased (urban people 46.1% versus rural people 45.3%) and the urban versus rural gap in ownership of a TV has closed (urban people 79.5% versus rural people 42.3%). The statistical data show that both urban and rural people have significant access to radio and television. Nepal stepped forward in the field of communication after it entered the global community, which coincided with the one-party system being replaced by the multiparty system (see Chapter 2). In 2008 Nepal became a federal republic and changes to the communication industries were introduced, allowing

involvement of the private sector. Subsequently, a number of private FM radio stations and TV stations were set up. Most of these use English for transmitting periodical programmes or commercial advertisements. 53.80% of urban and 11.1% of rural people furthermore have access to cable television services, providing additional channels to viewers (see Appendix Q). These channels include various foreign ones. With these technical devices Nepalese people have been able to discover English language and culture. Mixing English into their Nepali conversations is one of the consequences of the access Nepalese people have to foreign radio and TV channels. As in print, the names of many broadcast media were found to be in both English and Nepali and also mixed. Figure 6.18 in Chapter 6 presents some TV stations' names which are primarily written in English. Likewise, Figure 6.19 presents some radio stations' names in English, while Figure 6.20 illustrates the bilingual titles of TV talk show programmes.

In subsection 6.2.1.2, I analysed a short conversation between a TVhost and a guest, extracted from the talk show 'Black &White'. This short sample contains all types of Nepali-English CS which were found in the recorded speech data, i.e. conversations held by the respondents in different settings.

There are examples of formulaic expressions such as *thank you* and *ok,* which are easy to pick up and use in informal conversations even by those who have low English language proficiency. Similarly, everybody can say *bye;* to use this expression, no second language (L2) competence is required. Trudgill (2014) claims that exposure to English through the media, i.e. through listening to radio or watching TV, is enough for participants to copy English for use in informal conversations. Formulaic expressions such as *I am sorry*, *No problem*, *Congratulation*s, *No worries* etc. are frequently used on radio and TV chat shows. These expressions are frequently copied by Nepalese speakers in conversations. In

addition, new language is coined by the media every day (Tagliamonte& Roberts, 2005:296). For example, in section 6.1.1.2the expression *diarrhoea of words and constipation of ideas* was made by a guest in TV programme. Such innovative chunks of words mixed with Nepali are served to the audience, which then starts using it. Some of these coinages last longer, some are ephemeral.

7.5.1.3 English Mixed in Public Places

Under this section I discuss Nepali-English bilingual writings found in public places, such as hoarding boards. Large hoarding boards with advertisements are rare in rural areas except for a few businesses, such as hotels and restaurants, and government and non-government organisations. Urban areas, by contrast, are full of multilingual linguistic landscapes, as presented in Chapter 6 Figures 6.7-6.12.

Urban areas are replete with sign boards, name boards and signs at the back of vehicles reading, for example, *horn please*, *see you again* and *don't kiss me*. On these signs, English letters and numbers are generally preferred over Nepali ones, as we saw in Chapter 6. Furthermore, the English/Roman alphabet is also used instead of the Nepali/Devanagari alphabet in public places (as shown in Figure 6.11 in Chapter 6) or on buses to index seat positions or places to be occupied by passengers. Though English letters are not defined as EL constituents by Myers-Scotton (1993), this phenomenon is studied as an example of code-switching by Chunxuan (2010).

Foreign visitors and locals alike can see these attributes while travelling on public vehicles in Nepal. Though the media remain the main source of Nepali-English input speakers of Nepali are exposed to, bilingual writings found in public places cannot be neglected either, as evidenced by my respondents using the English alphabet and

numerals in their shops. Through this exposure, Nepali speakers learn English elements at various levels - from letters to words (nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, prepositions, conjunctions), and sometimes even phrases, clauses and sentences. This influences their linguistic behaviour in the direction of incorporating English language elements into their Nepali conversations.

The role bilingual writings on hoarding boards and other signs play in spreading English into the Nepali community was discussed above. Next, the role of education in this process will be discussed.

7.5.2 English in Education

Language policy in education is considered to be an important factor in spreading English in South Asia (see for example Gargesh, 2006:91). In the Nepali context, the English language has been flourishing due to the Nepali government's English education policy. Due to the positive attitude of the Nepalese people and government to English, English has been introduced into the curriculum from year one through to higher education. According to the Ministry of Education Statistics (2004), the allocation of time periods to teach Nepali and English at primary level (Grade I to Grade V) is eight and five periods respectively (40 minutes per period) per week (see Table 3.2); for secondary level (Grade VI to Grade X), Nepali and English have each been allocated five periods a week (see Table 3.3). That is, at the lower level the Nepali language has been given more teaching periods than English. But English is not only taught as a subject in Nepal; now other subjects are also taught in English (see section 3.6.2.1. in Chapter 3). Since English, along with Nepali, was recognised as a medium of instruction, government textbooks have been published in English to promote English medium education in government schools (as

shown in Pictures 6.21a-f). English had already been used as a medium of instruction in private schools for over half a century (see Chapter 2).

English has thus been given a high order role (Omoniyi, 2004:113) in the Nepali education system by selecting it as a medium of instruction along with Nepali. The Nepali government has plans to promote other minority languages by introducing them as a medium of instruction in schools; so far, these government plans have not been successful. This shows that Nepal still has a centralised education system (Shohamy, 2006:76) which creates de facto language practices in educational institutions.

To summarise so far, both Nepali and English are used as a medium of instruction at all levels of education in Nepal, but Nepali plays a slightly more important role than English. Table 6.4 in Chapter 6 furthermore demonstrates that the Nepali government's education policy has the support of the people: a very large number of respondents (90%) favour English as a medium of instruction. This shows that a Nepali-English bilingual situation is not only developing in the media in Nepal, but also in the education system. Giving English names to schools and following English as a medium of instruction even in government schools is evidence of English being given institutionalised support in Nepal. Education institutes play a pivotal role in establishing the English language in Nepal through enhancing English language competence among students. Education enables Nepali speakers with English language skills at various levels to further spread their knowledge of English through various means, such as messaging, informing, noticing etc., and in various domains, e.g. the media, home, work and public places. The following section will discuss the role of trade and tourism in spreading English in Nepal.

7.5.3 English in Foreign Trade, Employment and Tourism

In addition to the media and education, Nepal is connected to the outside world and the English language through trade and tourism. As analysed in Chapter 6 section 6.3.2.4, English is often used in the trade and tourism business. From the naming of their businesses to reaching customers by advertising their products, business people and traders have been shown to use English to various degrees. Advertisements in print and broadcast media have been discussed above. Furthermore, people involved in the trade and tourism sectors require their own profession-specific vocabulary, which is primarily in English. In practice, terms related to trade and tourism are not used in Nepali. The reasons for this practice, discussed in the previous section, also apply to this section. There are some Nepali translations for English words/expressions, but they are not very often used in informal conversations. For instance, the term VAT, short for Value Added Tax, is applicable to both trade and tourism. The much longer Nepali equivalent *mulyaabhibridikar* is used in highly formal situations, but rarely in informal conversations. The term VAT reaches Nepalese people through bills or receipts provided by business people, as illustrated under subsection 6.3.2.4. Even the words *bill* and *receipt* are preferred in conversation to the Nepali equivalent *bharpai*, which is restricted mostly to formal situations and writing. An interesting phrase that was used by a business person in a discussion is *price tag*. Shop assistants, customers and other people also use this phrase in their conversation through imitation.

Level of education also matters in this regard. People with a higher level of education and thus English have fewer problems using English trade and tourism terms than people who have a low level of education with less proficiency in English. This, however, does not seem to be too much of a problem at the word level. Some trade/business-related words, such as *coupon*, *quota*, *supply* and *transportation*, are very commonly and widely used among Nepalese speakers of all educational levels.

English trade and tourism terms also enter the Nepali language at the compound word and phrase level. The compound *warranty card*, for example, was used by a trader in Example 50b under section 5.2.1.5 of Chapter 5. Hence customers buying goods, particularly electronic ones, can be heard asking shopkeepers for a *receipt* with *warranty cards*. At the phrasal level, *made in Japan* is no longer used in informal conversations these days; *Japan made* is used instead. Similarly, *made in China* is replaced by *China made*. These modified English chunks have come into use through the exchange of communication among and between traders/business people and customers. Evidence for this was gathered for this project through field notes; a customer bargaining in the street was, for example, overheard using *Bangkok made* (for *made in Bangkok,* A0080117).

Similarly, Nepali people also communicate in English with their customers in the tourism sector. As presented in Table 6.5, customers, i.e. tourists, from inner circle countries (Kachru, 1985) speak English as a first language, while customers from expanding and outer circle speak English as a second language. Interactions between these customers and Nepali service providers are held solely in English. Consequently, Nepalese people have direct access to a first-hand source to learn English. Even some Nepalese people who have no formal education at all can speak English fluently through being in frequent contact with English-speaking tourists. This has given rise to a derogatory joke, found in the data (A0490409, see section 6.2.2.3): in Pokhara, an important tourist place in western Nepal, even a buffalo can speak English. This obviously impacts on Nepali-English language contact and the CS phenomenon in Nepal. Some English words or phrases, such as *route permit*, *camping*, *porter*, *guide* and *trekking route,* are commonly used in otherwise Nepali conversations.

The role foreign employment plays in Nepali-English language contact will be discussed in the following section.

7.5.4   English in Foreign Employment

The foreign employment history of Nepal begins with two armies. Nepalese people who joined the Indian and British armies learnt English in training (see case report in section 6.2.2.4). These soldiers were the first to bring English to Nepal to various degrees. The English words they imported/borrowed index new goods or products brought to Nepal by foreign employers and required by the Nepali community. For instance, words such as *cigarette*, *pen*, *pencil*, *torchlight*, *pant*, *half-pant*, *towel*, *brush*, *hammer*, *private* and *government* were borrowed by the older generations who returned from foreign employment in the Indian and English armies. These borrowed words still survive among less educated old people in their own nativised forms. *Brush*, for example is pronounced 'borush', *private* as 'privati' and *government* as 'govementi'. Younger generation people, by contrast, pronounce English words in a less nativised way than the older generation. This is due to their access to education, which the older generation lacked. Nepal was not as globalised then as it is today.

Now the situation has changed. Nepalese people go abroad for employment not only in the army but also in non-government or private roles. Foreign employment is furthermore no longer limited to the Indian and British armies; it has also been extended to other countries around the world. With the increasing requirement of additional English words to index new ideas or concepts, the quantity of English words being embedded into Nepali has also increased.

Evidence for this comes from a recorded conversation (Foreign employment talk A0750513) held by a group of young respondents, some of whom have already been in foreign lands, some of whom are trying to go for the first time. They use English words and phrases such as *outgoing*, *incoming*, *salesman*, *supervisor*, *manpower company*, *contract paper*, *terms and conditions*, and the adjusted phrase *lodging and fooding*. Subsequently, the process of adding English words and phrases into Nepali language repertoires through foreign employment is increasing, gradually allowing many Nepalese people to take recourse to these words in informal conversations.

The following section will discuss the impact of Nepali-English language contact, brought about by the different agents or factors analysed and discussed in the previous sections and in Chapters 5 and 6.

7.6   Nepali-English Language Contact and Change

This section discusses the impact of Nepali-English code-switching, looking at its structural aspects as analysed in Chapters 5 and 6. The focus is on specific processes of change (Haugen, 1950), the borrowing of lexical items and grammatical change through mechanisms (Thomason, 2001; Chatterjee, 2015) that have taken place in Nepali and English as evidenced in the Nepali-English data this research study is based on.

The more intensive the contact between two languages, the greater the possibilities for contact-induced language change. The mosteasily-observable influences of a source language (English) on a recipient language (Nepali) are importations of English vocabulary. These will be discussed in the next section.

7.6.1 English Lexical Borrowing into Nepali

The first observable change resulting from Nepali-English language contact is lexical borrowing. It is through lexical insertion or single-word code-switching that English elements are embedded into the Nepali language in informal conversations. This has increased the volume of the Nepali vocabulary, adding new words to the existing Nepali word stock through recurrent use of English elements in various domains (especially media, education and trade and tourism), as presented in Chapters 5 and 6. The opinion of an interviewee and key informant presented in section 6.3.2.8 of Chapter 6 substantiates this change. The key informant assures the researcher/interviewer that the incorporation of English into Nepali conversations is not harmful to the Nepali language, because Nepali-English code-switching does not affect Nepali grammar rules. On the contrary, he emphasizes, language contact enriches the Nepali vocabulary.

The trend of borrowing English lexemes is on the rise. The investigation carried out for this study has shown that Nepalese people mix English in their conversation mainly for ease of use. This linguistic habit is similar to their cultural habit. Now many Nepalese people, as consumers, tend to use ready-made food, such as Wai-Wai noodles, rather than traditional home-made food, such as fried-corn. Likewise, a recent trend is for Nepali people to order fast food from restaurants. In the same way that people are inclined towards fast food because it is less time-consuming than cooking at home, they are inclined to pick up foreign English language elements due to their more immediate availability than the Nepali translation equivalents. This is evidenced by their preference for borrowed English lexemes over native Nepali words in their conversation. The empirical data gathered for this project, i.e. interviews, focus groups and observations of natural speech, show that, due to the frequent use of English at the lexical level in informal conversations, many Nepalese people now find it easier to retrieve certain English words

from their mental lexicon than their Nepali counterparts. In most cases respondents choose English not because they do not know the Nepali equivalent, but because they find it quicker and easier to access the English lexeme, as suggested by Aguirre (1985:60). This can lead to language change at the lexical level, with English borrowings gradually replacing native Nepali words.

Moreover, the Nepali language does not have enough vocabulary to index new concepts or objects that have made their way into Nepali society through globalisation. Through Nepali-English language contact, it is not only the languages which interact but also the cultures related to the two different language groups. Due to differences between Nepali and English culture, there is an absence of Nepali words to index ideas related to English/Western culture. Hence, those cultural words must be borrowed to fill the lexical gap. New ideas and objects are denoted by nouns, and for this reason nouns are the most frequently switched or used category among the English lexemes. Mostly these nouns are embedded into Nepali without their system morphemes. Most English content morphemes are used with Nepali case markers and tense markers (see Tables 5.7 and 5.8). Only in exceptional circumstances is the English plural morpheme '-s' retained and 'doubled up' with Nepali plural markers. This accords with the first of seven scenarios proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993), that is, heavy borrowing of content morphemes (without system morphemes) from the second language.

Another bilingual strategy documented in the speech data collected for this project accords with hypothesis III suggested by Myers-Scotton (2002). Out of the many examples of English content morphemes embedded into Nepali, some are used together with their Nepali counterparts. That is, some content morphemes, particularly nouns and adjectives, are 'doubled up'. Examples of nouns and adjectives from two different

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languages used together are *inspiration* and *prerna* (Example 6), *total* and *purai* (Example 5), *dirty* and *phohori* (Example 9) and *clear* and *sapha* (Example 10). This double use seems to indicate that the Nepali and English content morphemes are in competition, and the Nepali ones may eventually be replaced by the English ones. That is, they are likely to be put out of use due to encroachment by the English content morphemes.

At other times native speakers of Nepali simply opt for English lexemes instead of Nepali ones, which they think are more difficult to retrieve for use, as evidenced by the qualitative interview data. A case in point is words belonging to the semantic field of health, such as *tension- chinta*, *problem - samasya*, *result - natija*, *toilet - sauchalya*. This conforms to hypothesis III for language attrition by Myers-Scotton (2002) which suggests that content morphemes are not only the first to be acquired but also the first to attrite. The Nepali-English CS data show that specific English content morphemes are easily borrowed by the Nepalese participants. This pushes their Nepali translation equivalents into rare use, resulting in Nepali language attrition at the lexical level, at least in informal conversations (see section 6.4.1.1).

Similarly, at the phrasal level (longer stretches of English than single lexemes) some Nepali expressions are being substituted for English ones in informal interactions. In particular, formulaic and idiomatic expressions from English are starting to replace Nepali expressions. As suggested by Backus (2004), the domains previously occupied by the L1 can now be occupied by the L2. Due to language change in progress, the places previously reserved for Nepali can become occupied by English in the years to come. English content morphemes and formulaic/idiomatic expressions gradually encroach on their Nepali translation equivalents in more and more places, but only in informal settings.

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In formal settings, e.g. in writing, Nepali content morphemes hold their strong position. Hence, attrition is more likely to affect the informal register at the lexical level, not formal registers used in writing, nor the sentence level. That said, attrition at the syntactic level is also found among some Nepali people. L1 attrition, the waning ability to use L1 syntactic structures, is due to underuse, as suggested by Schmid& Jarvis (2014:730). The ability to produce grammatically correct Nepali sentences seems to be decreasing among some members of the younger generation, particularly young people whose schooling is in English medium schools. I will return to this in the next paragraph.

The data presented and analyzed in this study do not accord with the fourth scenario proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993). Full language shift to English is not expected among Nepalese people in their home country. In the diasporas, on the other hand, it is expected that all Nepalese people - particularly second-generation children - speak English more than their first language Nepali. For the current generation of children living in English-speaking countries such as the UK, the USA, Australia and New Zealand, the ML turnover hypothesis suggested by Myers-Scotton (1998) applies. This means that English becomes their primary language and Nepali becomes the embedded language. However, even in Nepal there is a growing number of students graduating from English medium schools who use English as the ML and Nepali as the EL, thus allowing ML turnover to take place in their conversations. In this case, there is a change in dominance of the participating languages, with English replacing Nepali as the Matrix Language and Nepali becoming the Embedded Language (EL).

In the following section I will briefly discuss other language contact phenomena that have been implicated in processes of change (Thomason, 2001) in order to evaluate whether this might be the case in the Nepali-English situation under investigation in this project.

This discussion is structured parallel to Chapter 5 where the data on these phenomena were first presented.

7.6.2   Loan Translation from English (Calquing)

There are some English embedded noun phrases which are literal translations and do not violate the word order pattern of either language, Nepali or English. There are compound nouns and adjectives as presented in Chapter 6 which are embedded into Nepali-English CS data as Embedded Language Islands (Myers-Scotton, 1998). These words are used in Nepali sentences. They are gradually occupying linguistic places previously occupied by their Nepali counterparts, but otherwise do not affect Nepali grammar. The Nepali phrases are mostly used in formal situations, whereas their English counterparts are used in informal settings.

7.6.3   Formation of Bilingual Complex Verbs

As discussed in the previous section, English content morphemes are embedded into Nepali structures without their system morphemes. This also applies to English verbs. The Nepali-English CS data contain many examples of English root verbs that are incorporated into Nepali with the help of Nepali system morphemes or 'light verbs' to form bilingual 'do constructions' (see Table 5.7). This means that English root verbs are used either with the Nepali 'DO' verb or the Nepali 'BE' verb (as helping verbs) to indicate different tenses. Hence, mixing English verbs into Nepali conversations is not very difficult. The main difference lies in the number of verbs one has to hold in one's memory. Moreover, the English verbs used in this bilingual 'do construction' are not random. There are certain verbs which are in vogue through frequent use in daily conversation. For this reason, it seems unlikely that the incorporation of English root

verbs with the help of Nepali 'DO' and 'BE' verbs will lead to further contact-induced language change.

7.6.4 Derivational Hybridity: Substratum Influence

Some English nouns are used with Nepali derivational affixes. The original Nepali *posanyukta*, for example, becomes *vitamin-yukta*. The derivational morpheme *-yukta* means 'full of'. This process of integrating English nouns into Nepali with the help of Nepali derivational morphemes such as *–yukta*, *–grasta* and *–bihin,* seems to be very productive; see, for example, *florid-yukta* (full of floridity); *vitamin-yukta* (full of vitamins); *protein-yukta* (full of protein); *echaivi-grasta* (suffering from HIV); *cancer-grasta* (suffering from cancer); *driver-bihin* (without a driver). Some of these morphologically-integrated English nouns have Nepali translation equivalents, e.g. *vitamin-yukta,* while others, e.g.*echaivi-grasta,* do not because the English acronym HIV. has no Nepali equivalent. These Nepali-English morphologically complex words are mainly used in media advertisements for listeners or audiences to use in their daily lives while holding conversations in their Nepali speech communities.

A particularly lovely example in the context of this study is *english-maya*, given in its appropriate context of a teachers' focus group discussion below.

*F12 bhannushamisabai***english**-*maya*hunaiparcha. (A0250309)

Gloss: say   we   all   English-full of   must be

Translation**:** *We all must be full of English.*

The above example contains the loanblend equivalent of *angrejimaya*, meaning 'full of English'. The loanblend is formed through translating the Nepali word *angreji* into English, i.e. *English,* and adding the Nepali suffix *-maya* 'full of' to make *english-maya*.

The following examples of English nouns with Nepali derivational suffixes were observed among illiterate village people: *driver-ni* (female driver), *doctor-ni*(female doctor) and *master-ni* (female master). In these examples the Nepali suffix *–ni* is added to names of professions to indicate that the person occupying the position is female. These words are widely used and popular mostly among the older generation, particularly in rural areas.

Likewise, for the purpose of placing more emphasis on English words, Nepali speakers have a tradition of adding the suffixes '-ai' and '-nai', as we saw in Chapter 5 Table 5.5. English words can thus be integrated into Nepali with the help of derivational morphology and can then "behave" like native Nepali words. As such, they are unlikely to create language change and just follow the millennia-old tradition of integrating foreign words into native morphology.

7.7   Summary

This chapter has discussed English elements inserted into Nepali speech at various levels in relation to code-switching studies of different world languages mixed with English. Like many studies carried out by different researchers (e.g. van Hout&Muysken, 1998; Treffers-Daller, 1991, 2010; Duran Eppler, 2010 to name just a few), this study has found that among the English elements mixed into Nepali conversations, nouns are numerically the most dominant of all the English elements at different levels - lexical, clausal, phrasal and sentence. The free morpheme constraint is not valid in the case of Nepali-English CS,

as in many other bilingual context (e.g. Mahootian, 1993 Clyne, 1975; Duran Eppler, 2010). However, insertion of English elements into Nepali is not random. English free morphemes (stems) are used with Nepali system morphemes which build the syntactic frame for Nepali-English CS to take place. The data analysed in Chapter 5 show that a) English lexemes do not have to integrate into Nepali phonologically to combine with Nepali system morphemes - English verbs normally combine with Nepali system morphemes to assign tense; and b) Nepali word order does not map onto English word order in all cases (e.g. adjectives). That is, the Nepali-English data contain fewer violations of the equivalence constraint, which is again similar to the findings of the previously named studies and illustrates that word order is a preferred primitive for bilingual code-switching (Muysken 2000), but not an absolute constraint. Nepali-English CS exists, despite many grammatical differences between the two languages.

Regarding the reasons for mixing English into Nepali as reported by Nepalese people, it was found that the most prominent is ease of communication in conversation. As Nepali society advances, the existing linguistic repertoire is not enough to index new ideas or objects. There are some examples in which Nepalese people prefer using English elements instead of Nepali ones because the English elements are easier and quicker to express.

Out of all the social variables investigated in this study (age, gender, education, profession and geographical location), only education, profession and geographical location show a statistically significant correlation with the extent of mixing English into the conversation of Nepalese people. It is primarily through education that Nepalese people get access to English, providing them with an alternative means of expression in addition to their existing linguistic repertoire based on their first language, i.e. Nepali. Through the

recurrent practice of borrowing and code-switching, Nepalese people have formed a habit of mixing English and Nepali.

This study has furthermore found that the media, education institutions, trade, tourism and foreign employment play very active roles in bringing English into the use of Nepalese people to varying degrees. These agents reinforce the use of English in various domains and thus expose Nepalese people to new English elements which they can then use in conversation. This linguistic environment brings Nepali and English into contact, and the borrowing of English lexemes has become a common phenomenon. Due to frequent use of English at lexical and phrase level, the danger that Nepalese people may start to forget the Nepali translation equivalents of at least the most frequent ones of those English words (particularly nouns) and phrases seems to be real.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

Approaches of scholars to CS are diverse: sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, structural and historical. This study has explored structural and sociolinguistic aspects of Nepali-English CS and the role of agents in facilitating this linguistic phenomenon. It has furthermore examined lexical and grammatical aspects of Nepali-English language contact and change. Based on the theoretical and descriptive frameworks on CS constraints, mechanisms and their end results (e.g. Poplack, 1980, 2004; Muysken, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 1993b, 2002; Thomason, 2001), it is apparent that a study of Nepali-English CS should involve sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic as well as structural constraints. The following sections present the summary of findings in relation to both the research questions as outlined in Chapter 1and findings of CS research in other language pairs, contribution to knowledge, limitations of the study, and scope for future research.

8.2 Degree and Type of English Insertions into Nepali

The first objective of this study was to provide an insight into Nepali-English CS structure. In relation to the first objective, this section explores the extent to which speakers of Nepali mix English elements into their conversations in Nepal. I have investigated the grammatical structures of Nepali-English CS and their types.

The data for this study were obtained by audio-recording the conversations of respondents in various settings, including sociolinguistic interviews, focus group discussions among participants belonging to five professional groups, as well as natural spoken interactions observed in the field. Some of the conversations were recorded by the researcher himself participating in the group interactions, others by the research assistant. The recorded

speech data were transcribed in the LIDES (Language Interaction Data Exchange System) format andanalyzed with the help of software called CLAN (Computerized Linguistic Analysis). This software supports finding English parts of speech (EPS) at various levels – from lexical to sentence– in the Nepali data.

The quantitative results obtained from this analysis are presented in Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3. They summarise which English parts of speech are mixed into Nepali conversations, and how frequently. The empirical data show that English elements at the word level are mixed more than at the phrase, clause and sentence levels. Out of single English lexical elements, nouns are the most frequently inserted English parts of speech in the data. Nouns are followed by verbs, phrases, adjectives, adverbs, clauses, sentences, conjunctions and prepositions (see Table 5.1). English nouns have furthermore spread into more domains than any other English lexemes. As the Nepali language lacks science- and technology-related words, Nepalese people have to use English words to denote such concepts in their conversations. This has added many English words to the Nepalese linguistic repertoire, facilitating Nepali-English CS in conversations.

Nepali-English CS takes place despite the two languages having different basic word orders (Nepali is Subject-Object-Verb; English is Subject-Verb-Object). Despite the different sentence patterns, Nepali-English CS proceeds smoothly, without any hindrance to conversational flow. The same assumption was also confirmed on the basis of Russian-Estonian CS by Zabrodskaja (2013) where Estonian is a SVO language and Russian is very flexible in word order. In the analysed data, the grammatical rules of Nepali were not found to have been violated, and the grammatical rules of English in only a few cases (see Chapters 5 and 7). Bentahila et al. (1983) also found that in their French-Arabic CS data CS occurred between subject and main verb in cases where French declarative

sentencesrequire a SVO order of elements and Arabic sentences require a VSO ordering. Hence, the way Nepalese participants mix English elements in their conversations is not to the detriment of the Nepali language at the grammatical or structural level. All English word stems, except a few nouns and participle adjectives, were found to be incorporated into the Nepali data with Nepali system morphemes. The exceptions to this rule are, on the one hand, English nouns, which are occasionally used with both English and Nepali plural markers (double marking in Auer's 1999:328 terminology), and, on the other hand, English participle adjectives such as *interesting* and *tired*, which bring their own system morphemes *-ing* and *-ed* into Nepali-English code-switched speech.

As far as language choice is concerned, the Nepali-English CS data contain all three types of code-switching, inter-sentential CS, intra-sentential CS and tag switches. Out of the three types, intra-sentential CS is more dominant than the other two. In terms of use, tag switches (e.g. formulaic expressions such as *good morning*, *good afternoon*, *good night*) are easy for Nepalese people to acquire by imitating their colleagues, listening to radio and/or watching television, which accounts for their relative frequency in the data. Wertheim (2003) suggests that such discourse-pragmatic words coming from the dominant language are often unnoticed.

These findings relate to seminal code-switching research on other language pairs as follows.

One of the oldest research paradigms in bilingualism research is borrowability hierarchies (e.g. Dwight Whitney (1881), Haugen (1950), Muysken (1981) and van Hout & Muysken (1994)). Not all borrowability hierarchies are the same, but nouns are the most frequently inserted lexical category in all. This study also revealed that nouns constitute the largest

number of single word switches. This finding corroborates the findings of various studies involving different language pairs, for example Berk-Seligson's (1986) study on Hebrew-Spanish; Pfaff's (1979); Poplack's (1980, 1981); and Timm's (1975) studies on English-Spanish where nouns were found to comprise the highest number of switches (Berk-Seligson, 1986:314). In the Nepali context, the greater use of English nouns should be considered in relation to the reasons for mixing English in Nepali conversation investigated in this study. Language economy and lack of words in Nepali are the two reasons which are attributed to the use of more English nouns in the conversation of Nepalese people. This finding validates Backus' (2001) observation on Dutch-Turkish language pairs, according to which high semantic specificity of a word increases its chances of being used as an insertional switch. The findings of Gumperz' (1976) and Poplack's (1980) studies, however, run counter to this finding. In these two studies, sentence was found to be the most highly switched constituent.

Muysken (2000) surveyed the first twenty years of CS research and concluded that CS can either be insertional, alternational or congruent lexicalisation (see Chapter 2); in the Nepali-English case it is insertional, i.e. material from English is inserted into the structure of Nepali.This is why despite the controversy surrounding single word inclusions in code-switched data, Myers-Scotton's (1993, 2002) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model achieves both descriptive and explanatory adequacy for my data.

Because the Nepali-English code-switching investigated in this study is insertional rather than alternationalbetween the structures of the two languages involved, my results fit less well with those of another seminal researcher in the field; ShanaPoplack's (1980) famous constraints on code-switching, the Free Morpheme Constraint and the Equivalence Constraint, were formulated on the basis of her Spanish-English data. Spanish and

English are syntactically close languages in comparison with Nepali and English. Nepali, for example, is more highly inflected than Spanish and has a different default word order. In addition, the Puerto Rican community in Harlem, New York, is a local and close-knit community in which, at the time of Poplack's data collection, the two languages had been in contact for many years. All these factors go some way to explain why this study revealed counter-examples to both of Poplack's constraints, as in other syntactically distant languages.

According to the Free Morpheme Constraint, a code-switch between a free morpheme of one language and a bound morpheme of another cannot take place. Subsequent research, particularly on code-switching between one highly inflected language and one less inflected language, has yielded a considerable number of counterexamples to this constraint. Code-switches between a free morpheme from one language and a bound morpheme from the other have been documented in language pairs such as Swahili – English CS (Scotton, 1983), Arabic-English CS (Bokamba, 1987), English – Danish CS (Petersen, 1988), Bolivian Quechua- Spanish CS (Muysken, 1991), and Finnish-English CS (Halmari, 1993). My Nepali-English CS data also show violation of the Free-Morpheme Constraint due to Nepali being a more highly inflected language than English.

Poplack's second constraint, the Equivalence Constraint, predicts that CS will occur at points where the surface structure of the two languages maps onto each other. We saw in Chapter 5 that code-switching takes place between Nepali and English despite the basic word orders of the two languages not matching onto each other (Nepali is SOV and English is SVO). Word order differences between languages involved in code-switching, however, do not necessarily result in violations of Poplack's 'Equivalence Constraint'. This constraint only requires the surface structures of the two languages involved in

language contact to map onto each other at points where code-switching takes place (Poplack, 1980:586). This requirement restricts alternational code-switching more than the type of code-switching that is prevalent in the Nepali-English data, insertional code-switching. In the majority of cases (see Chapter 5), the insertion of various English elements into Nepali syntactic frames does not result in word order violations, because the sentence frame is Nepali.Code-switching within constituents/phrases in whichthe word orders of the two languages map onto each other, such as the noun phrase, support the Equivalence Constraint. Code-switches within the verb phrase, on the other hand, yield counter examples to the Equivalence Constraint (see Chapter 5), mainly due to violations of English word order requirements. This supports the finding that the sentence frame in my data tends to be Nepali and English elements are inserted into it.

To summarise, like many other studies on code-switching between different language pairs (see Mahootian (1993) and Gardner-Chloros (2009) for a summary), the Nepali-English data collected for this project do not support Poplack's (1980) longstanding theory on code-switching. In particular, like most bilingual data involving highly inflected languages, my data are full of violations of the 'Free Morpheme Constraint' (Poplack 1989), because English word stems regularly combine with Nepali affixes (see Chapter 5). Asin most other studies on syntactic constraints on code-switching, the Nepali-English data contain a few code-switches at points where the surface word orders of Nepali and English do not map onto each other (see Chapter 5). Regarding Polack's (1980) longstanding theory of code-switching, findings from this study are thus in line with most other research on syntactic constraints on code-switching: the 'Free Morpheme Constraint' does not hold; the 'Equivalence Constraint' is not universal, as claimed by Poplack (1980), but word order equivalence is clearly a primitive for bilingual code-switching (Muysken, 2000), as shown by the frequency of switches in phrases where the

word orders of the two languages in contact in this case do match onto each other, i.e. noun phrases (see Zabrodskaja (2013) on genitive noun phrases code-switched between Estonian and Russian, or Aaho (1999) on Greek Cypriot Dialect-English code-switches in noun adjective word order). Where they do not, e.g. the verb phrase, Nepali-English bilinguals develop strategies that still allow them to switch. They support English lexical verbs with Nepali light verbs such as 'DO' and 'BE' to form bilingual complex verb constructions (BCVs).

8.3   Reasons for Mixing

The second objective of this research project was to explore the reasons why Nepalese people mix English into their conversations. I investigated this through a questionnaire survey and interviews. This study has shown that my participants report various different but partly overlapping pragmatic reasons behind mixing English into their conversations. Firstly, according to the participants, the use of English eases expression and facilitates conversation. That is, Nepalese people use ready-made English elements which they find easier and quicker to use than their Nepali translation equivalents (if they exist). This result echoes a study conducted by Zabrodskaja (2013) on morphosyntactic contact-induced language change in young Estonian-Russian speakers' variety, where according to the informants' self-reporting, the use of the Estonian (compound) nouns is caused by their shortness, their high productive structure (because there are just many compound nouns in Estonian) and greater frequency in everyday speech in comparison with Russian equivalents.

All data sources used for this project reveal that these days Nepalese people of all age groups, all gender groups, levels of education, professions and geographical locations mix English in their conversation for ease of expression. An analysis of a sample of these

English insertions, however, revealed that this metalinguistic reason is partly subjective. Frequently the English borrowings are only marginally shorter in terms of number of syllables; syllable structures of the Nepali translation equivalents have also been shown not to be more complex (e.g. in terms of consonant clusters in onset and coda). This suggests that at least some English insertions are not markedly easier and quicker to express, but that other reasons, such as prestige, may account for the metalinguistic findings in relation to research question. My respondents furthermore frequently draw attention to their use of English elements during the audio recordings.

Secondly, code-switching has become a habit for Nepalese people. They are so accustomed to using English in their day-to-day spoken interactions that they report to find it difficult to avoid it. Of course, one should bear in mind Romaine's (2000:27) statement that "self-reports are subject to variance in relation to factors such as prestige, ethnicity, and political affiliation, etc". This metalinguistic evidence in combination with the fact that not many English insertions are flagged in the recorded conservations, suggests thatbilingual language use is becoming subconscious and entrenched in Nepal. Participants report that English words and expressions "just come out" without them realizing that they are using English elements in their conversations.

Whether code-switching is conscious or subconscious is difficult to impossible to establish with corpus linguistic means. What we do, however, know is that conscious insertions tend to be more frequent in bilingual speech communities in which code-switching does not form an everyday mode of interaction. In such communities code-switches or insertions tend to be flagged up at the discourse level (e.g. French-English bilingual residing in Ottawa, see Poplack &Meechan, 1995). In communities in which code-switching has become a habit, i.e. forms a mode of daily interaction, foreign

language insertions tend not to be flagged up (e.g. the Puerto-Rican community in New York, ibid.). Given that "it has become a habit" is the second most frequently reportedreason for incorporating English language elements into their otherwise Nepali conversation in this study, and flagged insertions are the minority, the use of English language elements may be subconscious. To test this, one would, however, have to use psycho- or neurolinguistics methods. This is beyond the scope of this study.

Entrenchment is a slightly different issue (see Backus,2004), though it can also only be tested through experimental psycholinguistics methods (such as lexical access times in speech perception). Through the recurrent use of English in the Nepali linguistic landscape in a wide range of domains, e.g. media and education as well as trade and tourism, many English words and phrases have become entrenched in Nepalese people's minds. Thus, the frequent use of English units in conversation has formed a habit among the Nepalese people. Once this habit is formed, it is difficult to return to monolingual Nepali use. Quite a few respondents who claim that they do not code-switch, i.e. that they speak Nepali monolingually, are caught on tape using English elements in the audio-recorded speech. This is empirical evidence supporting the notion that incorporating English into Nepali has become a habit for many Nepali people. If English language elements- from the lexical to the phrasal, clausal and sentence level –do indeed become more entrenched in Nepali speakers' minds, this can of course lead to language change at least at the lexical level (see Chapter 6, section 6.4.1.1).

The third most frequently-quoted reason for code-switching as reported by the respondents is global influence. Owing to the global use of English, the world's people cannot avoid encountering English to varying degrees (i.e. Bolton, 2012). Younger generations especially seem to be following the trends of industrialised and globalised

societies everywhere. Piller (2001:180) states that in Germany, "English has become thoroughlyassociated with a certain segment of German society as it appears through advertising discourse: the young, cosmopolitan business elite". The global influence of English has also reached Nepalese people across the country through various means – education, media, trade, tourism and foreign employment.

The respondents to the questionnaire and interviewees furthermore name development and mobility as reasons for mixing English into their speech. Many Nepalese people feel that in the twenty-first century English is an essential tool to develop their career. This is further supported by many parents' wish to send their children to private English boarding schools and/or their lobbying for better English language provision in government schools.

Sallabank (2006) describes a similar situation where young people on the island of Guernsey do not viewtheir heritage language, Guernsey French, as being very important, largely because they see it as having less educational and professional advantage.

Lack of Nepali words is the least frequent reason for code-switching given by my respondents. It is not just the English language that has entered Nepal; English has entered with its culture and developments in technology (similar cases were studied by Bhatia, 1992; Martin, 2002; Takashi, 1990; Cheshire &Moser, 1994; Bruyel-Olmedo&Juan-Garau, 2009; and Kasanga, 2012a, 2012b, where the ideology of valorisation of English is demonstrated). To name these newly-arrived cultural and developmental ideas, the existing Nepali language is not enough. Even though new Nepali words are being coined to cope with the process of indexing new ideas and things, evidence from the analysis of the linguistics landscape in Nepal and the corpus collected for this study indicates that it

is difficult for these signifiers to gain widespread use; they cannot compete with the English borrowings because, for example in advertising, English labels endow the new ideas and things with a flair of the modern and global (see also Troyer, 2012:110 on using English in Thai online newspapers where "English is used to associate products and services … with concepts of modernity, globalisation…"). In addition, most of the time the Nepali-coined words are longer than the English words. Understandably, Nepalese people prefer using succinct English signifiers to longer Nepali coinages, thus allowing foreign language elements to take hold in Nepal. Last but not least, in informal conversations some English words are making their way into the Nepali linguistic repertoire to occupy places previously reserved for typical Nepali words.

This sociolinguistic phenomenon, i.e. insertion of foreign language elements at various linguistic levels or code-switching, once stigmatised widely, has been accepted as a way of life. That is to say, previously the use of English words in Nepali was marked; nowadays it has become a common and widespread phenomenon (i.e. unmarked CS). Another change that has taken place in Nepali is that, in the past, Nepalese people used English for prestige reasons. Specific social groups may still do so (see next section); the majority of people today, however, consider English words and expressionsa need.

8.4 Relationship between Nepali-English CS and Sociodemographic Variables

The following sections deal with observed data and reported data in relation to sociodemographic variables.

8.4.1 Observed Data and Sociodemographic Variables

I investigated code-switching in the conversations of my Nepalese participants across the following sociodemographic variables: age, gender, level of education, profession and geographical location. To achieve a systematic comparison between these variables and my participants' bilingual behaviour (observed data) and their opinions on the phenomena under investigation in this study (reported data), I employed a carefully set up sampling frame (see Chapter 4, Table 4.1).

The study has shown that there is no significant difference in mixing behaviour between the three age groups my participants were divided into (18-29, 30-49 and 50+),or the two genders. Age and gender thus do not have a significant impact on the number of English insertions into Nepali in the corpus collected for this study; level of education, membershipof professional group and geographic location, on the other hand, do. The results on the sociodemographic variables of age and gender were somewhat surprising in the Nepali context; I had expected both variables to show significant interaction with my participants' bilingual language use.

Though the statistical results show that there is no statistically significant difference between the three age groups in relation to their code-switching behaviour, the difference between the youngest (1,795), the oldest (1,442) and the middle age group (3,754) is considerable (Table 5.10 Chapter 5); middle-aged Nepalese switch twice as much as under-thirties, and more than twice as much as over-fifties. There is also a difference between the reported and observed data across the age groups, which I will discuss in the next section.

Similarly, the statistical results show no significant difference between male and female participants in terms of mixing English in their conversation. This is in line with Cheshire and Gardner-Chloros' (1998) findings among the Greek-Cypriot immigrant community in London, yet still surprising. Observationally the gender gap seems to be bigger in Nepal in the second decade of the twenty-first century than in an immigrant community in London at the end of the twentieth century, and I had expected this gap to manifest itself in a significant difference in terms of English insertions into Nepali.Nepalese men were found to insert thrice the number of English elements into their Nepali speechasNepalese women, yet the difference is not statistically significant. The observed and reported data from the gender groups, however, are in sharp contrast (see next section).

In contrast with the two social variables summarised so far, the statistical results show a significant difference in mixing behaviour between participants with different levels of education. Rather unsurprisingly, the least educated group (illiterate – under SLC) also incorporates the least number of English elements into their Nepali speech; in the actual mixing behaviour, the amount of English incorporated into Nepali then steadily increases up to MA level. The graph for reported behaviour (see next section), however, shows an interesting curve.

The study has shown that there is a significant difference in the number of English insertions between the five professional groups investigated (farmers, business people, teachers, government employees and media/NGO people). With only a six percent increase, there is surprisingly little difference in quantitative mixing behaviour between farmers and teachers. Media, NGO and social workers, by contrast, mix (21%) more than the next lowest group, i.e. teachers. The reported behaviour by educational levels and

professional groups shows a similar pattern (see next section). Unsurprisingly, profession is not a discrete social variable; it overlaps with educational level.

Finally, the statistical results show that the difference in Nepali-English CS behaviour between urban and rural groups is highly significant: urban people mix almost three times as much English into their Nepali than rural people.

These results show that the use of English in Nepal has been growing most among the most educated urban group of participants. The reported data (see next section) suggest that most other social groups investigated aspire to such a high level of English in their speech. The results of this study thus demonstrate that education institutions contribute significantly to the growing use of English in Nepal; so does Nepal being increasingly exposed to the outside world through globalisation. Before the people's movement for democracy in 1989 (see Chapter 2), English medium education was limited to elite groups only; after 1989 many English medium private sectors schools were established which are open and accessible to many Nepalese people. More rights for all Nepalese people, irrespective of their age, gender, caste or class, were furthermore established by the ten-year-long people's war. Subsequently, a large number of private sector education institutes were opened even in rural areas to impart English education. Government schools' recent policy to adopt English as a medium of instruction contributes further to the growing use of English in Nepal.

This study has established that the impact of level of education across all age, gender and professional groups is one of the significant determinants of the frequency with which myNepali participants mix English into their conversations. Hence, it is only level of education (along with geographical location) that shows a significant association with

code-switching. The higher the level of education, the more English participants mix into their conversations across all age, gender and professional groups.

Location (urban versus rural) also shows a significant association with the bilingual behaviour of the Nepali speakers recorded for this study. The urban area is more vibrant and has more modern amenities than the rural areas. To communicate these modern activities to friends and relatives, the available monolingual Nepali vocabulary does not seem to be enough. This naturally prompts city dwellers to use English elements in their conversations.

This study has shown that the social variables age and gender do not significantly correlate with participants' mixing behaviour. The main reason for this is that, with the advent of new technology being adopted in Nepal, all members of these groups have access to English at the lexical level. There are mostly no immediate Nepali translation equivalents for newly-arrived English words, which prompts these groups to take recourse to English at the lexical level. Had the data also yielded enough English elements at the phrasal, clausal and sentential level to make a breakdown by social variable feasible, these results may have been different.

8.4.2 Reported Data and Sociodemographic Variables

For this study a systematically collected corpus of Nepali-English natural speech data has been coupled with reported data on similar issues from the same respondents. This allows me to compare my respondents' actual linguistic behaviour, i.e. the insertion of English in their conversations (observed data), with their reported data among all the social variables (IV) age, gender, education, profession and geographical location. This was first discussed in section 5.5 of chapter 5 and will be briefly summarised below. To my

knowledge, no other comprehensive study of code-switching at national level has attempted such a comparison before.

Overall, the analytic comparison of observed and reported data in relation to the social variables revealed a very interesting pattern. The following groups all claim to insert more English into their conversation than they actually do: the youngest age group (18-29), females, the two middle educational levels (SLC+two and Bachelor's), all professional groups except media and NGO people, and rural people. I attribute this over-reporting phenomenon to the high status the English language has assumed for many Nepalese people.

The study revealed an interesting difference between the observed and reported data across the age groups. As already mentioned, the youngest cohort claims to mix English more than they actually do, the oldest less and the middle age group shows a very accurate assessment of their mixing behaviour. The results for the youngest age group may be attributable to the prestige of English, i.e. for this group English is a means to maintain status in the community. The under-reporting of the oldest age group, by contrast, may be attributable to the stigma that was attached to code-switching in the past (in combination with their high status jobs, which require them to use more English in the observed data). The middle age group seems to be unaffected by either prestige or stigma and thus accurately report their actual bilingual behaviour.

The observed and reported data from the two gender groups have been found to be in sharp contrast. Male participants mix English more in their conversations than they report, whereas female participants mix English less than they report. Interestingly, Nepali women report to use as much English in their speech as Nepali men actually do. This

suggests that my female respondents may want to present themselves as equal to their male counterparts in terms of English language usage. Their comparatively low level of education, however, does not allow them to achieve this in their actual spoken productions. A possible reason for the difference between observed and reported data in relation to gender isthus that Nepali women may believe that the English language can empower them in Nepali society. The findings on gender strongly suggest that incorporating English elements into speech is considered prestigious by Nepali women. Like Labov's female participants in New York in the 1960s and Trudgill's female participants in Norwich in the 1970s, my female participants over-report because they wish to signal their social status linguistically, and they are more aware of the importance of this type of signal.

I summarised in the previous section that the amount of English incorporated into Nepali steadily increases from the illiterate – under SLC group up to MA level. The graph for reported behaviour, by contrast, is not a cline but abell-shaped curve. The least educated group mixes little but also reports little by way of English insertions; reported mixing then first goes up from the second least educated group to Bachelor's level, but then down again at MA level. This means that my respondents from the second (SLC +2) and third (Bachelor's level) groups over-report; participants with Master's level of education, on the other hand, under-report, i.e. they mix more than they report. Being seen as using a lot of English insertions in their Nepali conversation clearly seems to be important to my respondents in the middle educational groups. They may over-report to emphasise their knowledge of English, gained through education, and want to present themselves to the community aseducated. The reported results suggest that incorporating English into speech is considered as prestigious by the aspirational middle educational groups, but not

among the least educated group. The most educated group may not feel the need to over-report.

The reported behaviour by educational levels and professional groups shows a similar pattern to the observed data. All professions report mixing more than they actually do except the media and NGO people, i.e. the group that mixes most. The reason for the over-reporting may be similar to the one among the middle educational level. Farmers, teachers, business people and government employees may aspire to the social status held by media people and NGO employees. Media and NGO people, on the other hand, may be aware that some of their country folk blame them for "damaging" the Nepali linguistic environment by inserting too much English in their speech. In order to protect themselves from this blame, they under-report their linguistic habit of inserting English into their speech.

With regard to the last social variable, urban versus rural, this study has shown that those participants who live in a city code-switch more between Nepali and English than they report; this is in contrast with rural people, who mix less than they claim. The linguistic environment of rural people does not require them to insert as much English into their Nepali as urban people, yet knowledge of English seems to hold prestige. Rural people may over-report because they feel that not inserting English into their speech is humiliating or means having lower status among friends in the community.

Possible reasons for the differences between observed and reported data are thus manifold and I may not have identified all of them. The main rationale given by Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1966) for the over-reporting found in their monolingual variationist sociolinguistic data, however, is also plausible in the Nepali scenario. English insertions

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are a prestige linguistic variable and are over-reported by aspirational groups because their use endows status and prestige. The reasons for under-reporting in the Nepali context, however, seem to be more varied than the covert prestige argument given by Trudgill (1983). Those social groups that under-report seem to do so because they no longer need to signal their social and educational status through their language use, and because they wish to divert blame for "corrupting" the Nepali language with English insertions.

8.5 Role of Agents - Media, Education Institutes, Trade, Tourism and Foreign Employment - in Mixing English

This study has shown that all the agents investigated, i.e. media, education, trade, tourism and foreign employment, are instrumental in bringing about the Nepali-English CS phenomenon in Nepal. Their roles have been assessed in terms of the languages (Nepali and English) participants use for transmitting information to their customers and clients. The amount and type of English language material used by these agents has been hypothesised to influence the actual linguistic behaviour observed in the gathered speech data.

When the media present content to their target audiences/listeners, they are communicating with them. The language(s) used are therefore expected to spread among the population they reach. No languages other than Nepali and English are used in the media, as analyzed in Chapter 6. Nepali is still more dominant, but the presence of English in the media cannot be underestimated, because both print and broadcast media can spread messages containing English at various levels to thousands of people scattered across the country at the same time. Even illiterate Nepali people can learn English through audio-visual means, accelerating the use of English at various levels in their conversations.

Similarly, Nepali businesses have understood that they can sell their goods more easily through the use of English in advertisements. Many product names are in English, which may further compel business people to use English in communication with their customers. The practice of transliterating product names into Nepali by using Devanagari script (illustrated in Chapter 6) furthermore enables Nepalese people who cannot read English to acquire English words. It teaches speakers of Nepali some English, at least at lexical level, to use in their daily spoken interactions.

The role of trade and especially tourism is also prominent in bringing English into contact with Nepali. Nepalese people do their business with foreign traders and tourists using English; this contributes to the Nepali linguistic repertoire becoming enriched with English language elements.

The foreign employment agent was most influential when the education system was not as comprehensive as now in Nepal. However, it cannot be dismissed even today, as there are still old people who had direct contact with English through their employment in the British army or in British India. When they returned home from foreign employment, they continued using English words and thus added English lexical items to the existing language repertoire of their relatives. The English elements Nepali employees brought in from their foreign employment still exist among illiterate Nepali people. However, these nativized English words are slowly being replaced with the English elements used by educated Nepali people.

Today, education institutions are the most influential agents of all. Because they reach all Nepali children, they produce educated people to both create and consume Nepali expressions mixed with English at various levels, not just lexical.

8.6   Nepali-English Language Contact and Change

This study has found the anecdotal evidence claiming that the Nepali language has become corrupted or hybridised through its contact with English to be unwarranted. Nepalese people do mix English elements into their conversation, but this is largely limited to the lexical level. At the morphological, phrasal, clausal and sentential levels, mixing is not random and has thus not negatively impacted on or corrupted the Nepali grammatical system.

Unidirectional or bidirectional influences in situations of language contact and contact-induced language change only reveal themselves over time. As the sociolinguistic investigation of code-switching in Nepal presented here is a synchronic study, language impact or change cannot be pinpointed. The empirical data collected for it in 2015, however, open up the potential for future diachronic research on the Nepali-English CS situation as they can serve as a baseline for future investigations. What can, however, be said is that - so far - Nepali-English language contact does not seem to have had a negative influence on the Nepali language itself. The Nepali-English CS data do not show systematic patterns of change.

This study has furthermore shown that the Nepali language is more dominant in the bilingual data than English. Myers-Scotton refers to bilingual scenarios with such a distribution of labour among the contributing languages as classical code-switching (ibid.). Because the Nepali language has borrowed many English words for day-to-day use, this study leaves space for future research on the attrition of Nepali lexical items due to the considerable influx of English vocabulary.

Depending on their level of education and profession, some Nepali speakers can speak English fluently to communicate with one another. However, they rarely speak monolingual English among themselves. There is no compelling situation for Nepali speakers to speak English, except in education institutions which have adopted English as a medium of instruction, and in tourism where English is spoken as a lingua franca to communicate with customers. In such situations composite (as opposed to classical) code-switching (Myers-Scotton, 2002) can be found in Nepal. Composite code-switching, in which the languages involved share responsibility for framing bilingual constituents, is more frequent among the small number of Nepali speakers who were schooled in completely English medium schools. Hence, English is a 'sometime language' for speakers of Nepali, as suggested by Fishman (1998, 35-36). They use English at various levels in Nepal conversations to signal that they can speak English to varying degrees as and when required, thus strengthening the background for English to become a/the second language in Nepal.

In summary, speaking English monolingually is a less frequent speech event, whereas the use of both Nepali and English is a more frequent bilingual speech event in the data collected for this project. In informal contexts, Nepali-English code-switching has gradually replaced the other possible form of bilingual language use in Nepal, i.e. the use of Nepali in combination with local languages. They have become small sub-cells encapsulated inside the dominant language Nepali and/or Nepali mixed with English.Nepali is also the most dominant language spoken in the workplace (see Appendix L). After Nepali, the English language is encroaching on Nepali, leaving the local languages to be squeezed into third place. Only 0.5% of total respondents report speaking local languages to their colleagues and customers, whereas nobody speaks local languages with their boss at their workplaces.

8.7 Contribution to Knowledge

This sociolinguistic study is original in several respects. First, most studies on CS in different language pairs have been carried out in diasporic settings. In contrast, the research on the Nepali-English language pair presented here has been conducted in the home country setting. Bilingual Nepali-English language use has furthermore not been investigated on the basis of a systematically sampled (see Table 4.1 Chapter 4) and collected corpus including informal contexts before.

Second, the empirical data on Nepali mixed with English is transcribed in the Language Interaction Data Exchange System (LIDES) format (see Chapter 4), which was especially developed for transcribing and coding spoken multilingual interactions (Barnett, Codo, Eppler et al., 2000). Data transcribed in this way forms part of BilingualBank, a sub-corpus of TalkBank. TalkBank is a multilingual corpus established in 2002. It contains sample databases from within several subfields of communication, including first and second language acquisition, bilingual language use and classroom discourse. It uses the database to advance the development of standards and tools for creating, sharing, searching, and commenting upon primary linguistic materials via networked computers.

Choosing the LIDES format for transcribing my Nepali-English data makes two contributions to international research. First, the data can be contributed to TalkBank. The director and manager of this database, Brian MacWhinney, has already indicated that he welcomes the contribution of English-Indo-Aryan data to BilingualBank (personal communication with my Director of Studies). The data collected for this project will thus form an open access resource for researchers studying qualitative structural linguistic topics such as morphological integration of nouns into grammatical case and number systems or bilingual compound verb constructions (BCVs); applied linguistic topics such

as various types of code-switching (smooth versus flagged, alternational versus insertional) or current language use in Nepal; or sociolinguistic topics such as the impact of social variables on bilingual language use in Nepal and elsewhere. Second, the data are fully machine-readable and thus lend themselves to quantitative comparative linguistic research.

Both contributions the methodological decisions made for this project can make are what leading researchers in the field, i.e. the participants of the workshop "Key Debates in Code-Switching Research: Methodological and Theoretical Considerations", held at the Lorentz Centre in Leiden in January 2018, have identified as the main issues the paradigm is facing at the moment:

> The urgency of such a workshop stems from what seems to be a current impasse in code-switching research, with contradictory evidence for different theoretical positions with no overarching principle that can organise current empirical findings. Studying each language pair alone or using one particular paradigm will not tell us much: it is all the elements together that compose the picture of what code-switching is, like the tiles of a gigantic puzzle. (https://www.lorentzcenter.nl/lc/web/2018/959/description.php3?wsid=959&venue=Snellius, accessed 28/04/18)

As examples of issues and topics that need urgent attention in code-switching research, the participants of the workshop list "combine and contrast data from different communities" and the need to study the "distribution and frequency of code-switched structures". The corpus of spoken Nepali-English bilingual interactions collected for this project can thus be used by international researchers to start "synchronising methods

between groups and approaches, in an integrative fashion, such that limitations identified in some subdomains (e.g., sociolinguistics) can shape the approach in others.

The bilingual data and the results of the quantitative structural analysis further provide a valuable point of comparison for how English behaves in contact with an Indo-Aryan language. The structural and sociolinguistic code-switching research paradigms have documented many language pairs involved in code-switching to date. These involve, among others, French and Dutch (Treffers-Daller, 1994), Turkish and Dutch (Backus, 1996) and Moroccan Arabic and Dutch (Boumans, 1998). Code-switching studies that have investigated English paired with other languages include Farsi (Mahootian, 1993), German (Duran Eppler, 2010), Arabic, Korean, Chinese and many others. Like the choice of transcription and data storage system, the research questions for the current study were framed with comparison to other data and studies in mind. The results of the quantitative structural and sociolinguistic analyses have been compared with the above-named studies (see Chapter 7 and section 8.2) to find commonalties and differences between them, as suggested by the quote from the "Key Debates in Code-Switching Research" workshop above. The commonalities include similar borrowability hierarchies and bilingual compound verb (BCV) constructions, i.e. the practice of inserting non-native lexical verbs into a language with a richer inflectional system with the help of light verbs, 'DO' and 'BE' in the case of the current study. Differences include the frequent combining of stems from one language with bound morphemes from the other (see section 8.2 on the Free Morpheme Constraint). This study on Nepali-English thus relates the local code-switching phenomenon to the global one in the context of theories and approaches widely used in research on different world languages paired with English in CS. Amassing data and analyses of language contact and code-switching are furthermore a necessary first

step in trying to answer the question of whether code-switching is a cause of contact-induced language change (see Backus, 2004).

In terms of more specific research questions, methods and findings, this study is the first systematic investigation of the extent to which English elements are mixed into Nepali. No previous studies carried out in the Nepali context have, for example, used the Computerised Language Analysis (CLAN) tools to investigate speech data in terms of grammatical and structural aspects.

Another area that has hitherto not been explored in the Nepali context is the relation between the dependent variable, Nepali-English CS, and five independent social variables: age, gender, education, profession and urban/rural location. All the natural speech data (DV) being systematically linked to social variables (IV) in this study allowed me to demonstrate that level of education, profession and residence in an urban or rural environment affect the patterns of Nepali-English CS. Both the number and the type of English insertions into my participants' Nepali speech can be attributed to the amount of English language instruction they received and where they live. Education has been shown to be most influential variable, and the higher the educational level of the speakers, the longer and more complex are the stretches of English in the Nepali participants' speech.

Studies that test the impact social variables have on linguistic data statistically are rare; ones that build a General Linear Model to evaluate the relative impact of individual significant variables even rarer. The findings that traditional sociolinguistic variables such as age and gender do not significantly influence the insertion of English language

elements into Nepali, whereas education, profession and urban versus rural location do, thus make a significant contribution to variationist sociolinguistic research.

The sociolinguistic dichotomy urban versus rural is particularly contested, because ultimately, the very same cultural, economic, social and political processes and conflicts can affect rural areas as affect urban (Britain, 2015).The finding that the urban and rural dichotomy (in combination with education) most significantly affects my participants' code-switching behaviour thus not only demonstrates its explanatory nature, but also shows that it still makes sense in the twenty-first century, at least in Nepal. The qualitative analysis, on the other hand, has shown that urban cannot always be equated with linguistically innovative (and rural with conservative), and that cities are not always the sources, generators and projectors of change. We saw that old rural farmers proudly display their knowledge of English acquired in the British Army (see section 6.3.2.5 in Chapter 6) and that relatively uneducated participants working in rural tourism hotspots sometimes speak more fluent English than educated urbanites. This demonstrates that we cannot underestimate the linguistic importance of mobilities triggered by, for example, tourism and consumption, and that the patterns of linguistic variation and change that we encounter are always the product of a distinct period. Our job as sociolinguists is to unpick and deconstruct those forces which are causing language variation and change to operate with different outcomes in different places (ibid.).

Most importantly perhaps, this study has investigated both observed and reported linguistic behaviour in relation to the above-named social variables. These results support the classic sociolinguistic findings by Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1974) on gender and sociolinguistic variation, namely that women tend to over-report on prestige variables (such as post-vocalic /r/ in New York, the RP pronunciation of the *–ing* suffix in Norwich,

and the incorporation of English into Nepali in Nepal), whereas men tend to under-report. The current study has extended this research by showing that it is not only women who over-report, but also young people, the middle educational levels and all but the most prestigious professional group (media and NGO people). This has been attributed to the high status/prestige the English language has assumed for many Nepalese people.

On the basis of painstakingly collected original data, this study has furthermore examined the roles of four agents, the media, educational institutions, foreign employment and trade tourism, in facilitating Nepali-English CS, language contact and change. This study has investigated these issues systematically to bring the recent sociolinguistic situation of Nepal to the fore.

Another original aspect of this study is the inclusion of linguistics landscapes into a variationist sociolinguistics study. This not only broadened my database but also allowed me to show where some of the English insertions my participants use come from.

Anecdotal evidence purports that the Nepali language has lost its originality, has started to become a hybrid language (Nenglish), and if it keeps going this way, the day is not far off for the Nepalese people to see their Nepali language completely dominated by English. This view has a monolingual bias. The study at hand has shown that this is a myth. Bilingual speech should not be viewed in the terms of two separate monolingual varieties. A bilingual is not a sum of two monolinguals (Grosjean, 1989). Bilingualism is cognitively more complex than monolingualism, and a bilingual's language intuition and judgement may significantly differ from those of a monolingual. In particular, educated urban Nepali people incorporate a significant amount of English language material at various levels into their Nepali. Some English lexical items from highly specific semantic

fields (e.g. technology, agriculture) are more frequently used than their Nepali translation equivalents (if there are any). They may well become loanwords and replace Nepali translation equivalents, particularly coinages, but this development has been documented in many situations of borrowing. Students from English medium schools may even practice composite code-switching, where the languages involved share responsibility for framing bilingual constituents. Mostly, however, English elements are inserted into a Nepali language frame and there are no signs in the data that language contact has affected Nepali grammar. That is, the linguistic situation in Nepal best matches Myers-Scotton's (1993:214-28) first and least severe of seven possible scenarios in which CS can become a tool in language convergence and change, i.e. significant borrowing of content morphemes without borrowing of system morphemes, and the linguistic situation in Nepal is a long way from matrix language turnover.

8.8   Limitations of the Study and Scope for Further Research

Due to time constraints, I did not investigate the phonetic make-up of the English elements embedded into Nepali in the data. As briefly discussed in Chapter 2,the pronunciation of English-embedded language islands by less educated Nepali speakers is heavily influenced by their first language Nepali, much more so than that of more educated speakers. This would be an interesting topic for further research.

To gain an overview of the Nepali-English bilingual situation in Nepal, I furthermore concentrated on quantitative aspects of mixing English into Nepali conversations. Despite its structural focus, this study furthermore could not include a detailed investigation of grammatical aspects of the English elements my participants mixed into Nepali. For instance, all nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, prepositions and conjunctions were subsumed under the lexical level, and the parts of speech were not further investigated

according to their sub-types. Likewise, I did not differentiate English elements beyond the lexical level, i.e. phrases, clauses and sentences, in terms of their grammatical types. For instance, types of phrases, such as noun phrases, prepositional phrases and adjectival phrases, and types of clauses, such as subordinate and co-ordinate clauses, are not distinguished. That is, I studied English insertions at the lexical phrasal, clausal and sentential level without distinguishing their grammatical types, leaving these issues to future research. A more in-depth analysis of bilingual compound verbs (BCV) constructions in comparison with similar practices observed in Arabic-French (Boumans, 1998, 2007), Spanish-English (Zentella, 1997; Jenkins,2003), Pashto-English (Khan, 2015) or Bengali-English (Chetterjee, 2016) forms an interesting area for future research.

For the observed data the impact of five social variables on my participants' linguistic behaviour was tested with statistical tools. A General Linear Model was established to identify discrete and overlapping independent variables and the relative influence of the individual independent variables on the number of English insertions into Nepali. The reported data have not yet been subjected to the same analysis. Extending this analysis to the reported data and integrating them into the General Linear Model is a plan for future research.

Another limitation of this study is that it focused on Nepali and English to the exclusion of code-switching between local languages, for instance Newari, and the official language Nepali. Other potential limitations of this study include that more speech data could have been collected from more locations. As this is a synchronic study based on data collected at a particular point in time, no conclusions can be drawn on whether systematic changes are happening in the Nepali language due to its contact with English. Data collected with

a time interval between the two data collection points would have allowed me to investigate language change diachronically.

In the next paragraph I will briefly summarise the scope for further research based on the current synchronic study of Nepali-English CS and data collected and transcribed from various groups of people in different settings. This data can, for example, become a historical source for a comparison with Nepali-English CS data to be acquired under the same circumstances at some point in the future. Similarly, the current study could be contrasted with Nepali-English CS behaviour in the diasporas.

This study covers some Nepali-English CS data in public places through observation. These types of data are suitable for a potential study on linguistic landscapes in Nepal. An extension of the current study could furthermore investigate the difference in Nepali-English CS between graduate students from private English schools and government schools on the basis of all the issues investigated in this study.

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List of Appendices

Appendix A: The sociolinguistic questionnaire

1. Age   :

2. Gender   : male   female

3. Occupation   : Private   Government   self-employed

    Other..........

4. Profession   :

5. You stay in   :Urban   Rural

6. Education Level   :Illeterate   SLC or Above   Graduate   Post-graduate

7. The medium of instruction at SLC level is/ was:

    a. Nepali only   b. English only   c. Nepali and English

8. The medium of instruction at Intermediate (I. A.) or +2 level is/was: (if applicable)

    a. Nepali only   b. English only   c. Nepali and English

9. The medium of instruction at bachelor (BA) level is/was: (if applicable)

    a. Nepali only   b. English only   c. Nepali and English

10. The medium of instruction at Master or above level is/was:(if applicable)

    a. Nepali only   b. English only   c. Nepali and English .

11. Ethnicity or Caste   :

12. Your first language   : a. English   b. Hindi   c. Nepali   d. Other.........

13. Which languages you speak? a............ ..   b. ....c. ....d. ....

14. Which language do you think is more useful? a. English ....b. Hindi.......c.

Nepali......d. Other...........

15. You speak to your friends in: a. English   b. Nepali   c. Both English and

Nepali   d. Other.........

16. At home you speak in : a. English   b. Nepali   c. Both English and Nepali

d.Other.......

17. At home you speak to your children in : a. English   b. Nepali   c. Both English

and Nepali   d. Other........

(if applicable)

18. At home you speak to your spouse in: a. English   b. Nepali   c. Both English

and Nepali d. Other.......

(if applicable)

19. You speak to your relatives in: a. English   b. Nepali   c. Both English and

Nepali   d. Other..........

20. Which languages you use in public gathering? A. .... .b. .... c.

....

21. Which languages you use in formal meeting? A. ....b. ....c.

....

22. At work place you communicate in : a. English   b. Nepali   c. Both English

and Nepali d. Other..........

23. At your work place your boss speak in: a. English   b. Nepali   c. Both

English and Nepali   d. Other.....

24. At your work place the official documents are in:

a.   English   b. Nepali   c. Both English and Nepali

25. Do you mix the English words in your conversation?

a.   Yes

b. No.   C. If yes/no

why?...

26. You mix English in your conversation because:

   a. It eases your communication   b. It shows your social status and identity c.

   Other.................

27. Do you think code-switching (mixing English and Nepali) represents:

   a. Lack of enough language knowledge

   b. A person who speaks many languages. C. Other...

28. Which language do you find modern?

   a. Nepali   b. English c. Hindi d. Other..........

29. Which language do you find used more in your daily life?

   a. Nepali   b. English   c. Hindi   d. Other...........

30. Which language do find used less in your daily life?

   a. Nepali   b. English c. Hindi d. Other.............

31. Are you for or against bilingualism (Nepali and English) in Nepal?

   a. For

   b. Against c. If for/against why?...

32. What do you feel when you speak Nepali without mixing English words, phrases

   and sentences ?

   a. Shame   b. Pride   c. Prestige d. Other................................

33. What do you feel when you speak Nepali mixing English words, phrases and

   sentences ?

   a. Shame   b. Pride c. Prestige   d. Other ....

34. You prefer reading books written in: a. English   b. Nepali   c. Both English

   and Nepali   d. Other.......

35. Most of the newspaper s you read are in: a. English   b. Nepali   c. Both English and Nepali d. Other..........

36. You like presenters to mix Nepali and English in Radio and TV programme;

a. Yes ...   b. No.... c. If yes/no why?......

37. You listen to and watch Radio/TV programmes in

a. English   b. Nepali   c. English and Nepali   d. Other........

38. Medium of communication should be both English and Nepali in government and private run media:

a. You agree   b. You strongly agree   c. You disagree   d. You strongly disagree

39. English should be given equal status as Nepali considering the growing use of it

a. You agree   b. You strongly agree   c. You disagree   d. You strongly disagree

40. English should be used as a medium of instruction at all level of schooling.

a. You agree   b. You strongly agree   c. You disagree   d. You strongly disagree

41. Nepali should be the only national language in Nepal

a. You agree   b. You strongly agree   c. You disagree   d. You strongly disagree

42. Ethnic languages should be promoted to strengthen the unity and multi-lingual situation of Nepal.

a. You agree   b. You strongly agree   c. You disagree   d. You strongly disagree

43. You can write

a. English   badly   not at all   well

b. Nepali   badly   not at all   well

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	c. Hindi	badly	not at all	well
	d. Other	badly	not at all	well

44. You can speak

	a. English	badly	not at all	well
	b. Nepali	badly	not at all	well
	c. Hindi	badly	not at all	well
	d. Other	badly	not at all	well

45. You can read

	a. English	badly	not at all	well
	b. Nepali	badly	not at all	well
	c. Hindi	badly	not at all	well
	d. Other	badly	not at all	well

46. You can understand

	a. English	badly	not at all	well
	b. Nepali	badly	not at all	well
	c. Hindi	badly	not at all	well
	d. Other	badly	not at all	well

47. What is the importance of the Nepali language? Can you explain briefly please?

48. Do you think English is very important? If Yes/No why?....................................

The-End

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

Appendix B: Ethics Application

Ethics Application Ref: MCL 12/ 004

Jan Harrison

You forwarded this message on 07/08/2012 18:05.

Sent:07 August 2012 08:49

To: Dinesh Gurung

Cc: Tope Omoniyi; Paul Sutton; Annabelle Mooney (Staff Account)

Dear Dinesh,

Ethics Application

Applicant:	**Dinesh Gurung**
Title:	**English-Nepali code-switching in the conversation of Nepali bilinguals**
Reference:	**MCL 12/ 004**
Department:	**Media, Culture & Language**

On behalf of the Ethics Committee I am pleased to confirm that your Department has approved your above application, subject to confirmation that insurance cover is in place for this project. We are awaiting confirmation from our Finance department regarding this and will advise you as soon as possible.

Please advise us if there are any changes to the research during the life of the project. Minor changes can be advised using the Minor Amendments Form on the Ethics Website, but substantial changes may require a new application to be submitted.

Many thanks,

Jan

Jan Harrison

Ethics Administrator - Research & Business Development Office

University of Roehampton | Froebel College | Roehampton Lane | London | SW15 5PJ

jan.harrison@roehampton.ac.uk| www.roehampton.ac.uk

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Appendix C: Life Insurance Coverage

Dear Dinesh,

I apologise for the delay in responding to you. I am pleased to advise you that our Finance Department have now confirmed that you will be covered under University insurance arrangements whilst staying in Nepal. I attach the medical assistance contact information card provided by them for your information. Please note that you should provide your UK home address if accessing or contacting them.

Thanks and regards,

Jan

Jan Harrison

Ethics Administrator - Research & Business Development Office

University of Roehampton | Froebel College | Roehampton Lane | London | SW15 5PJ

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Appendix D: Letter from Kathmandu Metropolitan Office

R.N. 310/069
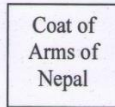
Coat of Arms of Nepal	Office Seal **Kathmandu Metropolitan City Office**	Logo of KMC

Ref. No.: 068/069
Dispatch No.: 1714

Date: June 18, 2012

Subject: Regarding to Support

To whom it may concern:

This is to inform that Mr. Dinesh Gurung, the Lecturer of English subject of Tribhuvan University, Saraswati Multiple Campus has selected to Kathmandu District as his field of research (dissertation) for his study and concerned campus has requested for necessary recommendation to provide required support to him. Now therefore, it is hereby recommended to provide information, data and other necessary support to him, which can be provided as per the rule for his dissertation.

Sd.

Mahesh Kafle

Chief

Administrative Division

The translation copy is true and verified
Signature:
Name: *Mukunda Prasad Paudel*
Date: **July 20, 2012**
Certificate Number of Notary Public: **80**
Date of Expiry of Certificate: *Nov. 4, 2012 AD*
Seal of the Notary Public
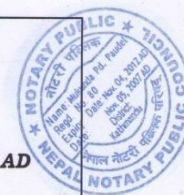
Appendix E: Particpant Consent Form

University of Roehampton
London

Title of Research Project: Nepali- English code-switching inthe conversation of Nepali bilinguals

Brief Description of Research Project:

This research project seeks to study the mixing up English words in Nepali and investigate its impact on the Nepali language at grammatical, structural and semantic level. Approximately, 200 participants will be involved in this project through questionnaires, interviews, discussion etc. The participants will be selected from different age groups both male and female from uneducated and educated background from urban and rural settings. The discussions will be tape-recorded. It will be of one hour long.

Investigator Contact Details:

Dinesh Gurung

Media, Culture and Language

Department

University of Roehampton

Erasmus HouseRoehampton Lane,

London

SW 15 5 PU, London, UK

gurungd@roehampton.ac.uk,

Consent Statement:

I agree to take part in this research, and am aware that I am free to withdraw at any point. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the investigator and that my identity will be protected in the publication of any findings.

Name …………………………………

Signature ………………………………

Date ……………………………………

Please note: if you have a concern about any aspect of your participation or any other queries please raise this with the investigator. However, if you would like to contact an independent party please contact the Head of Department (or if the researcher is a student you can also contact the Director of Studies.)

Director of Studies Contact Details:

Prof. Tope Omoniyi, PhD

Director Centre for Research in English

Department

Language and Linguistics (CRELL)

Media, Culture and Language

University of Roehampton | London

SW15 5SL

t.omoniyi@roehampton.ac.uk

Tel: + 44(0)2083923416

Head of Department Contact Details:

Dr. Paul Sutton

Media, Culture and Language

University of Roehampton | London |

SW15 5SL

P.Sutton@roehampton.ac.uk

Tel: + 44(0)2083923870

Appendix F: Interview Questions for Teachers:

1. How long have you been in teaching profession?

2. What subject/subjects do you teach at which level/levels?

3. What do you think about the introduction of the English language in parallel with the Nepali language in schools in Nepal?

4. What is the medium of your instruction or which language English or Nepali do you use while delivering your lesson to the students in the class?

5. Which language does the school administration use while giving notification to the students and parents?

6. Which language do you find more effective and comfortable while teaching in the class room? why?

7. Does the school administration have any policy regarding the use of particular language?

8. As a medium of delivering lesson? If yes. what impact do you think it has on your use and choice of language in the classroom?

9. Can you deliver the lesson without using Nepali words, when you are teaching English subjects and without using English words when you are teaching Nepali subjects?

10. Do the students have any preference over your use of language while teaching them in the class room?

11. What impact do you think this English Nepali mixing practice in the Nepali conversation has on the linguistic competence of the Nepali people?

12. Which of these- English words, phrases, clauses or sentences do you use more in your conversation? Why?

13. The parents want their children to learn English and the schools to teach their children in English medium. Do you agree? If yes, why?

14. What do you think about giving English names by the private schools runners to their schools?

15. In which schools private/government do your children study?

16. Do you think that the frequent use of the English words in place of Nepali will displace the Nepali words in course of time?

Appendix G: Interview Questions for media/NGO, INGO personnel and social worker

1. How long have you been in this profession?

2. Which language is used more in your organisation while receiving telephone call, keeping official document, and receiving short or long professional training course?

3. Do you mix English words, phrases, clauses and sentences when you talk to your colleagues and your customers?

4. Do you find it more effective and comfortable to communicate by mixing English words, phrases and sentences? Why and how?

5. Do you get any reaction for/not using English words while talking to the audiences and service receivers from your management team? Please explain briefly.

6. Do you think you can communicate absolutely in Nepali only? If Yes/No why ?

7. Which of these languages: English or Nepali do you think play more important role in the development of your professionalism?

8. As a social worker/ media person, in which situation do you think English Nepali mixing practice in the conversation take place? Is it possible to avoid this practice?

9. If you think this mixing practice is unlikely to be avoided, what impact do you think it has on the Nepali language?

10. What type of people do you think entertain the practice of mixing English in Nepali conversation?

11. What do you think about the choice of English names by private organizations?

12. It is said that the media plays a very vital role in facilitating English Nepali mixing practice in the conversation. Do you agree? If yes/no why?

13. Your children study in private/government schools, why?

Appendix H: Interview questions with the business people

1. How long have you been in this business?

2. What types of business you do? Are you satisfied with this?

3. You have named your business in English. Does it have anything to do with your business? Do you know its meaning?

4. You could have given your business a typical Nepali name. Could not you? Or is this just an imitation of other business people?

5. There are a lot of stuffs in your shop. Some of them can be named in Nepali but others can not be named in Nepali. To name them using English words is a must. How do you feel at the time when you use English words to point out those stuffs? Do not you feel that they would have names in Nepali?

6. Do you use English words in addition to those names of stuffs at your shop in the conversation with your friends and customers?

7. There are advertisements either published in the print or broadcast over media, which contain mostly English words. What do you think about this? Do you think the message is understood by all the customers addressed?

8. Have you ever realised that the use of English words in place of Nepali will displace Nepali words in course of time from the Nepali language repertoire?

9. Do you have any idea on what tempts you use English words in your conversation? Do you do this deliberately?

10. Do you have any more personal opinion about this? Your suggestion.

11. Do you think the knowledge of English helps you in running your business and dealing with business people? How?

12. Do you want your children to continue your business in the future? Your children have more access to English education they will be able to grow the business more effectively. What do you think?

13. Do you use pen/pencil or calculator to calculate the sum? While dealing with financial issue which numerical English or Nepali do you use?

14. You must provide receipt to your customer. In what language it is prepared? Or does it contain English number and words?

Appendix I: Interview questions with government employees

1. How long have you been in this employment?

2. Which languages are used in your organisation for corresponding and recording document?

3. Which language do you and your colleagues use while communicating with each other and service receivers?

4. Do you mix English words while speaking to your colleagues and boss at your office?

5. If so why?

6. What do you think is the reason behind mixing English in the Nepali conversation?

7. What motivates this practice of mixing English in Nepali conversation? Do you have any idea?

8. Do you like or dislike this practice ? If yes/no why?

9. Does your schooling have anything to do with this practice?

10. Do you find this practice among your children, your senior family members and relatives?

11. Do you attribute this practice to English education in Nepal?

12. It is quite natural that most of the young people can speak English in addition to their mother tongues. But in the case of the old generation, how do you think these old people learn English?

13. Most of the stationary items you use at your office are in English. Aren`t they? Can not you use Nepali name for them? Why?

14. What is your inclination to the English Education? Do your children study at private/government schools? Why?

15. Do you think that the frequent use of the English words in place of Nepali will displace Nepali words in course of time?

Appendix J: Interview questions with the farmers

1. How long have you been in this profession?

2. Do you think education help in farming? How?

3. Do you have some knowledge of English, does it help you? How?

4. How often do you have to use English words in your conversation?

5. If you use English words in addition to the agriculture related words? How did you know those words?

6. Are all the tools and equipments you use in your profession named in English only or both in English and Nepali?

7. Have you ever taken agriculture training? Do the trainers use the English words while giving you training? If yes, is it good for the trainee like you?

8. Do you have idea on traditional and scientific farming? In which farming do you encounter more English words? Why?

9. What do you think of the people who mix English in their conversation? Do you understand them?

10. Do you listen to the radio and watch the TV programme on agriculture? Do find the presenter use the English words?

11. Your children study in private/government schools? Why?

12. Do you children show interest in your profession?

Appendix K: Languages used at home

| | At home you speak to | | | |
| | Children | | Spouse | |
Languages	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Nepali	134	67	146	73
Both English and Nepali	36	18	28	14
English, Nepali and Local language	9	5	11	6
Not applicable	21	10	15	7
Total	200	100	200	100

Appendix L: Languages used at work place

| | At work place you speak to | | | |
| | Colleagues and customers | | Boss | |
Languages	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent

Languages	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Nepali	124	62	70	35
English	7	3.5	10	5
Both English and Nepali	52	26	53	26.5
Local Languages	1	0.5	0	0
Not applicable	16	8	67	33.5
Total	200	100	200	100

Appendix M: Languages spoken at public places

	At public places you speak to			
	Friends		Strangers	
Languages	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Nepali	169	84.5	169	84.5
English	0	0	2	1
Both English and Nepali	28	14	29	14.5
English, Nepali and Local language	3	1.5	0	0
Total	200	100	200	100

Appendix N: Illustration of CLAN work out

Appendix O: Natural speech data

Places natural data taken from	Length of talk	Places natural data taken from	Length of talk
Micro bus	23:47	Conversation of the farmers	03:33
Shopkeeper/customer dealing	04:01	Hospital canteen conversation of patients` attendants and staff	26:11
Wedding ceremony	22:51	Restaurant	21:08
Wedding ceremony	11:39	Physiotherapy	41:42
Informal talk (youth for foreign employment	34:51	Teachers and parents meeting	1:35:16

Informal talk (youth in a lodge)	51:44	Bureaucrats conversation	19:38
Conversation in the village context	17:31		
Informal talk of people in urban context	03:49		
NGO`s meeting	1:30:35		
Conversation among the village people	24:49		
Talent show	08:07		
" "	13:35		
" "	05:12		
" "	06:47		
Call Kantipur TV live	35:33		

Appendix P1: Gender

Group Statistics

	Gender of the Respondents	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Log10 Total Number of English Word Used	Male	98	1.3927	.60443	.06106
	Female	46	1.3326	.52937	.07805

Independent Samples Test

Log10 Total Number of English

Word Used

		Equal variances assumed	Equal variances not assumed
Levene's Test for Equality of Variances	F	.962	
	Sig.	.328	
t-test for Equality of Means	T	.578	.606
	Df	142	99.620
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.564	.546
	Mean Difference	.06008	.06008
	Std. Error Difference	.10396	.09910
95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	Lower	-.14544	-.13653
	Upper	.26560	.25669

Appendix P2: Geographical locations

Group Statistics

	Geographical Location of the Respondents	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Log10 Total Number of English Word Used	Rural	37	1.0356	.54566	.08971
	Urban	107	1.4903	.54736	.05292

Independent Samples Test

		Log10 Total Number of English Word Used	
		Equal variances assumed	Equal variances not assumed
Levene's Test for Equality of Variances	F	.000	
	Sig.	.987	
t-test for Equality of Means	T	-4.359	-4.366
	Df	142	62.828
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000

Mean Difference		-.45472	-.45472
Std. Error Difference		.10431	.10415
95% Confidence Interval of the Difference		-.66092	-.66286
		-.24853	-.24659

Appendix P3: Age groups

ANOVA

Log10 Total Number of English Word Used

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.244	2	.122	.359	.699
Within Groups	47.918	141	.340		
Total	48.161	143			

Appendix P4: Education

Descriptives

Log10 Total Number of English Word Used

					95% Confidence Interval for Mean			
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Minimum	Maximum

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Log10 Total Number of English Word Used

LSD

(I) Education Level of the Respondents	(J) Education Level of the Respondents	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval Lower Bound	95% Confidence Interval Upper Bound
Illiterate to under SLC	SLC and +2	-.22326	.17960	.216	-.5783	.1318
	Bachelors	-.33076*	.16551	.048	-.6580	-.0035
	Masters	-.61832*	.16803	.000	-.9505	-.2861
SLC and +2	Illiterate to under SLC	.22326	.17960	.216	-.1318	.5783
	Bachelors	-.10749	.12705	.399	-.3587	.1437
	Masters	-.39506*	.13032	.003	-.6527	-.1374
Bachelors	Illiterate to under SLC	.33076*	.16551	.048	.0035	.6580
	SLC and +2	.10749	.12705	.399	-.1437	.3587
	Masters	-.28756*	.11009	.010	-.5052	-.0699
Masters	Illiterate to under SLC	.61832*	.16803	.000	.2861	.9505
	SLC and +2	.39506*	.13032	.003	.1374	.6527
	Bachelors	.28756*	.11009	.010	.0699	.5052

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Appendix P5: Profession

Descriptives

Log10 Total Number of English Word Used

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean Lower Bound	95% Confidence Interval for Mean Upper Bound	Minimum	Maximum
Teachers	29	1.3275	.48969	.09093	1.1412	1.5138	.30	2.13
Farmers	33	1.0560	.61212	.10656	.8390	1.2731	.00	2.19
Business People	24	1.3110	.63687	.13000	1.0421	1.5799	.00	2.49

		35	1.6296	.52486	.08872	1.4493	1.8099	.30	2.80
Media, NGO and Social Workers									
Government Employees		23	1.5625	.43503	.09071	1.3744	1.7507	.30	2.24
Total		144	1.3735	.58034	.04836	1.2779	1.4691	.00	2.80

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Log10 Total Number of English Word Used

LSD

(I) Profession of the Respondents	(J) Profession of the Respondents	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Teachers	Farmers	.27145	.13918	.053	-.0037	.5466
	Business People	.01651	.15090	.913	-.2818	.3149
	Media, NGO and Social Workers	-.30210*	.13731	.029	-.5736	-.0306
	Government Employees	-.23505	.15268	.126	-.5369	.0668
Farmers	Teachers	-.27145	.13918	.053	-.5466	.0037
	Business People	-.25494	.14670	.084	-.5450	.0351
	Media, NGO and Social Workers	-.57355*	.13268	.000	-.8359	-.3112
	Government Employees	-.50650*	.14853	.001	-.8002	-.2128
Business People	Teachers	-.01651	.15090	.913	-.3149	.2818
	Farmers	.25494	.14670	.084	-.0351	.5450
	Media, NGO and Social Workers	-.31861*	.14492	.030	-.6051	-.0321
	Government Employees	-.25156	.15956	.117	-.5670	.0639
	Teachers	.30210*	.13731	.029	.0306	.5736

Media, NGO and Social Workers	Farmers	.57355*	.13268	.000	.3112	.8359
	Business People	.31861*	.14492	.030	.0321	.6051
	Government Employees	.06705	.14678	.649	-.2232	.3573
Government Employees	Teachers	.23505	.15268	.126	-.0668	.5369
	Farmers	.50650*	.14853	.001	.2128	.8002
	Business People	.25156	.15956	.117	-.0639	.5670
	Media, NGO and Social Workers	-.06705	.14678	.649	-.3573	.2232

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Appendix P6: Correlations

Correlations

		Gender of the Respondents	Age Group of the Respondents	Education Level of the Respondents	Profession of the Respondents	Geographical Location of the Respondents	Log10 Total Number of English Word Used
Gender of the Respondents	Pearson Correlation	1	-.178*	-0.028	0.110	0.062	-0.048
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0.033	0.738	0.190	0.460	0.564
	N	144	144	144	144	144	144
Age Group of the Respondents	Pearson Correlation	-.178*	1	-.166*	-0.070	0.011	-0.040
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.033		0.047	0.405	0.898	0.637
	N	144	144	144	144	144	144
Education Level of the Respondents	Pearson Correlation	-0.028	-.166*	1	.480**	.307**	.331**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.738	0.047		0.000	0.000	0.000
	N	144	144	144	144	144	144
Profession of the Respondents	Pearson Correlation	0.110	-0.070	.480**	1	0.108	.268**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.190	0.405	0.000		0.196	0.001
	N	144	144	144	144	144	144
Geographical Location of the Respondents	Pearson Correlation	0.062	0.011	.307**	0.108	1	.344**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.460	0.898	0.000	0.196		0.000
	N	144	144	144	144	144	144
Log10 Total Number of English Word Used	Pearson Correlation	-0.048	-0.040	.331**	.268**	.344**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.564	0.637	0.000	0.001	0.000	
	N	144	144	144	144	144	144

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Appendix Q: Foreign TV Channels permitted for downlink by the Nepalese government in April 2011

SN	Channel Name	SN	Channel Name
1	Discovery Channel	45	BBC Nepali Service
2	Discovery Turbo	46	Nick
3	Discovery Science	47	Colors
4	Discovery Travel & Living	48	MTV
5	Animal Planet	49	VH1
6	God TV	50	Divya
7	Disney	51	Imagine Showbiz
8	Disney XD	52	Muhuaa TV Bhojpuri
9	Nat Geo Wild	53	Muhuaa (Bangla)
10	Nat Geo Adventure	54	Pragya
11	Nat Geo Music	55	Zoom
12	National Geographic HD	56	Care World
13	FX	57	Zee News
14	Fox Crime	58	Lumiere Movies
15	Baby TV	59	Imagine TV
16	Star World	60	UTV Movies
17	Channel (V)	61	UTV Bindas
18	Star Gold	62	UTV World News
19	Star Movies	63	Sony
20	Star One	64	Set Max
21	Star Plus	65	SAB
22	Star Utsav	66	BBC Entertainement
23	National Geography Channel	67	C Beebies
24	Fox History & Entertainment Channel	68	Warmer Brothers (WB)

25	NHK	69	Cartoon Network
26	MGM	70	CNN
27	CRI (Audio)	71	POGO
28	Aajtak	72	Zee TV
29	Headlines Today	73	Zee Cinema
30	BBC World News	74	Channel News Asia
31	HBO	75	Zee Café
32	Cine Max	76	Zee Studio
33	NDTV 24/7	78	Satsang
34	NDTV Profit	79	Sanskar
35	Sahara One	80	Star News
36	Sahara Filmy	81	Aastha Bhajan
37	TOTAL TV, INDIA	82	Aastha
38	Ten Sport	83	Star Ananda
39	Manoranjan TV	84	Star Majha
40	ESPN	85	Ten Action
41	Star Sports	86	Ten Cricket
42	Star Cricket	87	Day Star
43	Neo Cricket		
44	Neo Sports		

Source: Infoasaid, 2011.

Appendix R: Glossary

Austro-Asiatic Language Family	A language family consisting of some 169 languages spoken by more than 65 million people scattered throughout Southeast Asia and eastern India.
Bilingual Speakers	Nepali-English bilinguals are those who can use English elements in their Nepali conversations, from lexical fragments to sentences (see section 3.2.1 Bilingualism).
Borrowing	Borrowing is the incorporation of features of one language into another. In this study borrowing means the incorporation of English elements (from lexical to sentence level) into Nepali.
Code-Switching	It is the linguistic behaviour of producing or comprehending language which is composed from lexical items and grammatical structures from two (or more) languages.
Caste-Groups	Ranked, hereditary, endogamous social groups characteristic of traditional societies in South Asia, particularly among Hindus. In this study the term refers to groups of Nepalese people belonging to the Hindu religion and having Nepali as their first language. This group includes Brahmin, Chhetri, and Kami, Damai and Sarki.
Circumstantial Situation	Circumstantial bilinguals learn another language to function effectively because of their circumstances. In the Nepali context, trekking guides learn English in circumstantial situations.
Complementiser	A complementiser is a subordinating conjunction which marks a complement clause, such as *if*, *that* etc.
Data Corpus	A corpus is a collection of texts used for linguistic analyses, here the recorded and transcribed speech data from my respondents.

Dalits	Daltis are members of one of the low social groups in the Hindu caste system. Members of this caste group have been subjected to untouchability.
Devanagari	It is a script used to write the Sanskrit, Prakrit, Hindi, Marathi and Nepali languages.
Diachronic Study	A study of linguistic development through time, i.e. through different periods of its history.
Dravidian Language Family	This denotes a language family which consists of 75 languages spoken by over 200 million people in parts of India and also in Sri-Lanka, Pakistan, southern Afghanistan, Nepal and Bhutan.
Elective Situation	It is a situation in which learner learns a language in a formal context. In the Nepali context, most people learn English in formal situations – class rooms and language institutes.
English Elements	English language units, ranging from lexical to sentence level, incorporated into Nepali speech.
Ethnic Groups	Groups of people who have the same racial, cultural or religious origins. In this context, groups of Nepalese people belonging to the Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim religions and having a mother tongue other than Nepali, culture and tradition exogenous to hierarchical Hindu caste structure.
Ethnic Languages	Indigenous languages spoken by ethnic groups living on Nepali state territory for example, Sherpa, Tamang, Magar, Gururng, etc.
Exonormative Encounters	Encounters or situations in which Nepalese people interact with English speaking people in their L2 (English) according to English linguistic and cultural norms; for instance, a Nepali vendor selling goods in English to foreign tourists.

Global language	A global language is one that has developed a role that is recognized in every country, such as English as a global lingua franca.
Hinduisation	A process of making other religious groups (of Nepal or elsewhere) follow the norms of Hinduism in their religious practice.
Indo-European Language	A language that belongs to the Indo-European language family; includes most of the major languages belonging to language branches and groups of Europe, Southwest and South Asia.
Language Attrition	Changes, usually a decline, in an individual's abilities in a language, induced by decreased use of and input in this language.
Linguistic Landscape	The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial and public signs of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration. An example is the use of Nepali and English language in public signs in Nepal.
Madhesi	This is a term used for people of Indian origin living in the southern part of Nepal; these people comprise of various cultural groups such as Hindu caste groups, Muslims, and indigenous people of the Terai.
Monolingual Hegemony	This refers to the dominance of the Nepali language over other ethnic languages in Nepal.
Matrix Language Frame Model	A model of code-switching developed by Carol Myers-Scotton and collaborators, in which participating languages do not play equal roles in structuring bilingual discourse. In this study Nepali is the Matrix Language (ML) which provides the syntactic structure or frame into which English Embedded Language (EL) elements are inserted.
Observer's Paradox	This refers to a situation in which the language use of the participant is influenced by the presence of the investigator.

Panchayat System	A political system established in Nepal by King Mahendra in 1960; it remained in force until the 1990s.
Prakrit Languages	A middle Indo-Aryan languages related to Sanskrit.
Projection of Complementiser (CP)	Projection of complementiesr (CP) is a linguistic unit of analysis akin to a clause. The main unit of analysis in the MLF model.
Rana Dynasty	The Rana Dynasty ruled the Kingdom of Nepal from 1846 AD to 1951AD. During this period all high-ranking official positions were made hereditary and the Shah monarch's power was limited.
Regional Language	A language spoken in an area that does not necessarily coincide with a nation state. This study takes Hindi as a regional language used by the people living in South Asia as a lingua franca.
Sanskrit Language	An old Indo-Aryan language in which the most ancient documents ('Vedas') were written.
Sanskritisation	A process by which a lower caste or tribe or any other group changes its customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a higher caste. In Nepal Sanskritisation is associated with the different ethnic groups of Nepal adopting the Sanskrit language.
Shah Dynasty	The Shah dynasty was the ruling dynasty of the Kingdom of Gorkha until 1768 and of the Kingdom of Nepal from 1768 to 28 May 2008.
Sino-Tibetan Language Family	A Trans Himalayan language family comprising of more than 400 languages and major dialects spoken in East Asia, Southeast Asia and South Asia.
Speech Community	A group of people who share a set of norms and rules for the use of language.

Speech event	A speech event with a unified set of components: same purpose of communication, same topic, same participants and the same language variety.
Sprachbund	A Sprachbund or 'linguistic area' (in English) is a group of languages that have common features resulting from geographical proximity and language contact (rather than genealogic relations).
Synchronic Study	A study of language at a particular given point in time.
Tagadhari	'Wearers of the holy cord', i.e. thread wearing castes in Nepal, such as Brahmin and Chhetri.
Tibeto-Burman People	Speakers of one of up to 300 Tibeto-Burman languages. The Tibeto-Burman group is as sub-group within the Sino-Tibetan family and spoken throughout the highlands of Southeast Asia.
Village Development Committee (VDC)	A small administrative body of the central government at local level within a District Development Committee which is situated between local level and central government level.