NEPALIZATION OF ENGLISH LEXIS AND ENGLISH TEACHERS'

PERSPECTIVES ON NEPALI ENGLISH

A Dissertation

Submitted to

Faculty of Social Sciences and Education

in the Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Philosophy in English Education

Shankar Dewan

Roll No. 75153035

Nepal Open University

Manbhawan, Lalitpur, Nepal

December, 2020

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DEDICATION

To my late parents Guman Singh Dewan and Goma Devi Dewan, who devoted

their entire life for fulfilling my dream and bringing me what I am today;

To my late grandfather Singh Bahadur Dewan, who provided me

fatherly love and support all the time;

To my grandmother Dhan Maya Dewan, my uncles Chandra Dewan and Dilendra

Dewan;

my aunts Bimala Dewan and Sumira Dewan, who fulfilled the absence of my parents;

To my life partner Diksha Tumsa and son Samyog, who energized me for my further

study;

You are all in my heart.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation has not been submitted for the candidature for any other degree.

Shankar Dewan   December 26, 2020

RECOMMENDATION

The undersigned certify that I have read and recommend to the Faculty of Social Sciences and Education, Nepal Open University, for acceptance, a dissertation entitled *Nepalization of English Lexis and English Teachers' Perspectives on Nepali English* submitted by Shankar Dewan in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree in Master of Philosophy in English Education.

Chandra Kumar Laksamba, PhD   December 26, 2020

Dissertation Supervisor

LETTER OF APPROVAL
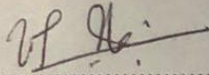
Master of Philosophy in English Education dissertation of *Shankar Dewan*,

entiled *Nepalization of English Lexis and English Teachers' Perspectives on Nepali*

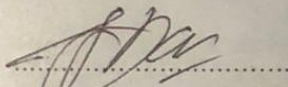*English* presented on December 26, 2020.

APPROVED

December 26, 2020

Chandra Kumar Laksamba, PhD

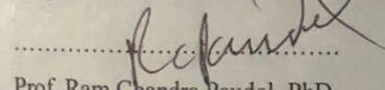Adjunct Prof., Dissertation Supervisor

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Dean/Chair of Research Committee

I understand and agree that my dissertation will become a part of the permanent collection of Nepal Open University Library. My signature below authorizes the release of my dissertation to any reader upon request for scholarly purposes.

December 26, 2020

Shankar Dewan (Degree Candidate)

ABSTRACT

Title: *Nepalization of English Lexis and English Teachers' Perspectives on Nepali English*

Approved

This dissertation describes lexical items and the lexical features of Nepali English (NE) on the basis of hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization strategies used by NE speakers. It also explores the perspectives of English teachers on NE. Three books written in English by the Nepali writers, one translated book, eight texts/articles from English textbooks and a journal, six news stories, three articles from English newspapers, 23 billboards/advertisements/banners, and six English teachers were sampled using the non-random purposive sampling strategy. From the selected samples, I collected the required information using texts, a semi-structured interview, and a diary as the research tools (methods). I applied the qualitative content analysis to analyze the texts from the printed materials and the interview transcripts, and the multimodal analysis to analyze billiboards/advertisments/banners. The study shows that NE speakers produce new lexical items because of hybridization and bilinguals' creativity and use different strategies to nativize English, such as lexical borrowing, compounding, blending, affixation, coinage, unusual use of words, reduplication, approximant quantification, semantic broadening, semantic narrowing, amelioration, pejoration, redundancy, modification, and inconsistent use of different varieties of English. In addition, the study, on the basis of English teachers' perspectives, shows that there exists a distinct variety of English in Nepal, NE is spoken by both teachers and students, it is practicable or appropriate to the Nepali context, it should be promoted for intelligibility/ comprehensibility, motivation, teachability/learnability, identity, and

resisting hegemony of BE or AE, and research, discourse, publications, codification, and standardization are necessary to bring NE into concrete form.

Name: Shankar Dewan

Degree: Master of Philosophy in English Education

Presented: December 26, 2020

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Chandra Kumar Laksamba, PhD

Dissertation Supervisor

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ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

AE	American English
B. Ed.	Bachelor in Education
BE	British English
B. S.	Bikram Sambat
CE	Chinese English
I.Ed.	Intermediate in Education
IE	Indian English
NE	Nepali English
NELTA	Nepal English Language Teachers' Association
RP	Received Pronunciation
SE	Singapore English
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
SLC	School Leaving Certificate
T1	Teacher one
T2	Teacher two
T3	Teacher three
T4	Teacher four
T5	Teacher five
T6	Teacher six
WEs	World Englishes

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins with the background context based on my own experiences on how I, as a student, learned English in a formal classroom from the NE teachers, what challenges I usually face in the English classroom as a teacher of English on the public campuses of Nepal, and what aroused my interest in carrying out research on NE. Then, I have described the problem statement of my study, followed by purposes, research questions based on the purposes, rationale of the study, its delimitations, and organization of the dissertation.

Background Context

Why not let me speak in

Any language I like? The language I speak

Becomes mine, its distortions, its queerness

All mine, mine alone. It is half English, half

Indian, funny perhaps, but it is honest,

It is human as I am human, don't

You see? It voices my joys, my longings, my

Hopes, and it is useful to me as cawing

Is to crows or roaring is to lions…..

(Das, 1973, as cited in Canagarajah, 1999, p. 125)

This beautiful poem, composed by Kamala Das, an Indian poet, reflects the presence of a different variety of English in India that is queer, distorted, and hybridized. She says that it might be funny for others, but it is natural and useful to her, and she loves to speak it because she feels easy and happy to speak it on the one hand, and it reflects

her identity on the other. When I read this piece of poem, I felt as if she had composed it for me. Like the poet, I also have the same feeling that I speak the hybridized English, which is not the same as British English (BE) or American English (AE). The English language I speak is different from BE or AE at the phonological, morphological, grammatical, lexical/semantic, and discourse levels. Most importantly, my accent is quite different. It is difficult for me to pronounce some sounds and several words as Britishers and Americans. To give some examples, I substitute the English labio-dental fricatives [f] and [v] with Nepali bilabial stops [ph] and [bh], respectively. There is no difference between dark [ɫ] and clear [l] for me. Many features of connected speech, such as strong and weak forms, assimilation, elision, and intrusive "r" and linking "r" might be missing in my English speech. In many cases, I know how to pronounce some words, but I do not follow British or American pronunciation. The reason is, as the poet Das (1973, as cited in Canagarajah, 1999, p. 125) says, "It voices my joys, longings, my hopes." The way I speak English might be funny for the English native speakers, but I love it because it reflects my identity, that is, my Nepali identity. In many cases, the English words do not make much sense in my cultural context. Rather than using the word "aunt," I prefer to address my mother's sister as "big mother" or "small mother," who really helped my mother to raise me with a lot of love and care. It becomes funny for us if an English native speaker calls a *thunse* [1] as "basket" because the word "basket" does not actually carry the cultural meaning of *thunse*, and if someone calls "pigtail" to a Brahmin's *tuppi* [2] because these two words do not have the same cultural meaning. Therefore, I agree with Achebe (1965) that it is neither necessary nor desirable for him to learn to use English like a native writer does. It is not possible to do so. My experience is also

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[1] a basket without pores, which is made of bamboo, and is carried by a Nepali woman on her back
[2] tuft of hair left on the crown of the head by Hindu males on shaving their heads

akin to Ojaide (1987, p. 165), who claimed that "The English I write and speak is neither mainstream British nor American, and I cherish this uniqueness." There are variations in the way people speak and write English in different countries. Users of English have appropriated to own it. Following and adapting Ojaide (1987), the English I write and speak has its roots in Nepal and expresses Nepali sensibility. In the following section, I describe my experiences on how I learned English and how I have been teaching it.

My Experience as a Student

I started learning English as a foreign language in grade four in a remote village in Panchthar district, Province number 1, Nepal. At school, I learned English from the non-native English teachers. I had to learn English on the basis of the limited input I received from the teachers during the English period. I agree with Ferguson (2006) that in the context where the learners receive very little or no input from the native speakers, learning English is chiefly modeled on the production of invariably proficient language speakers whose speech will be predominantly intertwined with localized features. As learning of English was totally dependent on the teachers, I learned to speak and write English as my teachers taught me. They would write the meaning of English words in Nepali and we had to recite and memorize those words and their meanings. I did not know which variety of English they spoke. I do not have everything in my memory, but I remember that I would pronounce many English words such as "tortoise," "honest," and "ghost" quite differently from British or American pronunciation, which I later realized. Kachru (2011, p. 26) stated, "In culturally, linguistically, and ideologically pluralistic societies there are multiple levels of acculturation and hybridity." I grew up in multilingual societies and received

education in multilingual classrooms from non-native English teachers, which shaped my English to be more localized, indigenized, and hybridized.

I joined another school for my lower and secondary education. Till I passed the School Leaving Certificate (SLC), I had not even seen the Oxford Learners' Dictionary, other English dictionaries, or the grammar books produced by English native speakers. I never had opportunities to receive exposure in BE or AE. I learned English differently from non-native English speakers. I learned verb paradigms such as "go" (base form), "went" (past simple), "gone" (past participle), "going" (present participle), and "goes" (third person present simple) as Mathematics through V1, V2, V3, V4, and V5, respectively, and "is/am/are" as auxiliary verbs only, not as main verbs, in the sentences like "I am a student/ He is a teacher/They are friends," respectively. I learned whatever follows the verb is an object, for example, "I have a car/ I am a doctor." I would think all the students throughout the world learn these things in the same way. At the secondary level, I took "Mathematics and Statistics" as an optional subject. We frequently produced "Optional" only with Mathematics but not with other subjects. We would say "Let's go to take the class of optional." I never heard the word "optional" produced by others who had another subject as their optional subject. Interestingly, I came to know that "Health Education" was also my optional subject several years later when I looked at the mark sheet of my SLC. In general, I learned to speak and write on the basis of how my teachers taught me. I did not know whether it was BE, or AE, or something else.

After I passed the SLC, I started studying Intermediate in Education (I. Ed.) at a public campus in Morang district, where I knew that English has different varieties. I read "A Practical English Grammar" written by Thomson and Martin, two English native speakers for the first time in my life, and knew how the grammar I learned in

schools was somehow different. I also read "Better English Pronunciation" written by J.D. O'Connor, which focused on native speakerness. To develop better English, the English teachers would tell us to follow Received Pronunciation (RP), the Standard BE. I would think about why we should speak English native speaker-like and ask questions myself whether it is possible to follow English native speakers in the context of Nepal. For the first time in my life, I realized that what I had learned to pronounce English words in my schools was quite different in many cases, how different my English was, and how queer the teacher's English was for me. The main reasons for my English being different were mother tongue influence and the limited exposure of English I received from non-native English teachers. I myself realized that my English had been Nepalized[3]. I still remember the criticism made by one of my friends on the accent of one English teacher. At that time, the teacher said that it was almost impossible for those eating *gundruk[4]* to speak English just like the English native speakers. That event also helped me to know that we speak and write English differently. In the first year of Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.), we had two courses, "Fundamentals of Language and Linguistics" and "English Sounds and Structures," which also focused on RP, the standard British pronunciation. In Master of Education (M.Ed.) first year, we had the course "Phonetics and Phonology" in which course we had to study the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and other phonological features and processes. I could not produce some phonetic symbols given in the IPA, nor can I produce them correctly today. Although I went through various courses in my higher studies, my English was neglicized because once linguistic forms, features, and rules are fossilized, they continue to appear in performance regardless of further exposure to the target language (Gass, 2015). Moreover, following Canagarajah

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[3] a social phenomenon where Nepali exerts its influence over English and makes it more Nepali-like, for example, 'film' as 'filim,' 'glass' as 'gilas.'
[4] a very popular Nepali food item made from green vegetables after fermenting and drying them up

(1999), I did not use English as the native speakers did but appropriated it in my own terms according to my needs, values, and aspirations. My English is a kind of hybrid form of BE, AE, IE, and Nepali. I interchangeably use British/American spellings (e.g. programme/program, colour/color, metre/meter), words (e.g. queue/line, flat/apartment, trousers/pants, holiday/vacation), and grammar (e.g. at university/at the university, I have just arrived/I just arrived). Similarly, many people remark that I speak Englishized Nepali and Nepalized English. This is a common and natural phenomenon among multilingual speakers. Following this, I describe the challenges I usually face as a teacher in the classroom and my observations on how the students speak English in the classroom.

My Experience as a Teacher

When I was studying B.Ed., I taught in a private school for some months, where I heard typical utterances produced by the students such as "Sir from back, beating and beating" to mean "Someone sitting behind beats them on their back time and again," *chimoting* for "pinching," "do *na"* to mean "do it," and many more. These were some indications to show how the students produce innovative utterances which were never exposed to them by their teachers. I became quite familiar with the word "Nenglish"[5] for the first time when I read Rai's (2006) article entitled "English, Hinglish, and Nenglish." The article has clearly mentioned how English in Nepal is beginning to show the signs of its peculiarities both in spoken and written forms (Rai, 2006). From that day onwards, I knew that I was not an English teacher/speaker but an NE one. Now, it has been quite easy for me to answer that I speak NE when my students ask me, "Which variety of English do we speak, sir?" Rai's (2006) article really influenced me and aroused my interest in NE, and as a teacher, I started

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[5] a blended term of "Nepali" and "English" which denotes a distinct variety of English emerging in Nepal.

observing how my students speak and write English. I have found a lot of unusual words used by students in their speech and writing, such as "talency" to mean talent, "cheater" to refer to a person who cheats others, "coacher" to denote a person who directs, instructs, and guides the players, "andajification" for guessing, "khubility" to mean ability, "heighty" for very tall, and "weightage" for weighting. They frequently use Nepali words in their discourse; for example, say *na*, come *la*, go *kya* go, and *oi* homework show *na*. These examples show the unique features of NE speakers.

NE speakers have a typical pronunciation different from BE and AE as well as Hinglish[6] (Rai, 2006). I know theoretically how to pronounce many English words in RP and try to follow; however, my accent sounds different. If I pronounce the words following the RP, my students start laughing since they find my pronunciation very queer because they do not speak like that. When I dictate the words following the RP, my students get confused and write incorrectly, but they write correctly when I pronounce them Nepali-like. It has really confused me which variety of English to follow in the classrooms. Similar to me, such experiences were also expressed by the teachers in my research (see Chapter VI). In the section below, I describe what actually sparked my interest in carrying out research on NE.

My Research Interest

Three fundamental sources encouraged me to carry out research on NE. The first source comes from my experiences as a student and a teacher. My interest in NE increased when I first read Rai's (2006) article and when I became familiar with the features of IE, SE, and other varieties of English after I started teaching the courses entitled "Applied Linguistics" (old course) to M.Ed. second-year students and "Linguistics in Application" (Eng. Ed. 525) to M.Ed. third-semester students. As I

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[6] a blended term of Hindi and English that refers to typical English spoken and written by Indian people, that is, Indian English.

started teaching these two courses, I became more familiar with "World Englishes (WEs)." The second source comes from my paper presentation at the 23rd International Conference of the Nepal English Language Teachers' Association (NELTA). My small- scale study on NE and the positive comments I obtained from the participants in the conference boosted my interest in studying more about NE. The third source, which is perhaps the most powerful one, comes from within me, that is, my intrinsic motivation and intense satisfaction I experience from the study on NE, which always makes me aware of how the Nepali people speak and write English. The following section introduces the NE that I have used in the above sections.

Nepali English

With globalization and the unprecedented spread of English worldwide, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization, a different variety of English has emerged in Nepal, which is termed Nenglish (Daniloff-Merrill, 2010, as cited in Karn, 2011; Dewan, 2018; Duwadi, 2010; Rai, 2006), Nepali English (Adhikari, 2018; Brett, 1999; Giri, 2020b; Hartford, 1993; Kachru, 2011), Nepalese English (Crystal, 2003; Karn, 2011; McArthur, 1987), Nepali variety of English (Verma, 1996, as cited in Karn, 2011), Nepanglish (Kamali, 2010), Nepenglish (Sharma et al., 2015), and Neplish (Homes, 2007). In fact, English has been Nepalized in Nepal. In other words, the global character of English has been localized that has led to the emergence of nativized and indigenized variety of English in Nepal. Karn (2006, p. 75) stated, "…the English language has been acclimatized here according to Nepali soil, Nepali culture, Nepali accent and so on. As a matter of fact, some kind of Nepaliness has been added to the English spoken here." Many scholars from home and abroad also realize the emergence of NE. Since the last decades, Nepal has experienced a transition in the use of English in terms of variety due to Nepal's exposure to the

globalizing world through trade, technology, media, and relations (Bhattarai & Gautam, 2008). Like in other countries, the influence of globalization can be experienced in the English language used in Nepal. Bhattarai and Gautam mentioned that "By now even a local variety as Nepalese English has also been given due recognition" (p. 13). In the introductory part of the former course "New Generation English" for B.Ed. first year, Awasthi et al. (2009) stated:

> We have also introduced a considerable portion of Nepali English (NENGLISH) as well – which includes three short stories (one translated), one poem, and one essay. This is to send the message to the English-speaking world that Nepali variety of writing (in English) is also coming fore. (Introduction, para. 9)

This introductory paragraph clearly mentions that Nepali writers have started producing literary texts in the Nepali variety of English. Even the government English textbooks have contextualized English with Nepali content, stories about Nepali characters and places (Haegeland, 2012). The practice of incorporating local contents or texts has begun even in the higher level textbooks of different universities in Nepal. By incorporating eight local texts written by Nepali writers, the editors of the book "Interdisciplinary Readings" (Bhattarai, 2017) of M.Ed., Tribhuvan University, wrote:

> However, some topics represent a local variety of English too – or ideas reflected in such language –why not? If we are spending a huge amount of money and countless years of English, why not stand boldly with our own variety before the world. (p. II)

NE is not limited to spoken English only. Even the literary texts are produced in this variety. Giving an example from NE, Larsen-Freeman (2007, p. 70) stated, "Indeed, English is one of the most hybrid and rapidly changing languages in the world. You

yourselves have experienced this in Nenglish where 'cold store' has come to mean 'corner shop'." Such hybridization and nativization can be found at the level of phonology, morphology, lexis, syntax, and discourse. Rai (2006, p. 34) claimed, "Nenglish has its own specialties that make it different not only from English but also from Hinglish." He pointed out that words like *dadu*, *mamu*, *nanu* are neither used in English nor in Hinglish. Globalization, hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization have a profound influence on the English language spoken in Nepal. This study attempts to collect lexical items from various sources and describe the lexical features of NE.

Statement of the Problem

With the globalization of English, there is no homogeneity in its use. It has been hybridized, nativized, indigenized, and diversified in the world and Nepal is not an exception. It is getting pluralized in the hands of various language speakers (Canagarajah, 1999). However, there is still a kind of dominance of BE or AE over other varieties of English in education, media, business, science and technology, and communication. Speakers of other varieties of English take it as hegemony or linguistic and cultural imperialism (Phillipson, 2007). To resist the hegemony of BE or AE, speakers of English in different countries have started appropriating or nativizing English to meet their local needs and interests according to their local contexts.

With the emergence of WEs, hot discussion is going on in the world regarding whether to adopt BE or AE, or other local varieties of English as a teaching model. Supporters of BE or AE do not accept that new Englishes are functionally independent and real but criticize them as deviations from the standard norms, and are therefore incorrect and imperfect. Prator (1968, as cited in Ferguson, 2006) argued

that recognizing second language varieties as teaching models would be most unwise because they may not really exist as coherent, uniform linguistic systems, and even if they do, they are qualitatively different from and inherently less stable than native varieties of English. Later, Quirk (1985, as cited in Ferguson, 2006) also adopted the conservative position, highlighting BE or AE as only a single monochrome standard form. He argued that second language varieties are not codified and institutionalized which are qualitatively different from native varieties. Prator and Quirk mainly argued for Standard BE or AE as a teaching model because it has coherent, homogeneous linguistic systems which, if followed everywhere, can maintain mutual intelligibility. In contrast, Farrell and Martin (2009, p. 3) pointed out that "insisting on Standard English can devalue new or local varieties of English that exist around the world." Such prescriptive and homogeneous views marginalize the different flavors of Englishes emerged worldwide. Therefore, the local varieties of English in both Outer and Expanding Circle countries must be acknowledged and given space in the curricula and classroom teaching (Kachru, 2011) because they are intelligible to the speakers of those varieties and motivating to them because of the feeling of ownership. Some scholars favour a balanced rather than "either-or" approach. Widdowson (1993) argued that both variants have their proper place in English language education, assigning Standard English as an end of learning and nativized variants as the means for learning. In this regard, Bhattarai and Gautam (2008) opined that the teachers should realize that English now combines the global with the local so a blend of different tastes can only satisfy the English language needs of the time. I agree with Bhattarai and Gautam that there is no clear boundary between global and local. Today, local things have been globalized, and global things have been localized. In such glocalized contexts, making only one variety (BE/ AE or any other WEs) as a

teaching model does not produce appropriate human resources. Therefore, our focus should be "to recognize the contextual appropriacy of different Englishes and teach students as many variants as possible" (Canagarajah, 1999, p. 181) so that they are able to adjust in different countries. In a similar vein, Farrell and Martin (2009) suggested that English teachers should consider all varieties of English, not just British or American Standard English. But the cold reality is that several WEs still lack proper documentation and codification, which has made it impossible to use such new varieties of English as a teaching model in the absence of sufficient literature and materials.

Although Standard BE and AE are the dominant varieties of English in many countries, Nepal enjoys with its own distinct variety. Scholars from home (e.g., Adhikari, 2018; Giri, 2015; Karn, 2011, 2012; Rai, 2006) and abroad (e.g., Brett, 1999; Daniloff-Merrill, 2010, as cited in Karn, 2012) have pointed out that the Nepali people speak a distinct variety of English. We can find such distinctiveness of English in their discourses, writings, teachings, and media. My own experiences also show that the Nepali people do not speak English British- or American-like but Nepali-like because they do not learn English from English native speakers but from Nepali non-native English speakers.

Globalization has a profound influence on English used in Nepal, particularly on vocabulary. Extensive lexical borrowing, code switching, codemixing, blending, and hybridization are taking place between English and Nepali as well as other local languages at the lexical level. In addition, the creative users have consciously hybridized and nativized English at the lexical level. However, only a few mini-types of research have been carried out on NE focusing on the nativization of English at the phonological, lexical, grammatical, and discourse levels. There are no large-scale

studies on NE at the lexical level or qualitative analyses of the English teachers'

perspectives on NE. Hence, my study focuses on both linguistic study of NE and the

perspectives of English teachers on it.

The claim that NE exists in practice but only at the conception or inception

level (Giri, 2015) is not true because NE is an established variety of English in Nepal

which is already societally codified (Brett, 1999; Karn, 2012; Rai, 2006). In this

regard, Daniloff-Merrill (2010, as cited in Pandey, 2017, p. 39) clearly stated, "studies

already conducted by Nepalese scholars…show that Nenglish is an established variety

of English through its use in the essays of Nepalese L2 writers." Although studies on

spoken and written practices on NE have begun and some features of NE have already

been explored, they are not sufficient. Therefore, large-scale and intensive type of

research needs to be carried out to show what lexical features occur more frequently

in NE that differentiate it from other varieties of English such as BE, AE, and IE.

Karn (2011) claimed that standardization of NE has not moved ahead in the absence

of corpus. He maintained that once the corpus for NE is constructed, it will guide the

act of codification, dictionary making, and grammar writing which consequently helps

in its authentication. As the corpus is lacking, the legitimacy of NE is often

questioned, and the variety is perceived with disdain (Karn, 2006). The classroom

realities, my experiences, and the available literature exhibit that we have a wide gap

between what we attempt to teach and ground reality. The Nepali people speak their

own variety of English, which differs from other varieties of English at the

phonological, lexical, grammatical, and discourse levels. If more research on NE is

carried out, its findings will provide insights for the policymakers to make better

situation-appropriate ELT policies in Nepal, curriculum and syllabus designers to

design better context-sensitive ELT curriculum and syllabuses, textbook writers to

realize the local uses of English, and teachers to reconsider the students' use of English. However, there is still a lack of a detailed and rigorous study on various aspects of NE. This study does not study all aspects of NE. Therefore, I have limited my study to only lexical features and English teachers' perspectives on NE.

Purposes of the Study

In order to address the problems described above, this study was carried out to describe the lexical items and the lexical features of NE on the basis of hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization strategies used by NE speakers, and to explore the perspectives of English teachers on NE.

Research Questions

To meet the above purposes, I formulated the following supplementary questions, which my research attempted to answer:

1. What linguistic strategies do NE speakers use to hybridize, create, and nativize English at the lexical level?

2. How do English teachers in Nepal perceive NE in the era of globalization?

Rationale of the Study

The available literature and my own personal experiences as a student and teacher justify the fact that the Nepali variety of English exists in Nepal at different levels of language. However, very fewer researches have been carried out on the local variety of English in Nepal. Such local usage of English cannot be ignored in language teaching and learning because "to ignore local exigencies is to ignore lived experiences" (Kumaravadivelu, 2001, p. 539). In addition, it also reflects the rules and conventions of communication and sociocultural traditions of the Nepali people. Therefore, the local variety of English needs to be documented. My study not only documents the typical lexical items and the lexical features of NE but also explores

local English teachers' perspectives on the local variety of English because "we all need to teach in the local realities in which we find ourselves" (Brigg, 2008, p. 140), in which context local English teachers' perspective on NE influences whether to use and promote NE or other varieties of English.

This study is significant in policymaking because many countries are changing their English policies to put their local variety of English at the center. It is also significant in the field of contrastive analysis to explore similarities and differences across different varieties of English. In the field of error analysis, this study sensitizes the teachers to the fact that the lexical features of NE are not errors but unique varieties on their own, which reflect the sociolinguistic realities of English used in Nepal. It recommends the traditional applied linguists or error analysts to consider the multilingual context and perceive features of NE as innovations rather than errors. In teaching, the study gives information about how a language works. Similarly, it also familiarizes the local variety of English with the concerned authorities in the field of curriculum designing and textbook writing, who need to design and write ELT curriculum and materials based on the local realities.

The present study helps sociolinguists find information about NE, a variety of English at the lexical level. It provides examples of codemixing and other sociolinguistic information. For lexicographers, it provides lexicographical information for making a dictionary on NE. In the field of cultural analysis, it shows how language expresses cultural attitudes. Similarly, the study is significant to linguists and corpus linguists because it has analyzed the collected data from linguistic perspectives. In general, it helps all the English teachers and students who can see how NE is different from other varieties of English at the lexical level.

Delimitations of the Study

This study was delimited to the linguistic area of "lexis," particularly I attempted to describe the lexical items and the lexical features of NE on the basis of hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization. To achieve the purpose, I took data only from the three English books written by the Nepali writers, one translated book in English from Nepali, eight texts/articles from English textbooks and a journal, eight news stories, three English newspaper articles, and twenty-one billboards, banners, and advertisements, and analyzed the contents through the lexical lens of NE. As an English teacher, I also enlisted the typical lexical items in a diary that I had heard and seen in different places and writings, which I used as the data in my study. In addition, my study was delimited to the contents obtained from a semi-structured interview with six English teachers teaching on different campuses in Morang and Sunsari districts, from which I explored their perspectives on NE.

Organization of the Dissertation Report

The whole dissertation report is organized into seven chapters. Chapter one is the introductory part, which provides the background context related to my own experiences as a student and a teacher and my research interests in NE. The background context is followed by the statement of the problem, purposes of the study, research questions, rationale of the study, delimitations, and organization of the dissertation report.

Chapter two offers a literature review. The chapter begins with the history of English in Nepal, followed by a diachronic overview of Nepal and then English in Nepal on the lectal continuum. It highlights lexis, lexical features, and nativization and reviews the studies carried out on lexis and lexical features of different WEs,

including NE. Finally, it also offers a review of some studies carried out on attitudes toward NE.

Chapter three provides the theoretical framework that elaborates on globalization, hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization. It describes the theory of globalization as one of the main factors in the emergence of WEs, including NE. More specifically, it describes Kachru's Concentric Circles, McArthur's Circle of World Standard English, Kachru's Developmental Circles of WEs, Moag's Life Cycles, Schneider's Dynamic Model of WEs, and the Standardization Process of WEs. It also explains hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization, their types, processes, and reasons, which give the readers ideas on how WEs emerge through hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization. Finally, it presents the conceptual framework, which shows how I logically proceed to undertake my research study. Chapter four describes the methodological approach and design of the study. It explains the research paradigm, the philosophical stances, such as my ontological, epistemological, and axiological positions to address research questions, and the research design. It describes the multiple sources of information utilized and reported, the sample and sampling procedures selected, and the research instruments used to collect information. It also describes the process of data collection and analysis related to the lexical features of NE and teachers' perspectives on them, following the ethics of research.

Chapter five attempts to address the first research question related to lexical items and the lexical features of NE on the basis of hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization strategies used by NE speakers. It typically describes different linguistic strategies underlying nativization employed by NE speakers, namely lexical borrowing, compounding, affixation, reduplication, coinage, blending, semantic

broadening, semantic narrowing, amelioration, pejoration, approximate quantification, unusual use of words, redundancy, and inconsistent use of English words and spellings.

Chapter six attempts to answer the second research question related to teachers' perspectives on NE. It discusses English teachers' perspectives on the existence of NE, reasons for speaking NE, its positioning in Nepal, students' English in the classroom, promoting NE, and teachers' suggestions for bringing NE into concrete form.

Finally, chapter seven sums up the key findings drawn from the analysis and interpretation made in chapters five and six. It adds new knowledge in the field of WEs. It makes some recommendations for policy, practice, and future studies.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews literature about English in Nepal, a diachronic overview of NE, the English of Nepal on the lectal continuum, and the lexis and lexical features of WEs, including NE. While reviewing the relevant literature for my study, I realized that intensive study on the lexical features of English is lacking in Nepal, particularly the acrolectal variety of NE, because there is relatively little published research on NE. In reviewing the available literature, my focus was on the lexical features of different varieties of English first, and then that of NE.

English in Nepal

Nepal is historically an independent country which does not have any colonial history. However, the colonization of the British over India has direct and indirect influence on Nepal. Kerr (1999) stated, "Although Nepal had never been formally colonised by the British; there was some kind of colonial legacy" (p. 2). English did not enter Nepal through India during the colonization period. Historical records show that English in Nepal was in use as early as the 17th century (Giri, 2015). Citing from Hodgson (1864) and Morris (1963), Giri maintained that "the Malla Kings used some form of English as a lingua franca while carrying out business transactions with Tibet and North India" (p. 94). Pratap Malla, also known as *Kabeendra* (a king of poets), was a multilingual and learned poet, who also knew Arabic, Roman, and English scripts (Shrestha & Singh, 1972). Therefore, he also used English to inscribe on stone slates.

English was first introduced in Nepal when the European missionaries entered and settled in Nepal in 1661 and trained the Nepali people to work for and assist them

in Nepal and abroad (Giri, 2015; Shrestha, 2018). They also had religious reasons for coming to Nepal. The first Europeans, namely Father Craybrawl came to Nepal in 1628 and Father Grover and Father Dorbil in 1661 to convert people to Christianity (Sharma, 2000). Some British and Roman Catholic missionaries had entered Nepal around 1745 and had opened some schools, but were expelled from Nepal by the Gorkhas (Eagle, 1999).

English spread and flourished in Nepal when India was colonized by the British. The elites and/or the ruling class of Nepal made contact with the British people. Nepal's rulers wanted to educate their children in English to create a special privilege and perhaps used it to ensure their reign to be continued into the distant future (Poudel, 2016). They used English as a medium to please the British Empire and to establish a rapport with them for longing their rule. When Prithvi Narayan Shah, the king of Gorkha, attacked Kathmandu Valley in 1767, the East India Company, at the request of King Jaya Prakash Malla, sent some British troops under the command of Captain Kinloch to help King Jaya Prakash Malla but the Gorkhali troops defeated them in the battle of Hariharpur and Captain Kinloch had to run away (Shrestha & Singh, 1972). After the meeting of Gorkhali troops with British ones in the battle, William Kirkpatrick, the leader of the 1793 mission to Kathmandu (Whelpton, 2005), came to Nepal as a special British envoy to mediate the Nepal-Tibet war. The East Indian Company and the King of Nepal made the Sugauli treaty in 1816 (Dhungel et al., 2020; Laksamba, 2005), which legalized the permanent settlement of the British people in Nepal. Captain Knox took office as the first British resident in Kathmandu (Poudel, 2016). He invited the British people and western scholars to study the people of Nepal.

The formal, or the official entry of English into Nepal took place during the Rana regime. Janga Bahadur Rana, the first Rana Prime Minister, after his arrival from Britain, invited Mr. Canning and Mr. Ross, the first English language teachers in Nepal from Britain, to teach English to his family members on the Thapathali Durbar. Hence, Darbar School was the first school in Nepal to be an English-medium school (Kerr, 1999). It was "run on British lines, and staffed by British and Indian teachers" (p. 49). Similarly, in 1846, the Nepali government made an agreement with the British in India to allow the recruitment of Nepali youths in the British army to fight for the British Empire, and the Nepali youths, who were employed in the British army, had their formal education in English for eight years (Kerr, 1999). Many Gurkha soldiers, along with their children, who were all educated by the British, returned to Nepal, and some of them became officers because of their fluency in English (Gargesh, 2020). Those soldiers and their children were the "first commoners to speak English in Nepal" (Eagle, 1999, p. 285). Those soldiers exposed the youths of their villages to English and taught them the value of English in the world. Their unique position raised the position of English in Nepal (Eagle, 1999). Hence, the collective interests of the British and the Rana rulers helped spread English in Nepal.

Kachru (2011) argued that the tradition of English education and methods of curriculum design in Nepal came from India. He further elaborated that until Tribhuvan University was founded in 1959, all teachers, administrators, and cultural diplomats in Nepal were trained in Indian universities. Prior to Tribhuvan University, Trichandra College, established in 1918, was the first post-secondary educational institution in Nepal to adopt English as the language of education (Shrestha, 2018). In a similar vein, Phyak (2012) claimed that after the end of the Rana regime in 1950, Nepal opened its door to foreigners, which briskly increased the flow of foreigners for

tourism, business, religion, research, education, and development in Nepal. This open-door policy helped flourish English in Nepal. During the Panchayat era, the Panchayat government adopted the policy *of ek bhasa ek bhesh ek dhrarma ek desh* (one language, one uniform, one religion, one nation) with the aim of promoting the Nepali and Hinduism in the name of creating a unified cultural practice. However, the popularity of English did not decline. English was made a subject of study and taught as a compulsory subject from Grade four onwards (Shrestha, 2018). I agree with Phyak (2010, p. 6) that "The *Rana's* protection of English as the language of rulers, and the *Panchayat's* covert willingness to make it the language of elites clearly divided the society into two groups: the dominant English-literates and the dominated English illiterates." Consequently, a gap was created between the rich and the poor, and between the vernacular languages and the English. The gap became wider when English-medium schools run by private sectors were extensively opened in different parts of Nepal.

After the reintroduction of democracy in 1990, the Interim Constitution of Nepal 1990 paved the way for the proportionate development of all languages spoken in Nepal, including English (Shrestha, 2018). The New Education Policy of 1990 recognized English as an international language, and consequently, English began to be taught from grade four through the bachelor level in the university (Gargesh, 2020). After 1990, Nepal increased its relationship with other countries. Different world organizations like the United Nations Organization (UNO) and regional organizations like the South Asian Association for Regional Corporation (SAARC) were established, which excelled the cry of English (Shrestha, 2018). Similarly, the Central Department of English at Tribhuvan University, the British Council, the American Embassy, different professional organizations like NELTA, the Literary

Association of Nepal, the Society of Nepali English Speakers, and the Linguistic Society of Nepal (LSN) have played significant roles in the spread of English and English professionalism. Following Malla (1997, as cited in Poudel, 2016), the factors that led to English professionalism are the acquisition and transmission of scientific and technological knowledge, international communication, the acquisition of ideas and values necessary for accelerating the modernization process, reference language, library language, and regional lingua franca.

English is the second most widespread language in Nepal in terms of popularity, education, and use (Eagle, 1999), or an additional language in many domains of national life. Today, English has become one of the local languages in Nepal (Giri, 2020b). It is used not only as a medium of instruction in schools and universities but also as a subject to be taught and learned. Gairns and Redman (1992, p. 59) stated, "A language cannot be taught without taking into account its sociocultural system: appropriateness of language, gestures, social distance, values, mores, taboos, habits, social institutions, registers, dialects, and so forth." English has been appropriated and pluralized in the hands of non-native speakers from varied sociocultural backgrounds. It has become a hybrid language as a consequence of its contact with local languages and the biliguals' creativity. To conclude, a different variety of English exists in Nepal because of the influence of BE since the British Raj in India and its influence in Nepal, AE via media and science and technology, IE through media and other means, and the nativization and bilingual's creativity of the Nepali speakers of English. It is observed that English in Nepal will be more localized, hybridized, nativized, and diversified in the future. In the following section, I diachronically review some discourses on NE.

Diachronic Overview on NE

The issue of Nepaliness in English was first raised in the late 1970s. In 1977, Malla observed that "there are a number of marked-style feature in the Nepalese written English" (Shrestha, 1983, p. 52). Backing to Malla, in 1978, Shrestha analyzed some written samples of NE and showed that the Nepali writer of English tends to use a marked style, that is, a great deal of adjectives, longer sentences, uncommon words with the effect of learnedness and bombast, synonyms, and euphemisms (Shrestha, 1983). Both Malla and Shrestha indicated that some kind of Nepaliness or marked features can be noticed in the written English in Nepal. In the seminar of the Linguistic Society of Nepal in 1980, Shishir Kumar Sthapit, Professor of English at Tribhuvan University, pointed out the sounds of Nepali that have had some influence on the way the Nepali people speak and use English in his paper entitled "The Sound of English and Nepali" (Giri, 2015). Writing on the nativization of English in Nepal, Shrestha (1983) argued that some degree and kind of divergence from the "parent" English language is discernible in the English spoken and written in Nepal and that a particular Nepaliness of English can be noticed in the Nepali people's sound system, accent and intonation, and selection and arrangement of words. He also argued that the native model should be abandoned altogether and be replaced by a more realistic goal of fluency in the ideal NE, the acrolect which will satisfy the needs criteria and be enough for the comprehension of classroom lectures and for interpersonal communication. A decade later, Hartford (1993) brought another discourse on "Nepali English" by analyzing tense and aspect variation in the news discourse of NE. She identified that the NE tense/aspect is not the same as the native English system but reflects its contact with Nepali. After Hatford, Verma (1996, as cited in Giri, 2015) pointed out some specific features of NE. Taking Nepali media as

a case study, Giri mentioned that Verma pointed out that the English language used in the media is the predominant source of NE. Enumerating some of its processes and features, Verma observed that Nepaliness can often be found in the lexis, grammar, and style of English used in the media (Giri, 2015). Similarly, Hartford (1996, as cited in Schneider 2012, p. 68) worked out on a cognitive grammar of NE and explicitly identified the effect of select psycholinguistic principles and the role of conceptualization strategies, arguing that NE prefers certain syntactic patterns which are motivated by semantic frames. Although there were some studies on NE, Brett (1999) first studied the lexical features of NE by compiling a miniature databank of it and claimed that different English exists in Nepal. She argued that NE not only meets the world but is also practically advantaged. After Brett, it was Rai (2006), who championed the term "Nenglish" formally in the 11th International NELTA Conference on the title "English, Hinglish and Nenglish" which was later developed into an article and published in the Journal of NELTA. With evidence, he argued that "a different kind of spoken as well as written English is emerging in Nepal… [.]" (p. 39), which clarifies that NE is different from other varieties of English. Although NE and IE share some common features (see Brett 1999, Rai, 2006), NE comprises "its own specialties that make it different not only from English but also from Hinglish" (p. 34). In the same year, Karn (2006, p. 76) further discussed NE and stated, "…English here has been nepalized (nativized) in Nepal with its own typical features, borrowings, vocabulary ad phonology and it is likely to diverge from the standard English in the future." After Karn, Kamali (2010) coined the new term "Nepanglish" and highlighted NE through his research on the attitudes of secondary-level English teachers and students toward NE, BE, AE, and IE. Later, Karn (2011, 2012) further brought the discourses of NE to the grounds through his two articles, which were

published in the Journal of NELTA. Karn (2011) focused on building a comprehensive corpus to legitimize and standardize NE. In the following year, Karn first brought a discourse on nativization in various genres of literature written in English in Nepal, which showed how creative writers nativize English to fit the contexts. Similarly, Giri (2015) provided more theoretical background on NE by illustrating some of its forms and functions. On the basis of the Kachruvian model on the functions of English, he described how NE performs instrumental, regulative, interpersonal, and creative/innovative functions. Sharma et al. (2015) discussed NE with some typical features and argued that "it is time to consider whether we should study the English spoken by native-Nepali speakers (Nepenglish) as a separately developing variant of English" (p. 188). In addition, Subedi (2019) maintained that we should use NE as one important foundation of education without getting into the trap of so-called nativism because pure nativity in using English is not actually the standard measure of the proficiency in English. Currently, Giri (2020b) discussed the current status and functions of NE in Nepal and presented some features of it. He maintained that NE is an ideal case for WEs or (South) Asian Englishes inquiry for two reasons: First, three distinct types of English exist in the Nepali society - English as a primary language, English as a secondary language, and English as an additional language, each of which influences how people negotiate their identities and how they communicate with the users of other Englishes in particular situations. Second, one can find traces of other Englishes blended and brewed locally into a single variety, NE. In the following section, I describe the variations of English spoken in Nepal on the basis of the above discussion.

English of Nepal on Lectal Continuum

Scholars claim that there is no English; there are only Englishes. Variation in South Asian English can be described in terms of a lectal range: acrolect, mesolect, and basilect (Kachru, 2011). Sociolinguistically, the English language used in the Nepali context can be described in these three lectal ranges. Giri (2015, p. 108) first made an attempt to present the lectal continuum as shown in the following figure:

Figure 1

The Basilect-Acrolect Continuum of Creole

Standard language	Acrolect	Nepalese English
Intermediate varieties	Mesolect	Neplish, Nepanglish, etc.
Creole	Basilect	Nenglish
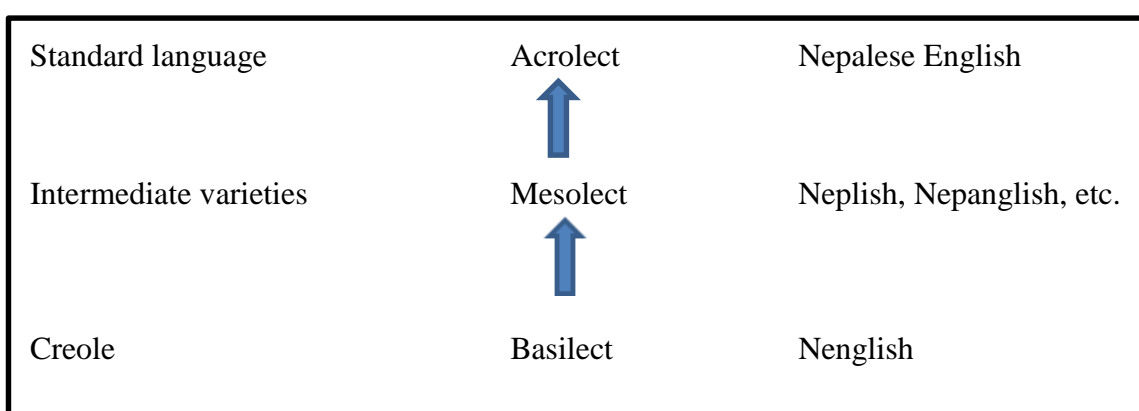
The term *acrolect,* which is borrowed from creole studies, refers to a high variety linked to the top of the social and educational scale (Mukherjee, 2010). It is the standard NE spoken by educated people, which can be used as a norm in formal and official functions. It is for international intelligibility, as only slight variations are tolerated (Nur Aida, 2014). The *mesolect*, on the other hand, is an informal variety in which, following Gill (1999), the cultural and linguistic needs and functions of the local environment strongly influence the lexis, syntax, and accent. This variety is used to establish rapport between the speakers. Many more people of different classes and educational backgrounds with a markedly lower level of competence and proficiency in English use different kinds of standard varieties of English known as mesolects (Mukherjee, 2010). In this context, more variation is tolerated; therefore, it is for national intelligibility and intra-national communication between the various

indigenous communities as a medium of local communication (Gill, 2002). Similarly, the third lect is the *basilect*, which is also called "broken English." It incorporates a wide range of reduced and pidginized forms of English (Mukherjee, 2010), particularly spoken by uneducated tourist guides, children and other people selling goods to foreigners, and local staff members working in hotels, restaurants, and other recreation centers in Nepal. This is the lowest variety, which consists of limited English vocabulary, and is often filled with a high degree of deviation at all lexical levels (Nur Aida, 2014). Because of its extreme differences from the standard English, the basilect is almost unintelligible outside of the speech communities in which it is developed (Gill, 1999). There are some studies on WEs in different lects. Ling (2010) studied acrolect Singapore and Malaysian English and identified some distinct linguistic features at the levels of lexis, syntax, and phonology. Similarly, whereas Mukherjee (2010) found some local features and patternings of acrolect Indian English at vaious linguistic levels of analysis, Kachru (2011) described basilect Indian English such as Babu English, Butler English, and Boxwalla(h) English[7].

The discourse on the evolution of the Nepali variety of English is going on in academic circles in Nepal. The academic discourse implies that there is no homogeneous use of English in Nepal because it is spoken by different people of different educational, linguistic, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds. The new Nepali variety of English, which was developed from the mixing of parent languages such as Nepali, English, and other local languages, may be in the process of becoming a creole (Giri, 2015). Scholars from home and abroad have given different names to the

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[7] Babu, Butler, and Boxwalla(h) English are informal varieties of Indian English. Babu English was first used in reference to English speaking-clerks in the Bengali-speaking parts of undivided India; Butlter English is like a minimal pidgin in its structure, which was primarily used by butlers, the head servents of English households, in communicating with their masters, also called Kitchen English and Bearer English; and Boxwalla(h) English is a pidgin variety of broken English which is used by door-to-door sellers of wares (Kachru, 2011).

new NE, which can be used to refer to different stages of development of English in Nepal. Giri (2015) mentioned that Nenglish may be suitable for the basilect variety of a creole, Nepalese English for the acrolectal variety, and other terms given in the figure to refer to the intermediate varieties. Shrestha (1983) argued that the educated NE, the acrolect will be the "internationally high-valued form" and so will cut across the internal boundaries (p. 56). Although English spoken by the Nepali people can be categorized into three varieties, concrete evidence is still lacking to justify how people from different backgrounds actually speak English in Nepal. Further research on English in Nepal is necessary to carry out on these three-tier lectal ranges. In the section below, I briefly introduce the lexis, lexical features, and nativization (see chapter three in detail).

Lexis, Lexical Features, and Nativization

Lexis simply refers to words in a language which are treated at three levels – as individual word and its components, word compounds and co-occurrences, and conventionalized multiword phrases (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman, 1999). Words or vocabularies are so important that "Without grammar very little can be conveyed, without vocabulary nothing can be conveyed" (Thornbury, 2002, p. 13). In studying WEs, Anesa (2019, p. 6) asserted that "…the understanding of the vocabulary is decisive for the study of a certain language variety." While nativization is realized at all linguistic levels, it is through lexis that "New Englishes best assert themselves" (Hajar, 2014, p. 36). Therefore, several WEs have been studied from the lexical perspectives since "lexical formations are used as a lens for observing the multitude of Englishes and their dynamic usages" (Anesa 2019, p. 6). Lexical features are open and explicit which indicate whether a particular variey of English exists or not. In this regard, Kachru (2011, p. 104) maintained that "the lexis of a language is open to the

greatest intrusion from a language in contact." The contact of English with local

languages has caused lexical changes. Honna (2003, as cited in Patil, 2006) argued

that the migration of English to foreign countries causes the diffusion and

internalization, acculturation and indigenization, and adaptation and diversification of

English, resulting in nativized or localized lexical items, which may lack any English

equivalents.

One of the processes for the emergence of NE is nativization which can be

realized through the borrowing of words from local languages and through the more

innovative process of creating new words from existing English words (Hajar, 2014,

p. 36). There are two ways of nativizing the lexis of a variety of English: native

lexical items will be used in localised registers and styles to place the language in its

context; and English lexical items may acquire extended or restricted semantic

markers (Hajar, 2014). The two types of lexical features categorized by Baskaran

(2005, as cited in Hajar, 2014) include Local Language Referents and Standard

English Lexicalisation. The first category, which incorporates local lexical items

borrowed from local languages, encompasses six sub-categories such as (a)

institutionalized concepts - words that have no equivalents in Standard English and

become institutionalized at least in local context, (b) emotional and cultural loading -

borrowed words, which if translated lose their culture-bound association, (c) semantic

restriction – local words with possible English translations but are used in a

semantically restricted field, (d) cultural and culinary terms – local referents to

culinary and domestic items specific to a local origin and ecology, (e) hyponymous

collocations – local words collocated with the English superordinate terms, and (f)

campus/student coinages. Baskaran's second category of nativized words refers to

English lexemes with local usage, which has six basic characteristics: polysemic

variation (sematic widening), sematic variation (sematic shift), informalization (the use of informal or colloquial substitutions of standard English words), formalization (use of more formal words in an informal context), directional reversal (use of words in reverse direction), and college colloquialism (nativized words used among the student population).

The process of nativization manifests itself in phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and discourse. It may also affect the conventions of speaking and writing (Kachru & Nelson, 2011). At the lexical level, nativization in New Englishes is realized through various creative processes such as borrowing, sematic shift, affixation, compounding, clipping, abbreviation, blending, and hybrid compounding (Crystal, 2003). The process of nativization shows the influence of the local languages on English which is characterized by new word formation, localized collocations and set phrases, and new verb complementation patterns (Schneider, 2007). Similarly, Ling (2010) described lexical features of both Standard Singapore and Malaysian English. He identified that typical lexical items in both varieties of English are caused by lexical borrowings (borrowings into SE from Hokkien and Tamil, and into Malaysian English from Malay), compounding, blending, clipping, back-formation, conversion, acronyms, derivation, lexical innovations (coinages).

One of the reasons for nativization is concerned with identity. The local way of speaking English symbolizes the regional identity or an expression of identity and solidarity (Nur Aida, 2014). In WEs, the strong influence of localized lexical forms reflects the articulation of local identity (Kachru, 2011). Therefore, the creative users of English in Nepal intentionally nativize or appropriate lexical items to show Nepaliness in their English usage. The empirical studies on nativization on different varieties of English at the lexical level are discussed in the following section.

Studies on Lexis and Lexical Features

The history of the study on the linguistic features of the new Englishes began in the 1960s, and possibly earlier, and so an abundant descriptive literature has accumulated in journal and book form (Ferguson, 2006). Now, a significant number of studies have been carried out on lexis and lexical features of WEs in different countries. Here I first review the research conducted on different varieties of English and then on NE.

Studies on WEs, Excluding NE

One of the earliest scholars to study Indianness in IE was Kachru (1965), who described the Indianisms or typical IE formations as those which are transferred from Indian languages into IE, those which are not necessarily transferred but are only collocationally unusual according to the first language user of English, those which are formed on the analogy of natively used forms of English, hence, in a lesser degree, are collocationally deviant, and those which are formally non-deviant but are culturally-bound. He mainly focused on hybrid and nonhybrid Indianisms, IE collocations, and sources of Indianisms.

In the multilingual situations, codemixing and codeswitching are common phenomena in communication. Ying (2012, p. 117) maintained that "Intercultural communication leads to the blend of language and culture. Linguistic borrowing embodies the main characteristics of the intercultural blend." At the lexical level, Ferguson (2006) mentioned that IE and SE show their divergence from BE or AE because of borrowing, hybridization, and semantic extension or restriction. He exemplified that many words widely used in India or Singapore would be unfamiliar to British and American speakers such as *jaga, padang, makan, kampong* from SE and *bidi, chota, lathi, swadeshi* from IE. He described that typical hybridized items

from IE include *lathi* charge (baton charge) or *bindi* mark (mark on forehead), hybrid

collocations include *satyagraha* movement (insistence on truth movement), and novel

collocations include *yellow journalist*. In SE, the lexical item "deep" is used in an

extended sense to mean "educated" or "formal" (semantic extension) and in IE,

"eating leaves" refers to the banana leaves on which food may be served (sematic

restriction).

Lexical innovations are formed on analogy of BE or AE, and they are the

result of institutionalization of English in different sociocultural contexts (Kachru,

2011). In his book, Sailaja (2009) discussed five different lexical innovations of IE

such as borrowings, hybrid constructions, affixation, abbreviations, clippings and

acronyms, and redundancy. Another writer Proshina (2010) described distinctive

usages and innovations of lexical items of Russian English. She added that distinctive

usages are systemic traits typical of educated speakers and differ from the standard

English because of the influence from Russian and that innovations are the result from

nativization and acculturation when English needs to express Russian culture. Typical

lexical features of Russian English include Russian culture-loaded loans (e.g. *dacha*,

Duma), calques (e.g. foreign passport, heroine mother), calqued Russian idioms,

borrowings, new coinages (e.g. shop-tour "trip abroad for shopping," groupmate "at

the University, member of the same study group"), affixation (e.g. adding Russian

suffixes and endings to nouns: girlfrienda), and hybridization.

There are unique ways of forming words through compounding in different

WEs. Mendis and Rambukwell (2010) maintained that Sri Lankan Englishes (SLE)

has many noun compounds unique to the Sri Lankan context such as *agency post

office* "a private post office," *border villages* "Sinhala villages bordering traditional

Tamil areas in the Northern, Eastern, and North Central Provices," *floor patient* "a

patient in the hospital without a bed, who has to lie on the floor," *jump seat* "a folding seat in the aisle of a bus," *line rooms* "estate laborers' accommodation." English affixes are attached to Sinhala words to form unique and unusual lexical items such as *rashthiyadufy* "to go to a lot of trouble and achieve nothing." The affix "–ish" is sometimes attached to create new words, e.g. vomitish.

The creative users of language create new words and deviate the already existed words to appropriate them to their context. Mukherjee (2010) found some lexical innovations and deviations in IE. There are many loanwords taken over from local languages in IE such as *banda* "strike," *challan* "bank receipt," *coolie* "porter," crore "ten million," *goonda* "hooligan," *lakh* "one hundred thousands," *mela* "crowd," and *swadeshi* "of one's own country;" some new lexical items and compounds such as *batch-mate* "class-mate," *beer-bottle* "bottle of beer," *to by-heart* "to learn by heart,"*inskirt* "petticoat," *to off/on* "to switch off/on," *to prepone* "to bring forward in time,"*schoolgoer* "pupil/student," *shoebite* "blister;" and deviations from native varieties at the morphological level such as the suffix "-ee" (e.g. affectee, awardee, recruitee), the prefix "de-" (e.g. de-confirm, de-friend, de-recognize) and the zero-derivation of new verbs (e.g. airline, public, slogan).

The position and the use of English is different in Inner, Outer, and Expanding circle countries. Zhichang (2010) described Chinese English (CE) lexis by bringing Kachru's analogy of three Concentric Circles. The Inner circle CE lexis refers to Chinese loanwords in English, which come primarily from two sources such as Cantonese and Putonghua. Outer circle CE lexis consists of nativized English words, whose original meanings in English have shifted to a greater or lesser extent in Chinese contexts. Zhichang has presented some examples of denotative (sematic broadening or narrowing) and connotative (pejoration or amelioration) meanings of

CE lexical items. For example, the meaning of "cadre" in CE is broadened to a sense i.e. close to the English word "leader;" the meaning of "migrant workers" is narrowed down to refer to "those who have temporarily migrated from rural areas to the major cities in China;" and to associate "comrade" with "autocracy" (pejoration), and with "equality" and "friendship" in CE (amelioration).

Kachru (2011) argued that South Asian lexical items have come into English through travel literature, including words related to flora, fauna, local customs, festivals and rituals, and through items related to the legal system, revenue, and administration from various resources. Some typical lexical items include *chit* "a note or letter," *ahimsa* "non-violence," *gherau* "surrounding a person in authority to isolate him/her, as a method of protest," and *zamindari* "system of land tenure, jurisdiction of zamindar," *lathi charge* "baton charge" and *purdah woman* "a woman in a veil."

Kachru and Nelson (2011) claimed that Southeast Asian Englishes have lexical resources that extend the range of the AE or BE of their historical inheritance. These fall into several categories such as neologisms, borrowings, and new compounds. SE includes some lexical terms *actsy* "show off," *missy* "nurse," *chop* "rubber stamp," *Marina kids* "youngsters who spend their leisure time at or around Marina Square, a shopping centre,"and *graduate mothers* "graduate (well-educated) married women." In Philippine English, *deep* refers to "puristic or hard to understand," *stick* to "cigarette," *high blood* to "tense, upset," *blow-out* "treating someone with a snack or meal," and *motel* "a hotel used for pre-marital or extramarital affairs,"*manualize* "to prepare manuals," *go ahead* "leave before others with host's permission," *studentry* "student body," *Amboy* "a Filipino perceived to be too pro-American," *promdi* "from the province," *behest loan* "unguaranteed bank loan given to presidential cronies,"*pulot boy* "boy who picks up tennis balls in a

game," and *comfort room* "a room equipped with toilet, washing facilities." Similarly, typical lexical items of Malaysian English include *antilog* "a male hated by a girl," *popcorn* "a loquacious person," *kachang* "peanuts, easy," *slambar* "relax," *red spot, open shelf* "girls who are popular and those who are not," *day bugs* "those who come to attend school but do not live in residence halls." In the similar vein, the writers have also exemplified semantic extension, semantic shifts, coinage, and compounding of African Englishes.

The researchers studied words of different varieties of English from different perspectives. Nor et al. (2015) employed a qualitative approach in data analysis to describe the lexical features of Malyasian English and to establish the extent to which the data contributes to the defining characteristics of Malaysian English. They collected ample utterances of Malaysian English from a local English-language movie, analyzed, and interpreted them. They found local language referents (use of local lexicon in Malaysian English speech), cultural/culinary terms, emotional/cultural loading, standard English lexicalization (English lexemes with local usage) such as polysemic variation, informalization, particles, and some word formation processes in Malysian English such as affixation, reduplication, repetition, conversion, and exclamations.

With the emergence of new varieties of English, discourses on the issues of intelligibility and comprehensibility have come forth. Patil (2018) discussed new varieties of English using some examples with reference to intelligibility and comprehensibility. Typical vocabularies of IE that create incomprehensibility problems for users of English include "prepone" for advance, "co-brother" for one's wife's sister's spouse, "godown" for warehouse, "opticals" for glasses, "lakh" for a hundred thousand, "crore" for ten million, "hotel" to mean restaurant, "shift" to mean

to move into a new house, and "standard" to mean grade. In Vietnamese and Japanese English, the words "go" and "come" are used to mean just opposite of what they mean in the standard variety of English. Similarly, in the Vietnamese English, the words "bring" and "take" are used in a reverse sense of BE. Similarly, some typical grammatical features of IE that may lead to incomprehensibility include extensive use of the present progressive, omission of the definite article, pluralization of uncountable nouns, and invariable question tags. In addition, Patil mentioned that incomprehensibility is caused by the deviant linguistic realization of speech functions such as coaxing, self-humbling, and addressee-raising. He claimed that the deviant pronunciation of certain sounds and words as well as deviant word stress patterns causes unintelligibility. He concluded that incomprehension and unintelligibility may result from the development of new formal properties and functions led by the spread and growth of new varieties of English.

Currently, Sridhar (2020) studied the published partial descriptions based on impressionistic accounts, some publications, such as newspapers and literature, and data from limited empirical studies based on elicitations, both spoken and written, and identified different features of IE. The morphological and lexical features of IE relevant to his study incorporate derivation and compounding with affixes with Indian language affixes (*chai – wala* "tea supplier"), hybrid compounds, reduplications (Eat slowly, slowly), echo reduplications (talking-shaking), approximative quantification (five-six thousands), preference of compounding over phrasal qualification (welcome address), use of Indian verbs to which English tense markers are suffixed (lagaoed "applied"), use of English verbal derivational suffixes such as –ify with Indian language verb bases (boondofy "to fry"), redundant suffixation (timings for "time"), back formation (prepone "move an appointment or meeting up in time"), participal

compounds (foreign-returned), lexical borrowing fron Indian languages, innovations (issueless "childless"), collocational differences (dinning leaf), typical idioms and clichés (silver lining), archaisms (teacheress "woman teacher"), register crossover (out of station "out of town"), clippings (ethu for "enthusiasm"), initialism, semantic shift (pass out "graduate"), calques (Don't eat my head "Don't bother me"), and American slang (use of "dude" as a generic expression for "person" even in non-formal style).

The literature reviewed above shows that different varieties of English vary at the morphological and lexical levels because each variety is pervasively influenced by the users' mother tongues and other local languages. The users of each variety also create new words with new meanings because of their creativity (bilinguals' creativity) and nativization. In the following section, I review the studies carried out on NE.

Studies on NE

At the lexical level, Brett (1999) conducted a small-scale survey on NE in order to exemplify how it is distinct from Standard BE or AE. She first collected the words of NE and made a glossary of them. She clearly showed the differences between NE and Standard English. She also explained how Nepali speakers of English use adjectives such as "proudy," "romantic," "bored," and other vocabulary related to the military. She found the use of Nepali terms in English discourse (e.g. *kurta suruwal, puja, dal bhat, tika*), direct translation from Nepali (e.g. "My son reads in K.G.," "The staffs are very political at that campus."), unusual double plural (e.g. childrens, peoples), and use of different vocabularies to mean the same object (e.g. lunch box, tiffin carrier). Her study actually set the foundation to study the English language growing up in Nepal.

After Brett, Rai (2006) carried out a study on the features and processes of localization of the English language in Nepal. He intensively studied both spoken and written discourses, particularly day-to-day communication, advertisements in English in Nepali newspapers, and signboards, the matrimonial columns of Nepali newspapers, and literary texts, and presented some examples to show how Nenglish, English, and Hinglish vary both in spoken and written forms. For him, *dadu, mamu, nanu*, and "cheater" are Nenglish terms which are not used in English and Hinglish. Use of "copy" for an exercise book, "loadshedding" for power cut, "weightage" for weighting, "sent up examination" for send-up examination, "package" for manual, "office sitting" to mean taking care of the office, paisaless, *dimagless*, *sharamless*, *yar*, *bazaar*, *fariya*, *bahun*, *khukuri*, *raksi* to mention few as Nenglish terms. In a nutshell, he found some typical characteristics of Nenglish: (a) the entry of Nepali words in English, (b) attachment of English suffixes to Nepali words and vice-versa, (c) change of word order of English in Nenglish, and (d) introduction of literal translation of Nepali proverbs in English texts. Based on his study, he claimed that Nenglish is very hard to establish itself like Hingish or Manglish due to the lack of enough materials to support the claim; however, he saw the gradual emergence of a different kind of spoken and written English (Nenglish) in Nepal.

Daniloff-Merril (2010, as cited in Karn, 2012, p. 28) studied "how Nenglish reflects the identity of Nepali students. Her analysis was based on the compositions of Nepali students pursuing their studies in an American university." With evidence, she attempted to justify that NE has developed as an established variety. She maintained that Nepali users of English have their own way of writing, which has established NE as another variety of English, forming a new identity (Pandey, 2017). The Nepali writers construct their own identity through the use of NE in their writing. Her study

was also very much limited which provided some linguistic evidence to authenticate the legitimacy of Nenglish.

The creative writers in South Asia have indicated a need for nativization of English since the process of nativization can be attributed to the questions of identity and local contexts (Kachru, 2011). They consciously nativize English to make it context-appropriate. There are many studies conducted on nativization of WEs in other countries. In Nepal, Karn (2012) studied nativization in various genres of literature written in English such as two anthologies of stories - one by Samrat Upadhyay and the other by Rabi Thapa, two poems-one by Abhi Subedi and the other by D. B. Gurung, one essay by Govinda Raj Bhattarai, one play by Vishnu Singh Rai, and one novel by Manjushree Thapa, which were selected purposively. After picking up and presenting typical expressions that show Nepaliness, he analyzed them with reference to the linguistic strategies described by Kachru (1987) such as transfer, hybridization, shift, lexical borrowing, reduplication, code switching, and code mixing. He found various rhetorical strategies adopted by the authors to add Nepaliness in their literary texts: (a) linguistic and cultural transfer, (b) use of Nepali suffix "–*ji*" to address elders and respectable people, (c) use of Nepali kinship terms, (d) use of Nepali interjections, (d) hybridization of words, (e) lexical borrowing from Nepali, (f) code-switching, (g) translation of Nepali expression, and (h) reduplication. He claimed that he first studied the strategies adopted by the Nepali literary authors in their writings. However, it was also a small-scale study which lacks detailed and comprehensive study on NE based upon the large samples of literary texts. He only studied the literary texts from formal perspectives.

Nativization takes place at both formal and functional levels. English in Nepal serves all the four functions of nativization such as instrumental, regulative,

interpersonal, and creative/innovative (Shrestha, 1983). Later, Giri (2015) described both formal and functional nativization of NE. He not only reviewed the earlier work on NE but also studied a few instances related to young adult gossiping, language used by an announcer of a radio program, conversation between husband and wife, social media and commercial billboard. He identified the attachment of Nepali suffixes with English words, large scale code-mixing and code-switching between Nepali and English words, transliteration of English words into Nepali, and modification of the standard rules of English at the lexis, grammar, and writing levels. Like other studies, his study is a small-scale one which lacks abundant data and their comprehensive analysis and interpretation.

Sharma et al. (2015) discussed Nepenglish or Nepali English as a new version of English citing examples from notes taken by them during speeches in English by native Nepali speakers as well as from published articles. After their studies, they found some features of NE such as the incorrect use of articles (e.g. Last week, we went to the London), the odd plurals or extra "s" (e.g. peoples, staffs, researches, global warmings, domestic works), unnecessary use of prepositions or lacking them (e.g. I requested to him/you highlighted about), the use of wrong verb "to know" (passive) instead of "to find out" (active) (e.g. I was conscious to know), unique use of certain words (e.g. "sticks" for "individual cigarettes"), mixing some time adverbs (e.g. since few years ago), a different mix of two verbs conveying more or less the same action (e.g. so let me allow to say), unnecessary words (e.g. "in the context of Nepal," rather than "in Nepal" which is sufficient), use of *lakh* and *crore* (e.g. 100,000 as one *lakh*) . This is a very superficial study on NE based on the examples noted down during speeches. They did not clearly mention the sample participants involved in speech and how much data they had collected.

In the above section, I reviewed the linguistic studies carried out on lexical features of WEs. They clearly show how different WEs emerged through the nativization and bilinguals' creativity and how they are different from others. In the following section, I review the survey studies carried out on NE focusing on teachers and students in Nepal.

Attitudes toward NE

To date, very few quantitative researches have been carried out on NE, focusing on teachers' and students' attitudes toward it. Kamali (2010) studied the attitudes of the secondary level English teachers and students on four varieties of English- BE, AE, IE, and NE. In his research, most of the students (96.25 %) and overwhelming number of teachers (75%) responded that Nepali variety of English should be developed and majority of the students (65 %) opined that it is not necessary to develop native-like pronunciation of English. Similarly, majority of teachers (62.5) responded that their students like to learn BE and a considerable number of students (37.5%) would like to learn NE. As a whole, both teachers and students are extremely positive to NE.

The debates on whether to use new varieties of English as the teaching models are centered on the issues of intelligibility, identity, practicality, nature of standard, and acceptability (Ferguson, 2006). On the basis of the study conducted in these frameworks, Dewan (2018) found that almost all (98%) respondents did not see the danger of mutual intelligibility in the use of NE, most respondents (92%) reported that NE expresses their identities, majority of them (80%) responded that each variety of English is standard on its own, majority of them (84%) reported that NE is practicable in their contexts, and most of them (94%) accepted that they speak NE and 92%

accepted that NE should be standardized. In addition, his study also identified some phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic, and discourse features.

The two empirical studies indicate that both teachers and students are very positive toward the Nepali variety of English. They prefer to use NE in the classroom and prefer to call themselves as NE speakers. This is a very good indication for the promotion and standardization of NE since acceptability is a very important factor for the standardization process and the legitimization of NE as a distinct or innovative variety of English.

All the literatures reviewed above vary in terms of the data they used and their focus of study. My proposed study is a bit larger scale of research in which data were collected from literary books written by Nepali writers, creative writings/literary texts, English newspapers, billboards/advertisements/banners, and diary entries which were analyzed and interpreted to explore the lexical features of NE. In addition, I collected data on NE from the semi-structure interview with the English teachers. Furthermore, my study also aims at exploring the perspective of English teachers on NE. In this sense, there are some research, conceptual, theoretical, and methodological gaps between this study and other earlier studies. Most importantly, the proposed study adds more corpora on NE which will help to standardize and legitimize this variety as pointed by Karn (2011).

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Summary

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This chapter reviews the literature related to NE and other varieties of English related to my study. First I have briefly presented the historical glimpses of English developed in Nepal with the advent of globalization, followed by the diachronic overview on NE, which clearly shows how the concept of NE evolved and what studies and discourses have been undertaken on NE. The lectum continuum of NE

shows that there are different varieties on English spoken in Nepal. After this, I have introduced the lexical features and nativization and reviewed literature related to nativization on lexical features. Most of the studies reviewed show that lexical borrowings, hybridization, blending, reduplication, coinage, semantic extension and restriction, code mixing, codeswitching, and affixation are very common features in the nativization process. Finally, I have also reviewed two studies carried out on NE focusing on the teachers and students' attitudes toward NE, which show that both teachers and students are positive toward it. In the following chapter, I mainly describe globalization, hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization/acculturation which underpin my overall studies.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides the theoretical framework which shaped my study. In this chapter, I have described the theory of globalization which is one of the main factors for the emergence of WEs, including NE. In it, I have also described Kachru's Concentric Circles, McArthur's Circle of World Standard English, Kachru's Developmental Circles of WEs, Moag's Life Cycles, Schneider's Dynamic Model of WEs, and Standardization Process of WEs, which provided me with some theoretical ideas like hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, nativization, acculturation, heterogeneity, and contextualization. Similarly, I have explained the hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization/acculturation which gave me ideas on how WEs emerges. Finally, I have made the conceptual framework which shows how I have logically proceeded to undertake my research study.

Globalization

Globalization is a buzz word in the present day era which has influenced our cultures, languages, economy, politics, and our lives as a whole. Although people seem to have a consensus that we are living in an increasingly globalized world, they see globalization differently, i.e., some of them look at it positively, and others negatively. Giddens (1990, p. 64) regarded globalization as "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa." Globalization has two way influences: the local things have been globalized and the global things have been localized. It plays the role of bridge to connect the global with the local. In the following section, I describe the positions of globalization.

Positions of Globalization

Fairclough (2013) described four positions of globalization. For him, the first one is the objective position which treats globalization as simply objective processes in the real world that the social scientist describes. The rhetoricist position sees globalization as a process of persuading public to support and legitimize actions and policies within particular arguments. The ideologist position sees globalization as a system of achieving and sustaining the dominance or hegemony of particular strategies and practices, and the social forces who advocate them, and whose interests they serve. Finally, the social constructivist position recognizes the socially constructed character of social realities in general and forms of globalization in particular, and sees discourse as significant in the social construction of globalization. These different positions directly and indirectly promoted the spread of Engish globally, causing the emergence of WEs. Flairclough further mentioned that hyperglobalists see globalization as the emergence of a single global market, neo-liberals see it positively as human progress, radicals and neo-Marxists see it negatively as the victory of global capitalism, sceptics do not want to connect globalization to the contemporary levels of economic independence, and argue that the contemporary evidence shows regionalization rather than globalization, and the continuing economic power of nation-states, and transformatists argue that globalization is more complex and multidimensional than the emergence of a global market because it is concerned with political, cultural, military, and economic dimensions. From this discussion, we conclude that globalization is a complex phenomenon. Appadurai (1990) described globalization as a dense and fluid network of global flows that occur in and through the growing disjunctures between ethnoscapes produced by flow of people, technosccapes produced by multinational

and international corporations and government agencies, finanscapes produced by the rapid flows of money in the currency markets and stock exchanges, mediascapes produced by the information technologies (e.g. newspapers, magazines, TV, and film) and the images of the world they create, and ideoscapes that are usually composed of concatenations, ideas, terms, and images, including freedom, democracy, welfare, rights, and representation. People look at globalization positively, negatively, and in a balanced view and from various dimensions. The theoretical framework of my dissertation is much more concerned with linguistic globalization. In what follows, I describe the different schools of thought which look at globalization differently.

Three Schools of Thought on Globalization

With the rise of globalization and rapid spread of English as a global language in the world, three different linguistic theorists – globalists, localists, and glocalists– and three corresponding social science theorists – hyperglobalizers, skeptics, and transformationalists, respectively–have emerged who see globalization and the role of English differently (James, 2009). These three schools of thoughts are discussed below.

Globalization as Homogenization. Globalists and hyperglobalizers are those who hold the negative and pessimistic perspective on globalization (James, 2009). They take globalization as homogenization, westernization, or Americanization. It is hegemonically western or the extension of American imperialism (Block & Camroon, 2011). It is a power to the rich countries but a threat to the poor countries. It has challenged the indigenous languages and cultures, and the five scapes described above. Laksamba (2005) described globalization as a new form of imperialism, a profit making instrument for the rich countries and full of risk and hazards for the poor countries. It is the influence and dominance of rich countries over poor countries

linguistically, culturally, politically, and economically. Linguistically, Phillipson (2007) took globalization or the global spread of English as a form of linguistic imperialism or English linguistic hegemony, which is disrupting the local linguistic and cultural ecologies, causing the death of languages around the world. Such hegemonic practices are seen in English language teaching and testing. The homogenized and homogenizing English which leads to the construction of language fortresses may be termed Global English (James, 2009). With regard to Global English, Canagarajah (2009) regarded it as a plural system with heterogeneous grammatical and discourse conventions and all speakers as native speakers of this pluralized Global English in a context of locally developed Englishes. Among the different strands of globalization such as transportation, communication technologies, trade, and migration, Kang (2015, p. 21) stated, "English as a global language becomes part of globalization itself as part of the cause, the process, and the product of globalization." This concept of globalization proclaims "English for all," particularly BE or AE for all and marginalizes other languages and other varieties of English. This hegemony position suggests that English plays the central role in world homogenization (Pennycook, 2007).

Globalization as Heterogenization. Localists and skeptics take globalization as a heterogeneous rather than homogenizing process. Localists "concentrate optimistically on the positive effects of English expansion by pointing to widely diverse forms of the language anchored worldwide that have been developing since colonial times" (James, 2009, p. 81). Globalization has diversified the languages and cultures. It implies "increased local diversity influenced by human contacts across cultural boundaries as well as speedy exchange of commodities and information" (Kubota, 2002, p. 13). It is consistent with diversity within all the different

phenomena it encompasses (Flairclough, 2013). For example, the global spread of English has resulted the diversity of English and among English users (Matsuda, 2020). It has caused the emergence of more diversified and localized Englishes appropriate to the local contexts. Crystal (2003) took globalization of English as a factor that has caused the emergence of new varieties of English in the different territories. In addition, McArthur (1987) and Kachru (2011) focused more on the linguistic heterogenizing effects of English expansion, which are discussed later. In this sense, James (2009, p. 85) argued that WEs are seen as "locally 'appropriated,' 'indigenised' and 'nativised' Englishes, are celebrated for the structural and semiotic diversity they show and in practice are described as linguistically much as the geographic varieties of British English and American English are." This view connects globalization with localization, appropriation, indigenization, nativaization, and diversification.

With the rise of globalization, the local issues have come on the forefront. The direct negative influence of globalization on languages, cultures, religions, and traditions can be tackled and minimized through the principle of localization (Laksamba, 2005). I agree with Laksamba that the local people have started decolonizing or appropriating English to resist globalization or westernization. Similarly, globalization does not come alone but frequently concurs with localization. It always leads to localization and appropriation (Erling, 2004). No matter how global the English language has become, it will continue to indigenize everywhere, acquiring local characteristics (Mufwene, 2010). In this sense, Sharifian (2016) claimed that the development of new Englishes as the result of localization of the language is often based on some local functionality of the variety. Such localized, nativized, or indigenized Englishes serve better in the local situations. Blommaert (2010, p. 44)

explained that "language functions in a community because it provides local meanings: meanings that provide frames for understanding the local environment, to categorize and analyze (strictly) local world." For example, NE carries more local meanings than BE or AE in Nepal. Therefore, even if languages are deterritorialized, such as English in China, they should adapt to local functionalities (Xu, 2013). Communicatively or functionally, the local variety of English functions better than the so-called Standard English in the particular local settings.

Globalization has brought about heterogeneity of the structure and content of English (Sharifian, 2016) rather than global homogeneity and uniformity. It has resulted in the growth of a number of varieties of English which are more heterogeneous in use and practice. In WEs, standardizing or codifying different varieties of English has led to the heterogeneity of English (Xu, 2013). Some countries like India and Singapore are codifying and promoting their variety of English as a norm rather than following BE or AE, which will cause more heterogeneity and diversity of English in the future. Yano (2001, p. 126) predicted three possible outcomes for the future of English as a global language: Acrolect-level local varieties of English may develop, English may diverge into many mutually unintelligible local varieties, and English may ramify into a variety of mutually intelligible dialects except in writing. However, the writers like B. Kachru (2011) and Y. Kachru and Nelson (2011) do not see the danger of unintelligibility because "it is a natural phenomenon when any language becomes so widespread" (Sharma, 2008, p. 123). National or local intelligibility should be the target for most people and for most purposes, whereas international or global intelligibility is needed for international purposes (Kachru, 1986). This concept of globalization takes WEs as localized varieties of English, new varieties of English, indigenized varieties of English, or

nativized varieties of English. In the words of Pennycook (2007), a framework of WEs focuses on the heterogenization of varieties of English. This heterogenic and pluricentric position focuses on new and emerging forms of English and bilingual's creativity (Kachru, 2011). In this sense, globalization is a vector for the emergence of heterogeneous Englishes in the world.

   Globalization as Hybridization. Glocalists hold their position between two poles of globalists and localists. They claim that there is nothing completely global or local. They see the synergetic relationship between the global and the local. Pennycook (2007) distanced himself from two ways of viewing English in the world (imperialist and pluralist) because both have some shortcomings. Globalists see globalization and the global spread of English from above and observe imposition, domination, and imperialism. Localists, on the other hand, see globalization and English from below and observe pluricentricity or multiplicity of English. Glocalists and transformationalists hold the third way position, stay at the crossroad, and look both ways. They take globalization as hybridization, which is a product of the interplay between encompassing (global) and particularizing (local) processes of change (James, 2009). They highlight the linguistic and cultural hybridizing processes caused by the mutual influence of the global and the local. In this sense, globalization is cultural and linguistic blending. It is the mingling of both global and local languages and cultures. Such blending or mingling of languages can be observed in code-mixing and code-switching while communicating with others (Xu, 2013). In the glocalized situations, linguistic forms are transferred from their local languages into English, and vice-versa. Mufwene (2010, p. 50) argued, "Rather than driving the world toward monolingualism, the differential evolution of English appears to be

substituting a new form of diversity for an older one." This new form of diversity also includes blended linguistic forms and cultures (Xu, 2013).

Globalization as hybridization was also described by Graddol (2000, p. 33), who argued, "Rather than a process which leads to uniformity and homogeneity, globalization seems to create new, hybrid forms of culture, language and political organization." It has produced a tension between the global and local in the sense that not only the English language flows into and colonizes the space of other languages but also local languages influence English, giving rise to new hybrid language varieties (Graddol, 2000). In Nepal, the contact of the English language with the Nepali language and other local languages has given birth to a hybrid English language which is used to meet new cultural and communicative needs. Similarly, Rieu (2012, p. 12) argued that "Globalization needs to be deconstructed and deconstruction needs to be situated within the Globalizing process." He took globalization as a dangerous as well as false ideology which hides the power relations on which it is based, particularly its political, social, and cultural conditions. It has influenced our linguistic and cultural ecology, and political and economic conditions. Our trade, languages, and cultures are at great risk because of the globalization. Therefore, people prefer to deconstruct globalization and replace it with the term "glocalization" which protects and promotes local trades, markets, languages, and cultures on the global scale. In this regard, Robertson (2012) considered glocalization as a refinement of the concept of globalization or the heterogenising aspects of globalization. The idea of glocalization was adapted and adopted in Japanese business, that is, to local conditions. One way to avoid feeling victimized by globalization and instead to accept it and make it workable in local conditions, glocalization is the solution which includes both universalizing and particularizing

tendencies (Larsen-Freeman, 2007), which is termed as "hybridization" by Pieterse (1995).

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that most globalization theory focuses on the postmodern constructs like diversity, hybridity, velocity, and agency (Ritzer & Stillman, 2003). In this dissertation, my position is not on globalization as homogenization, Americanization, and westernization but on diversification, heterogeneity, (g)localization, hybridization, and appropriation of English because, as Schneider (2010) claimed, there are both global and local, or centrifugal and centripetal forces in the evolution of the new variety of English. In the following section, I describe different WEs and their models because, the role of WEs, as Pennycook (2007) argued, may be a better candidate for an understanding of globalization and English:

WEs and their Models

With the spread of English globally, it has undergone the process of nativization, indigenization, and hybridization, causing many new varieties of English to emerge because in such process, language "will become open to the winds of linguistic change in totally unpredictable ways" (Crystal, 2003, p. 142). Such varieties of English, which Kachru called "World Englishes," are known by different terms such as "varieties of English," "localized varieties of English," "non-native varieties of English," "second language varieties of English," "new varieties of English" (B. Kachru, 2011; Y. Kachru & Nelson, 2011), "transplanted or transported or twice-born Englishes" (Kachru, 1981), "twice-born varieties" (Patil, 2006), "postcolonial Englishes" (Schneider, 2007), and "reincarnated Englishes" (Kachru, 2011).

Bolton (2006) claimed that Randolph Quirk was one of the first scholars who discussed varieties of English in 1962 with reference to the description of English "standards" worldwide. He described that in 1964, Halliday, McIntosh, and Strevens discussed varieties of English in a range of decolonizing contexts. Halliday subsequently adopted a varieties framework in a number of his later writings. In 1980, Strevens also maintained a strong interest in varieties of English worldwide. In 1979, Hughes and Trudgill published a volume entitled "English Accents and Dialects" that described varieties of English in the United Kingdom. Then Trudgill and Hannah's "International English" focused on varieties of English "Standard English" worldwide. Its first edition (1982) included other varieties of English such as Australian, New Zealand, South African, North American, Scottish, and Indian English. Its third edition (1994) added an expanded section of creoles as well as the descriptions of Singapore and Philippine English. Similarly, Erling (2004) described that Cheshire's (1991) "English around the World" illustrated the range of variation that exists within a language.

The oldest model of the spread of English is that of Strevens, whose map-and-branch model indicates how the varieties of English are connected to each other, and other models of English by Kachru, McArthur, and Gorlack appeared in the 1980s (Jenkins, 2009). Gorlack's (1988) circle model of English placed international English at the center, followed by regional standard Englishes (e.g. African, Canadian, Carribean, South Asian, US English), then semi-/sub-regional standard Englishes (e.g. Indian, Kenyan, Papua New Guinean, Irish, Pakistani, Malysian English), then non-standard Englishes (e.g. Aboriginal English, Jamaican English, Tamil English, Yorkshire dialect, Hawaiian pidgin), and, finally, beyond the outer rim (pidgins,

creoles such as Cameroon Pidgin English, Tok Pisin) (Jenkins, 2009, p. 17). Other models are discussed in the following sections.

Kachru's Model of Concentric Circles

The most useful and influential model of the spread of English is provided by Kachru, who divided WEs into three concentric circles, the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle, and the Expanding Circle (Jenkins, 2009; Kachru, 1990, 1998, 2011). Emerging primarily as a first language from the Inner Circle Countries such as the USA, the UK, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, English gradually spread to the Outer Circle Countries, i.e., former British colonies such as India, Singapore, and Malaysia, where English occupies the position of an institutionalized language, or an official language, and then finally to the Expanding Circle Countries such as Nepal, Japan, China and South Korea, where English exists as a performance variety, i.e., a foreign language. The Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circle countries are known as norm-providing ENL, norm-developing ESL, and norm-dependent EFL countries, respectively (Kachru, 2011). Although scholars argue that language users cannot be placed in these clearly demarcated and mutually exclusive circles (Abrar-ul-Hassan, 2010), the representation of English through Concentric Circles is "a more dynamic model than the standard version" (McArthur, 1993, p. 334), "widely regarded as a helpful approach" (Crystal, 2003, p. 60), and "the standard framework" (Jenkins, 2006, p. 159) in understanding the global situation of English. The Circles represent the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition, and the functional domains of English in diverse cultural contexts (Jenkins, 2009). Furthermore, the model provides a long historical context within which English has evolved, expanded, converged, and altered to form distinct identities (Kachru, 2011). All the circles have distinct uses of English as well as distinct varieties of English. They help the people to understand the

sociolinguistic realities of the spread of English worldwide. They bring to the English

language as well as its literature a unique cultural pluralism or English linguistic

diversity and a variety of speech fellowship (Kachru, 1990). They denote a wide

range of English-speaking communities, where English has different roles. In

addition, the model also provides a basic framework to understand the nativization of

English in South Asia (Abrar-ul-Hassan, 2010). The following figure shows the

situation of English in Asia:

Figure 2

Kachru's Three Concentric Circles of Asian Englishes
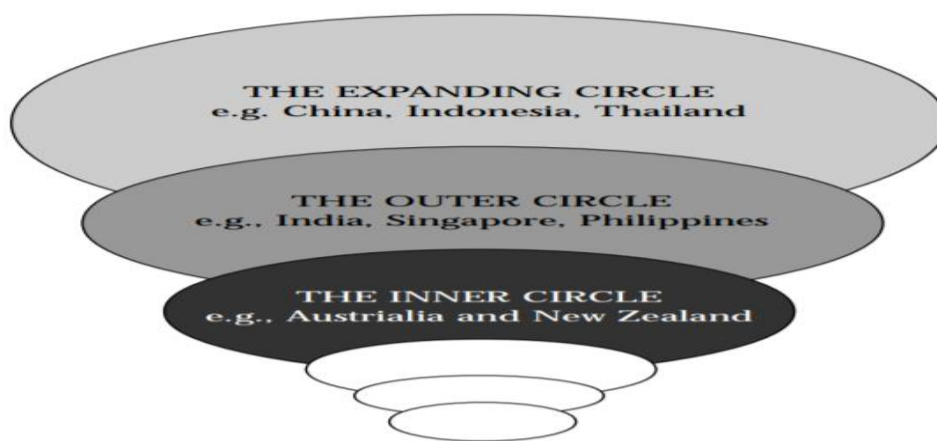
(Adapted from Kachru, 2011, p. 14)

Kachru's WEs represents certain linguistic, cultural, and pragmatic realities

and pluralism (Kachru, 1992). Although the Inner Circle has traditionally been

assigned a normative role as the Englishes spoken there are regarded as pure and

correct, the situation is often highly heterogeneous even within the Inner Circle

countries (Anesa, 2019). Rather than replicating or imitating Inner Circle norms, "the

outer circle undergoes complex endonormative processes, with the codification and

the standardization of specific English varieties" (p. 18) which project their specific

local linguistic and cultural identities. Even in the Expanding Circle, Englishes

spoken there are not inferior and subordinate but "are constantly acquiring an

independent and recognized status…normative standards are endogenously created"
(p. 18). This indicates that Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes display
multicultural identities and will develop as the norms for language description and
teaching and learning purposes.

There are various factors for the global spread of English from the Inner Circle
to Outer and Expanding Circle countries and the emergence of new varieties of
English. Harmer (2007) incorporated a desire for colonization, economics, travel,
information exchange, and popular culture, and Phillipson (2007) presented British
colonialism, international interdependence, revolutions in technology, transport,
communications and commerce as the factors for the global spread of English. For
Kachru and Nelson (2009), migrations of substantial numbers of English speakers
from the present British Isles to Australia, New Zealand, and North America, who
brought with them the resource of language and its potentials for change, and
transportation of the language into new sociocultural contexts by a very small number
of users in the colonial contexts of Asia and Africa are the reasons for the spread of
English. In the similar vein, Jenkins (2009) described how English transported to the
New World through migration and to Asia and Africa through colonization (these
dispersals are elaborated later). Because of the global spread of English, the non-
native speakers outnumber the native speakers in the world. There are between 320-
380 million users of English in the Inner Circle, between 300-500 million in the Outer
Circle (ESL), and 500-1,000 million in the Expanding (EFL) Circle countries
(Crystal, 2003). Only in India and China, the users of English add up to
approximately 533 million (Kachru, 2011), which is more than the Inner Circle
countries. The dramatic increment of English in the Outer and Expanding Circles
shows that English is now mostly in the hands of non-native speakers. Schilk (2011)

maintained that the development of a new variety of English is dependent on different "input-variety" based factors such as superstrate retention and exonormative stabilization and "language users of the new variety" based factors.

Although there are different varieties of English in three Circles, Kachru (2011) observed that all Circles of English in Asia share some characteristics: First, all the varieties of English used in Asia are transplanted varieties which comprise distinct formal and functional features compared to diaspora varieties of English in various degrees. Second, the demographic profile of English as an Asian language is overwhelming: the total English-using population of Asia is more than that of the Inner Circles, including Australia and New Zealand, India is a major Outer Circle English-using country along with the US and the UK, English is the chief medium in demand for acquisition of bilingualism/multilingualism in the whole Asian region, and in parts of Asia (e.g. in Singapore), English is gradually acquiring the status of the dominant language or the first language. Third, there exists the extensive creativity in the language in a broad variety of literary genres. Fourth, English has penetrated into the society that serves various functions.

Considering the large population of English speakers located in various parts of the world, Kachru (1990) proposed that English now holds a unique cultural pluralism and a linguistic diversity. With the global use of English, the Inner Circle has lost much of its linguistic power. Graddol (2000) explained that English will have the special place in multilingual countries and in the repertoires of multilingual speakers. As a result, a consensus has emerged that instead of talking about Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circle Englishes, we need to recognize "World Englishes" (Jenkins, 2006) or "Global English" (Graddol, 2000). To Rajagopalan (2004, p. 111), world English "belongs to everybody who speaks it, but it is nobody's mother

tongue." Even Inner Circle Englishes are not uniform; they are themselves hybrid forms and are comparable to new varieties of English (Kirpartrick, 2010). Therefore, there is no uniform English but only Englishes, and speakers of WEs are the native speakers of their variety of English. In the following section, I describe McArthur's model which posits different varieties of English on equal footing.

McArthur's Circle Model of World English

Tom McArthur was one of the few scholars to name the hybrid forms of English and to represent the diversity of English speaking world. In his wheel model, McArthur (1987) postulated a core variety of "World Standard English," which he then contrasted with the wide range of geographical Englishes used worldwide. He maintained that the model highlights the broad three-part spectrum, ranging from numerous popular Englishes through the various national and regional standards to the remarkably homogenous but negotiable common core of World Standard English. Regarding the model, Bhattarai and Gautam (2008) maintained that McArthur's (1987) categorization of WEs is based on two distinct perspectives-sociolinguistic and geographical, firstly in terms of standardization and secondly in terms of regionality. The first category of McArthur's circles of English includes two different types of Englishes which are called "Standard English" and "Standardizing English" (McArthur, 1987). The Englishes termed as the Standard English include British and Irish Standard English, American Standard English, Canadian Standard English, Caribbean Standard English, and Australian, New Zealand and South Pacific Standard, whereas the Englishes termed as Standardizing varieties incorporate East Asian Standardizing English, South Asian Standardi(sing) English, and West, East and Southern African Standard English. Within each Standard and Standardizing variety, there are several regional varieties. For example, IE, Pakistani English, NE,

Bangladeshi English, Sri Lankan English, Burmese English are recognized as South Asian Standardizing variety of English. Various varieties of English as categorized by McArthur are shown in the following figure:

Figure 3

McArthur's Circle of World Standard English
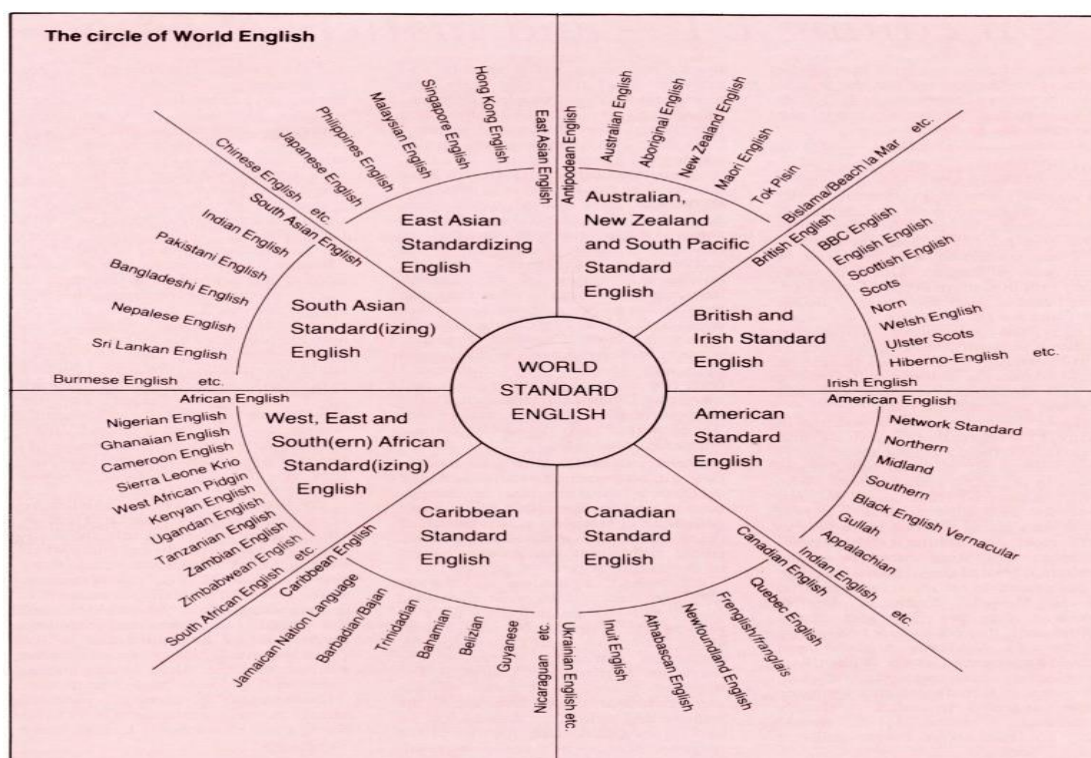
(Adapted from McArthur, 1987, p. 11)

McArthur grouped the Englishes territorially and regionally. Unlike Kachru's model, McArthur's model does not give any centralized and standardized position to any particular variety of English, which conveys the message that all Englishes are equal in their uses and purposes, rather than having central-periphery dichotomy. McArthur (1999) discussed English from three different geopolitical levels – the global, continental/regional, and national/local level. He added that English interrelates with a wide range of other languages at their various levels.

Jenkins (2009) maintained that Asian Englishes can be categorized both regionally and functionally. Regionally, they are divided into three groups: South

Asian varieties (e.g. Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka), South-East Asian and Pacific varieties (e.g. Brunei, Fiji, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam), and East Asian varieties (e.g. China, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, Taiwan). Functionally, Asian Englishes are divided into two categories: institutionalized varieties of the Outer Circle (e.g. Nepal, India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Fiji, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore) and non-institutionalized varieties of the Expanding Circle (e.g. China, Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Thailand, Maldives). In Jenkins's category, Nepal belongs to the Outer Circle but in Kachru's Concentric Circles, it is in the Expanding Circle. The main features of the institutionalized varieties are that they have an extended range of uses in the sociolinguistic context of a nation, they have an extended register and style range; a process of nativization of the registers and styles has taken place, both in formal and contextual terms, and a body of nativized literature has developed which has formal and contextual characteristics which mark it localized (Kachru, 1992, p. 55). In functional terms, the institutionalized varieties have three features: English functions in what may be considered traditionally "un-English" contexts, English has a wide spectrum of domains in which it is used in varying degrees of competence by members of society, both as an intranational and an international language, and English has developed nativized literary domains in different genres (Kachru, 2011). These three features show that English is used in various domains for various purposes.

Kachru (2011) pointed out five current issues related to South Asian English, which are the concerns of all institutionalized varieties of English: (a) attitudes toward the ontological status of South Asian English and acceptability of these varieties as standard varieties of English (ontology/attitude), (b) teaching and acquisition of English in a multilingual context (pedagogy), (c) pragmatics of uses and users of

English cultural identity of the varieties of English and its implications with respect to intelligibility, comprehensibility, and interpretability (contextualization), (d) hypotheses concerning communicative competence in English, their validity across varieties and manifestations of the bilinguals' creativity in each variety (function/creativity), and (e) the development of literatures in WEs (pedagogy). However, these issues or concerns have not stopped South Asian Englishes from their emergence. Some of the countries have standardized their variety (e.g. SE, IE) and some are on the process.

From the discussion of models of English, we can conclude that Nepal belongs to the Expanding Circles in Kachru's concentric circles because Nepal does not have a colonial history and English is not an official but chiefly a foreign language. In Nepal, English is used for advertising and for interaction with tourists, and mixing of English with local languages is common (Kachru, 2011). In McArthur's Circle of World Standard English, NE is one of the South Asian standardizing varieties of English. Giri (2020a) claimed that NE meets all criteria of Kachruvian Outer Circle. In the following section, I describe how WEs develops in course of time.

Developmental Cycles of WEs

The development of WEs does not happen all of a sudden. It has to pass through several stages, which are described by different scholars differently. In the section below, I describe developmental cycles as described by Kachru, Moag, and Schneider.

Kachru's Developmental Cycles of WEs

Kachru (1992) claimed that any non-native institutionalized variety of English to be developed as a model for teaching purpose seems to pass through four stages. The first stage is characterized by "non-recognition" of the local variety. At this stage,

the speakers of local variety have the brown *sahib* attitude because they believe that some imported native speaker variety is superior that needs to be used as a model for teaching purpose. They imitate the native speaker. The second stage is the stage of "extensive diffusion of bilingualism in English," which slowly leads to the development of varieties within a variety. At this stage, the local variety and the imported variety exist side by side. The local variety is now used in a wide number of situations and for a wide range of purposes but is still considered inferior to the imported model. The tendency is to claim that the other person is using the Nepalized, Indianized, Ghanaianized, or Lankanized English. The third stage is characterized by the stage of "acceptance." At this stage, the local English gets socially accepted, which reduces the division between the linguistic norm and behavior. The last stage is the stage of "recognition," in which the local variety of English gets its recognition as a model in practice. In Nepal, NE is also developing through the same steps. Scholars from home and abroad have accepted that there exists a distinct variety of English but it has not yet been recognized as the norm and model for teaching and learning because of the lack of standardization and linguistic codification.

Moag's Life Cycle of WEs

Moag (1992, as cited in Kirkpatrick, 2007) studied the development of a particular variety – Fijian English – and identified five processes in his "life cycle of non-native Englishes," four of which are undergone by all varieties, and a fifth which may only be experienced by some. Moag's first process, the "transportation" phase is when English arrives in a place where it has not been spoken before and the language remains in that place. It arrives there in various ways and for various reasons. The second process is "indigenization." When a language is transplanted to a new culture of an alien land, it starts nativizing, which brings in some changes in the language and

gets distinct from its parent language and other nativized varieties. It is a relatively

long phase during which the new variety of English starts to reflect distinct local

culture and customs. In the third process "expansion in use," the new variety is used

in more situations and for more purposes. More variations within the local variety are

noticed. The fourth phase "institutionalization" is marked by the local variety being

used in schools. During this phase, local literature in the local variety starts to

develop. The fifth or final phase "restriction of use and function" sees a decline in

use, i.e., a reversal in the status of the local variety of English. Malaysia and the

Philippines have reached this final phase because of the diminished use of the local

variety of English and the increased official promotion of a local language (e.g. Malay

in Malaysia and Tagalog in the Philippines). Later in 1997, Vethamani proposed a

sixth phase to Moag's model "reestablishing of English," giving the case of Malaysia

where literature in Malaysian English was introduced as component of the English

subject for secondary schools (Nur Aida, 2014). Moag described the development of

WEs from the diachronic perspective that shows "the path that enables a foreign

transplanted language to become nativized and institutionalized in another land"

(Gargesh, 2020, p. 108) in course of time.

If the situation of NE is analyzed in Nepal, it is really difficult to say in which

developmental phase it is. English has, no doubt, been indigenized in Nepal and it is

extensively used in several domains, which shows that it seems to be somewhere in

the third or fourth phase. Giri (2015) claimed that NE serves four different purposes

or functions: NE serves an instrument of education – as a subject and a preferred

medium of instruction (instrumental function); it serves to regulate the distribution

and use of the Nepali languages in communication and education, and it is also the

primary language in academic, commercial and official domains (regulative function);

it is a link language, which, after Nepali, is the most widely used means of communication in most tourist routes of the country, in most economic sectors, external affairs, education, and science and technology (interpersonal function); it is used in various literary genres (creative or innovative function). There several creative writings by the Nepali writers which are in English. These four functions of English have resulted in the nativization of English (Kachru, 1981).

Schneider's Dynamic Model of WEs

A more recent and detailed theory for the development of new Englishes comes from Schneider (2003), whose dynamic model intends to capture the essentially uniform pattern of variety formation world-wide, and is based on two interrelated factors: changing identity-constructions, and changing interactions between two strands of population, namely the settlers and the indigenous population (Mukherjee, 2010), which are considered to be responsible factors for an evolutionary pattern in the formation of WEs consisting of five identifiable (but overlapping) phases:

Phase I: Foundation. In this initial phase, English is transported to a new (colonial) territory (Mukherjee, 2010). English begins to be used on a regular basis because a considerable number of English speakers reside in a new country (e.g. India) for a long period of time (Schneider, 2003). Two different linguistic ecologies exist. Each group continues to communicate predominantly within its own confines, and cross-cultural communication is achieved by just a limited few. Lexical items, particularly names for places are among the earliest and most persistent borrowings in such situations.

Phase 2: Exonormative Stabilization. In this phase, colonies or settlers' communities tend to stabilize politically, under foreign, mostly British dominance and

English is regularly spoken in a new environment (Schneider, 2003, 2007). As their

contact with indigenous population expands, the English speaking settlers begin to

adopt local vocabulary referring to objects. The identity of the settlers expands as

"English cum local." At the same time, as indigenous population strand begins to

expand, bilingualism frequently spreads among the indigenous population through

education or increased contacts. The identity of English-knowing locals is enriched as

"local cum English." English in its spoken form begins to move toward a local

language variety (Schneider, 2007). Lexical borrowings from local languages and new

coinages with English morphemes designate the local flora and fauna, followed by

words for cultural conventions or other customs and objects. During this phase in

India, Mukherjee (2010) claimed that a range of local Indian words were absorbed by

the English language that referred to items unique to the Indian context (e.g. curry,

bamboo, mango, and veranda).

     Phase III: Nativization. The third phase, nativization is the most important,

the most vibrant one, the central phase of both cultural and linguistic transformation

in which both settlers and indigenous locals involved realize that something

fundamental has been changing for good (Schneider, 2003, 2007). Both parties regard

themselves as permanent residents of the same territory. For Mukherjee (2010), "a

local English-based identity emerged both among British settlers and among Indian

locals, and the English language entered a long and tumultuous process of

nativization, lasting for more than a century and marked by various political key

events that intensified the ongoing nativization… [.]" (p. 170). This phase is marked

by heavy lexical borrowing for further cultural terms, phonological, phraseological,

and grammatical innovations. Similarly, it is also typified by new word-formation

products, like derivations or compounds (hybrid), localized collocations and set

phrases, varying prepositional usage, innovative assignments of verb complementation patterns to individual verbs, and alternative morphosyntactic behavior of certain, semantically defined word groups (Schneider, 2007). Because of the nativization and indigenization of English, more educated or standardizing form of English (e.g. IE, SE) emerges.

 Phase IV: Endonormative Stabilization. This phase is marked by the gradual adoption and acceptance of an indigenous linguistic norm, supported by a new, locally rooted linguistic self-confidence (Schneider, 2003). This is usually a stage that can only be reached at some point after political independence. The newly achieved psychological independence and the acceptance of a new, indigenous identity result in the acceptance of local forms of English as a means of expression of the new identity, a new, locally rooted linguistic self-confidence (Schneider, 2003, 2007). The community develop positive attitude toward the new local norm, which is accepted in the formal usage. Mukherjee (2010) indicated some features and factors typical of the emergence of an endonormatively stabilized variety of English in India as (a) retaining of English in broader communication situations, including education and academia, administration and politics, media, (b) using English as the only official language in diverse situations, (c) adoption of English by many Indian writers as their communicative vehicle, (d) structural nativization of English, labeling Indian Varieties of English, or Educated IE, or simply IE, (e) describing the Indian variety of English systematically and empirically, and (f) codification of the most salient phonological, lexical, and grammatical characteristics of IE.

 Phase V: Differentiation. After the endonormative stabilization of a new English variety, it may develop a wide range of regional and social dialects, i.e., group-specific varieties (ethnic, social, regional) emerge. Schneider (2003)

maintained that in this phase, new varieties of the former new variety emerge as carriers of new group identities within the overall community: regional and social dialects and linguistic markers (accents, lexical expressions, and structural patterns) emerge. A new nation will achieve both independence and self-dependence politically, culturally, and linguistically. Group-specific identities become more important than the collective identity. Mukherjee (2010) claimed that the present-day IE has not entered the phase of differentiation since it has not yet diversified into stable and distinctive sub-varieties both socially and regionally.

After the phase of differentiation, Anesa (2019) added another phase called "cross-fertilization" in which there will be reciprocal influences of different sociolects. If we look at the development of NE from the perspectives of above phases, NE can be placed somewhere in between phase 3 and 4. By carrying out research on English in Nepal, some scholars (e.g. Karn, 2012; Rai, 2006) have clearly shown how English is undergoing the process of nativization in Nepal. In the following section, I describe how WEs goes through the process of standardization.

Standardization Process of WEs

There are different non-native varieties of English in the world but all of them do not have the official status. Holmes (2008) asserted that any code or variety to develop for gaining official status has to pass through four standardization processes which can also be applied to non-native varieties of English:

Selection

It involves choosing the variety or code to be developed, for example, the selection of British or American variety of English or amalgam of both along with the indigenous features as a model to follow (Mahmood, 2009).

Codification

It involves standardizing the structural or linguistic features of the selected variety by producing grammars, dictionary, punctuation and pronunciation guides, and specialized glossaries. The very features of a non-native variety can be fixed only through codification of it (Mahmood, 2009).

Elaboration

It involves extending the functions of the codified variety by using it in new domains such as education, parliament, mass media, literature, and law. We can see its use both nationally and internationally.

Acceptance

It involves the acceptance of the variety by a majority of population. Mahmood (2009) stated that when the community owns the non-native variety, it also owns its differences from standard varieties, hence strengthens its status as an independent variety.

In Nepal, the Nepali variety of English might be influenced not only by local languages but also by other varieties of English such as BE, AE, IE, and CE. To maintain the uniqueness and to resist their imposition, users of NE, like in other periphery countries, have started nativizing or appropriating English according to their needs and interests.

In the above sections of this third chapter, I described various aspects of WEs. Kachru (1998) maintained that WEs have multiple centers which provide the norms and models of its acquisition, develop methods and materials for appropriate localized pedagogical goals, use innovations in literary creativity, genre development, and region-specific English for Specific Purposes, develop linguistic materials for authentication and local and regional codification; recognize convergence of English

with local languages as a natural process of convergence and acculturation, and consider the formal processes of nativization as an integral part of the linguistic variety and incorporate these features in the local dictionaries, and teaching materials of the variety.

Globalization and different models and developmental cycles of WEs described above have opened the doors for an in-depth study of hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, nativization, acculturation, contact literatures, Englishization, transcultural creativity, cline of bilingualism, multicanonicity, and contextualization (Kachru, 2011). In the following sections, I describe only the common features of WEs such as hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, nativization, and acculturation, which underpin my study:

Hybridity

Hybridity is a key construct of postmodernism, a feature of WEs, and the output of globalization. In many bi/multilingual countries and contexts, English has the intense presence and utility which has produced new types of hybrid linguistic usage (Schneider, 2016), which Canagarajah (2013, p. 10) called "codemeshing," "as a realization of translingual practice" (p. 113). Hybridity is a mixture of two or more languages and cultures. It is not only making one of two distinct things but also forcing of a single entity into two or more parts, a serving of a single object into two (Young, 2005). It means, hybridity is concerned with both mingling/blending and division /separation. Bakhtin (1981) distinguished two types of hybridity: unconscious or organic and intentional. For him, unintentional or unconscious hybridity is primarily concerned with the historical change of language and languages by means of hybridization, a mixing of various languages, whereas an intentional hybridity is a conscious one which is precisely the perception of one language by

another language, its illumination by another linguistic consciousness. In the first

type, the mixture merges and fused into a new language, world view, or object but the

second type sets different points of view against each other in a conflictual structure

(Young, 2005). In this sense, the organic hybridity remains mute and opaque, whereas

intentional hybridity is much elemental and open-ended. Young (2005, p. 23)

summarized that hybridity works simultaneously in two ways: 'organically,'

hegemonizing, creating new spaces, structures, scenes, and 'intentionally,'

diasporizing, intervening as a form of subversion, translation, transformation. It

emerges as a result of the tension between the global and the local. In this regard, Lee

(2013, p. 186) stated, "Koreans seem to reconcile the difference between the pressure

to be proficient in English and the desire to fully and freely express themselves in

Korean through linguistic hybridization." Hybridity, in this sense, is a third way to

connect the global and the local and to produce a different form of English.

Bakhtin (1981) developed the linguistic version of hybridity which delineates

the way in which language, even within a single sentence, can be devoiced. For him,

every novel is a hybrid, but it is an intentional and conscious hybrid, one artistically

organized, and not a mixture of the brute elements of language. His novelistic hybrid

is "an artistically organized system for bringing different languages in contact with

one another" (p. 361). Hybridity "manifests itself most vividly in prose writers from

the Third World who use English as a vehicle for creative communication"

(Dissanayake, 2020, p. 72). In addition to prose, hybridity can also be observed in the

poetry and media advertisements/billboards/banners. Hybridity in advertisements

exists at written-spoken forms, text-image mixing of WEs, multiple languages

mixing, English mixing with other languages, script mixing, and many others

(Valentine, 2020). The bilingual writers make use of all their available linguistic

repertoires to produce hybrid texts. The hybrid language forms represent national identities, reflect the power of the writers to describe and correspond to a particular ecology from within sociolinguistics of the region, and describe their contact with sociocultural and psycholinguistic realities (Rajashanthan, 2016).

In the present global era, all WEs are the hybrid or mixed varieties, which involve the blending of English with one or more local languages. Rao (1938) expressed the idea of hybridity in his novel. He stated, "We cannot write like the English. We should not. We cannot write only as the Indians. We have grown to look at the large world as part of us" (p. vii). This perspective relates to hybridity in terms of convergence of visions when English is used in pluralistic contexts and a linguistic consequence of this convergence results in formally distict Indian variety of English (Kachru, 2011). Linguistic hybridity and the emergence of a new variety of English are contact outcomes in the bi/multilingual societies. Similarly, Rao (1938) also described hybridity in style as "The tempo of Indian life must be infused into our English expression, even as the tempo or American and Irish life has gone into the making of theirs" (p. vii). Such hybridity results in stylistic transcreation or literary creativity (Kachru, 2011). In this way, Rao highlighted the relevance of hybitity in contact linguistics and literature.

Schneider (2016) surveyed the amount of language mixing and the number of truly mixed (hybrid) varieties involving Englishes and stated that such varieties are widespread in many countries and involve many different languages in contact such as Singlish, Hinglish, Chinglish, Japlish, Finglish, and Konglish, which involve a blend of an initial part of the name of the indigenous language and a final part from English. Blending is a process that projects the structures from two or more input mental spaces onto a separate blended space and creates new words with new

meaning (Maynard, 2007). The linguistic hybridity is skillfully foregrounded in Rao's novel *The Chessmaster and His moves* (1988), which brings together eight languages (Kachru, 2011). Some theories of language mixing or hybridization state that (a) mixing requires a high level of bilingual competence in individuals, (b) complex and intensive forms of mixing tend to be clustered in specific texts, text types, of portions of texts, (c) increased levels of occurrences of mixing are supported by relaxed situational norms and convergent linguistic patterns involved, (d) there is a rank scale of mixing phenomena which corresponds with degrees of intensity of contact, from rather light to highly intense, (e) sociolinguistically, mixing is a kind of behavior which is primarily characteristic of young speakers, and frequently especially second generation immigrants in a community, (f) pragmatically, it is favored by informal contexts, (g) frequently language mixing meets with overtly negative attitudes on the side of authorities and linguistic gatekeepers, and (h) mixing is indirectly often employed for social construction to establish group cohesion, an important element of identity work (Schneider, 2016).

Both linguistic and cultural hybridity are the common phenomenon in the bi/multilingual contexts. Bilingual Nepali writers in English make use of their linguistic repertoires to create texts. Their novels and short stories represent both linguistic and cultural hybridity. Therefore, Kachru (2011, p. 28) mentioned that "linguistic and cultural hybridity is our identity and destiny." Linguistic hybridization manifests not only both global consciousness and local sensibility but also linguistic creativity and linguistic anxiety (Lee, 2013). In linguistic hybridity, words from English and local languages are mingled. Sometimes, affixes from English are attached to local languages, and vice versa. Linguistic hybridity occurs at the levels of phonology, grammar, semantics/lexis, and discourse. It describes the condition of

language's fundamental ability to be simultaneously the same but different (Young, 2005). It not only maximizes linguistic economy, allowing the speakers to use one word to convey the same meaning, which would normally require multiple words, pharses, and sometimes sentences, but also marks identity (Lee, 2013).

In the present study, my focus is on lexical hybridity or hybridization which was defined by Rivlina (2020, p. 415) as "a regular pattern of word-building by using elements from different languages, both in lexical derivation and in compounding." Furthermore, lexical hybridity can also be observed in blending, reduplication, coinage, and redundancy in all local varieties of English. Kachru (1965) described hybrid Indianisms which comprise two or more elements, at least one element from an Indian language and another from English. He distinguished two kinds of hybrid formations: (a) those which include open-set items of two or more languages, such as hybrid lexical sets, hybrid collocations, hybrid reduplications, and hybrid ordered series of words, and (b) those which include one or more closed-system items, e.g. suffixation. Such hybridity makes each variety of English different from other varieties since hybrid lexical items are formed out of English and one or more local languages of the country. Similarly, Ahulu (1995) described four lexical features of hybridized English in Ghana (HEG): borrowing, coinage through affixation and compounding, loan translation, and semantic modification. HEG borrows lexical items freely from all the speech varieties in the country, coins new hybridized words through affixation which involves the integration of borrowed items into English morphology and phonology through the use of English affixes, the integration of English items into the vernacular morphology and phonology through various processes, the combination of English and vernacular morphs, and the changing of the meaning and usage of English words through affixation, involves the literal or

metaphorical translation of vernacular words and expressions into English, and uses

Standard English forms and expressions unconventionally in terms of their semantic

relations and properties (Ahulu, 1995). Likewise, Kachru (2011) described three

major classes of the South Asian lexical stock of English. Of the three classes, the

hybridized lexical items is one of them, which involves three major hybridized

innovations such as hybridized collocations (e.g. satyagraha movement "insistence on

the truth movement"), hybridized lexical sets (e.g. purda woman "a woman in a veil")

and hybrid reduplications (e.g. lathi stick, cotton kapas). Hybritity has become more

visible, and hence cannot be ignored easily (Rajagopalan, 1999). Therefore, the

linguistic, cultural, literary, and ideological hybridity is the asset of the bilinguals and

multilinguals whose creativity with reference to WEs is described in the following

section.

Bilinguals' Creativity

One of the important study areas in WEs is bilinguals' creativity, the term

coined by Kachru (1985), which refer to "those creative linguistic processes which are

the result of competence in two or more languages" (p. 20) and reflects "the blend of

two or more linguistic textures and literary traditions that provides the English

language with extended contexts of situation within which they are interpreted and

understood" (Kachru, 1987, p. 127). In South Asian context, bilinguals' creativity

refers to "creative uses of English in South Asia by those who are bilingual or

multilingual, and who use English as one of the languages in their linguistic

repertoire" (Kachru, 2011, p. 57). Such creativity entails the designing of a text using

linguistic resources from two or more languages and the use of verbal strategies in

which subtle linguistic adjustments are made for psychological, sociological, and

attitudinal reasons (Kachru, 1985). As the non-native speakers of English in the

bi/multilingual countries have competence in two or more languages, they create "new meanings and innovations appropriate to the new cultural contexts" (Bolton, 2010, p. 458). As a result of the creative and functional uses of English, the non-native variety becomes one among many varieties of competence, a means to express new identities, and a way to contextualize the language to fit the cultural norms appropriate to the bilingual (Valentine, 2019). Bilinguals' creativity incorporates a wide range of creative bilingual practices (Rivlina, 2020), which can be studied from different perspectives. Kachru (1985) described three essential approaches to the study of the bilingual's creativity: linguistic, literary, and pedagogical.

Linguistic creativity applies to "the normal use of language" (Chomsky, 2006, p. 88), the ability of language users to generate and understand novel utterances, and amounts to "a marked breaking or bending of rules and norms of language, including a deliberate play with its forms and its potential for meaning" (Carter, 2004, p. 9), "an act of mind but is also a contextual act" (p. 210), "the breaking, re-forming, and transforming of established patterns" (Maynard, 2007, p. 3), "the use of language and discourse in specific ways to foreground personalized expressive meanings beyond the literal proposition-based information" (p. 4), "localized linguistic innovations" (Kachru, 2011, p. 123), "inventiveness in form," "innovations of meaning and of word creation in the Lexicon," "deviation and foregrounding," and "the departure from what is expected in language" (Wales, 2011, p. 95). Functionally, Rivlina (2020) claimed that linguistic creativity implies the "focus on the message for its own sake," (Jakobson, 1960, p. 365) which is the crux of Jakobson's poetic function, also known as "creative, imaginative, or aesthetic function" (Rivlina, 2020, p. 410). These ideas imply that linguistic creativity is the language user's ability to invent or innovate new words and expressions that may have new meanings and to deconstruct the previous

rules, norms, and patterns. Rather than being passive consumers, bilingual speakers "appropriate English, adopt and adapt it, subvert and play with it, in accord with their own creative needs" (p. 421). Linguistic creativity involves language mixing, that is, mixing of English with other local languages, which produces different code-mixed or hybrid varieties of English. Different researchers see bilingual linguistic creativity either in a broad or a narrow way (Rivlina, 2020). In the broad sense, bilingual linguistic creativity is often applied to "all types of linguistic innovations and deviations induced by language contact, including various new and unconventional linguistic forms, sometimes the very practice of code-switching, code-mixing, and borrowing" (p. 410). It also involves lexical hybridization, semantic shifts, and locally coined words and expressions. In the narrow sense, it implies "dominated or determined by creative (poetic, aesthetic) function, focusing on the innovatively mixed linguistic form itself" (p. 410). Such creativity occurs in contact situations in the bi/multilingual countries. Kachru (2011) argued that contact linguistics will gain greater insights about linguistic creativity, that is, localized linguistic innovations and focused on how such innovations should actually be used in the pedagogical texts. In the case of linguistic creativity, Kachru (1985) focused on language mixing, contrastive discourse, interactional approaches which study the bilinguals' creativity in terms of the bilinguals' use of language in actual interactional contexts, and contrastive stylistics in which data is primarily taken from, for example, literary genres written by bilingual writers of transplanted (non-native) varieties of English. Carter (2004) incorporated the most frequent forms of linguistic creativity such as speaker displacement of fixedness, particularly of idioms and formulaic phrases, morphological inventiveness, verbal play, metaphor extensions, punning and parody through overlapping forms and meanings, and echoing by repetition. Similarly,

Meynard (2007) explored the practice of linguistic creativity on three levels:

Linguistic creativity on the discourse levels includes style and genre mixtures,

linguistic creativity on the rhetorical level includes figures and language play such as

metaphorical expressions and puns, and linguistic creativity on the grammatical level

incorporates a number of sentential and phrasal phenomena. Kachru (2011) described

three productive or creative processes of South Asia English lexical items: neologisms

transferred from underlying South Asian languages into South Asian English such as

cousin-brother, *cow-worship*, and *caste-mark*, innovations formed on the analogy of

BE, or in some cases AE, for example, *caste-proud* formed on analogy of *house-

proud*, and innovations which are the result of institutionalization of English in South

Asian sociocultural contexts, for example, *military-hotel* "a non-vegetarian

restaurant." The researchers can focus on such various aspects or areas of linguistic

creativity and "document and appreciate the linguistic and bilingual creativity that

uses English with other Asian languages" (Moody, 2020, p. 770). The documentation

of the creative words and expressions has different applications and pedagogical

implications.

As regards the literary creativity, Kachru (1985) highlighted the significance

of literary texts composed in a language other than the writer's mother tongue. He

incorporated three characteristics of such creativity: non-native varieties have

developed institutionalized educated varieties in addition to several sub-varieties,

there are features which may be characterized as "lectal mix," and such creativity

shows certain types of style-shifts which entail the designing of a particular shift on

the basis of another underlying language. By studying different non-native literatures

in English, he identified three main processes of creativity used in them such as

expanded contextual loading of the text, altered Englishness in cohesion and

cohesiveness, and transferred discourse strategies. Kachru's paper "The bilingual's creativity and contact literature' published in 1986 focused explicitly on creativity in literature, the pluricentricity of WEs and world literatures in English (Bolton, 2010). He examined the bilinguals' creativity in the context of contact literatures in English and exhibited the processes of pragmatic and discoursal nativization and stylistic innovations in the literary works of Chinua Achebe, Amos Tutuola, and Raja Rao, which led to serious study in the literary creativity of WEs (Valentine, 2019). Regarding literary creativity, Kachru (2011) stated:

> The three Singaporean writers provide excellent examples of such creativity: in Kripal Singh's poem 'Voices', Arthur Yap's poem, '2 mothers in HBD playground', and Catherine Lim's short stories 'The Taximan' and 'The Mother in Law's Curse', various linguistic devices are exploited to maximize pragmatic success in textual terms. 'Voices' essentially uses mixing of codes, and Yap contextually legitimizes the use of mixing and the strategies of basilect. The lexicalization and basilectal constructions nativize the text beyond the scope of a reader not familiar with the linguistic reality of Singapore. (p. 132)

In the literary work produced in the bi/multilingual contexts, we can observe code-mixing, code-switching, nativization, and other linguistic strategies, which exhibit bilinguals' literary creativity. Bilingual creative writers play with different mediums (hybridity of medium) to produce a cohesive text in a variety of English, which are called mixing and switching (Kachru, 2011). The work of Indian, Nigerian, and Singaporean writers has decanonized the traditionally recognized literary conventions and genres of English and introduced new Asian and African literary and cultural dimensions (Kachru, 1985). South Asian English literatures are part of the worldwide

contact literatures in English which not only exhibit creative stylistic innovations and experimentation but also reflect national identities (Kachru, 2011). Some studies in the literary creativity include examining the use of speech acts in Indian English fiction (D'Souza, 1991), the nativization of gender in new English literatures in several varieties of English (Valentine, 1992), and the bicultural and bilingual features in Wole Soyinka's poetry (Osakwe, 1999). Studies on South Asian English literatures exhibit linguistic innovations and contextual extension as two primary components (Kachru, 2011).

At a pedagogical level, Kachru (1985) argued for a greater awareness of the sociolinguistic context of bilingual communities, in order to identify local norms of usage, and to differentiate between errors and innovations. He stated, "The terms *interlanguage* and *fossilization* become less meaningful when creativity in localized registers, styles, and discourse strategies is taken into consideration using the local pragmatic, sociocultural, and literary norms (p. 24). His ideas brought a paradigm shift in theory, research, and pedagogy because of his strong arguments against the sacred linguistic cows associated with the native speaker and his strong campaigns for promoting local varieties of English and making them as the pedagogical norm and model. Such varieties of English can be the norms and models for the language acquisition and methods and materials need to be developed for appropriate localized pedagogical goals (Kachru, 1998). In pedagogical terms, some ideological transmissions have taken place in teacher training, curriculum design, pedagogical resources such as dictionaries and manuals, textbooks, and instruments of testing and evaluation (Kachru, 2011). In many non-native English situations, the content of the English textbooks has been nativized or localized by incorporating local words, local characters, local customs, and local situations. However, many textbooks still ignore

non-native English norms or stigmatize them as errors and the schools and examination syllabuses still prescribe the so-called traditional standard norms and expect students to be tested in them (Bamgbose, 1998). In many countries, curriculum, textbooks, schools, and examination system ignore the sociolinguistic realities and pragmatic contexts. Even the error analysis paradigm is traditional which has failed to provide any insights for separating errors from innovations (Kachru, 2011). Therefore, the bilinguals' creative or innovative expressions are labeled as errors or interlanguages.

Several studies claim that linguistic strategies underlying nativization in non-native varieties are very similar to those common to Second Language Acquisition (SLA), including overgeneralization, omission, reduction, transfer, substitution, and restructuring, which led some theorists to generalize that non-native varieties are nothing more than the development on a societal level of fossilized "interlanguages" or "approximative systems"(Lowenberg, 1986). Some scholars (e.g. Prator, 1968; Quirk, 1985) held the conservative position and take non-native varieties as nonstandard and interlanguages (Ferguson, 2006), but other scholars (e.g. B. Kachru, 2011; Canagarajah, 1999; Y. Kachru & Nelson, 2011) claimed that WEs are not interlanguages, rather varieties on their own right. Interlanguages are unstable, whereas new varieties of English are stable just like BE or AE (Kachru, 2011). WEs are, in Canagarajah's (1999) term, "the independent Englishes" in their own right rather than having secondary or inferior status. Such varieties reflect the sociolinguistic rules and communicative conventions of the local people. Kachru (2011) criticized the attempts to label Outer Circle and Expanding Circle Englishes as deviant or deficient or fossilized because these views are not considering the local Englishes and the sociolinguistic realities. He viewed that utterances considered as

errors may not apply to the local Englishes as they may be perfectly acceptable.

Traditional applied linguists seem to fail to consider sociolinguistic realities of new

Englishes because "socioculturally determined 'innovations' in multilingual contexts

tend to be categorized as 'errors' and deviations" (p. 228). To label creative

innovation in the indigenized varieties of English as deviations, errors, mistakes,

fossilization, and pragmatic failure is to ignore the linguistic and cultural experiences

that motivate such innovations (Kachru & Nelson, 2011). In this regard, Bhatt (2009)

argued:

> Treating different varieties of nativized Englishes as merely a transitory
>
> "interlanguage" in a new speaker's path to acquiring the target language
>
> denies legitimacy to such varieties. Even when such varieties are shown to
>
> have become stabilized and systematized as to serve as the norms for
>
> postcolonial communities, experts consider them merely "fossilized" forms,
>
> that is, errors that have become habitualized. Such discourses reveal what
>
> Cook (1999) has explained as the "comparative fallacy" in the field. (p. 30)

Many non-native countries still follow the established BE or AE as a norm or model

and decide what errors are and what are not, what are acceptable and what not, and

what is standard and what not. Such practices fail to take into account of the students'

creativity. To overcome such problems of separating errors from innovations, we need

to consider how frequent a feature is, which subgroup use it, how it is regarded within

the local community and what relationship it contracts with both more standard and

more colloquial equivalent constructions (Mesthrie, 2003). More specifically,

Bamgbose (1998) argued that five internal factors can decide whether a non-native

variety is an error or an innovation: demographic, geographical, authoritative,

codification, and acceptability. He explained that the demographic factor concerns the

number of basilectal, mesolectal, and acrolectal speakers of the variety and the larger the number of acrolectal speakers in any variety, the higher the chances of the variety being accepted as an innovation; the geographical factor relates to how widely the variety is dispersed and assumes that the greater it geographically spreads, the higher its acceptance rate; the authoritative factor is concerned with the actual use or approval of use of an innovation by writers, teachers, media practitioners, examination boards, publishing houses, and influential opinion leaders and assumes that the more knowledgeable people use the variety, the less likely it is that will be considered an error; codification relates to where the usage is sanctioned, that is, whether the innovation is put into a written form in a grammar, a lexical or pronouncing dictionary, course books, or any other type of reference manual; the acceptability factor tells us that once the variety is accepted, an innovation is ensured a reasonable lifespan, subject to normal processes of language change.

The above discussion reflects that research on bilinguals' creativity can focus on linguistic, literary, and pedagogical creativity. In this regard, Baker and Eggington (1999, p. 355) made three conclusions that can be reached about contrastive rhetoric and research on bilingual creativity. First, computational methods of analyzing texts both confirm former research comparing differences between texts written in different varieties of English and also shed new light on differences that exist between different varieties. Second, more interest needs to be paid to comparing nativized varieties to each other, not with the goal of understanding how they differ from monolingual texts, but of understanding what it means to be a West African or Indian creative writer of English. Third, methodologies and typologies that set monolingual writing as the norm for English writing need to be revised to include multi-norms of creativity and style, and multi-norms of bilingual creativity. In contact literature, the bilinguals'

creativity introduces a nativized-thought process which does not conform to the recognized canons of discourse types, text design, stylistic conventions, and traditional thematic range of English (Kachru, 1986). The bilinguals' creativity, particularly linguistic creativity entails contextual nativization of a text within its local sociocultural and historical contexts (Kachru, 2011). Both nativization and bilinguals' creativity are "planned, managed, and promulgated by those who support a new tongue for new times" (Bailey, 1990, as cited in Kachru, 1996a, p. 247). In the following section, I describe how nativization process causes the emergence of new varieties of English.

Nativization

The Nativization Model is one of the theories of second language acquisition in which Andersen (1979) sees second language acquisition as the result of two general processes- nativization and denativization. He described that in the nativization process, the learners create an internal representation of the language they are acquiring and subsequently assimilate and accommodate new input to their gradually involving internal representation of that second language, whereas in denativization, learners restructure their internally represented interlanguage system in terms of input they process during language acquisition. It means, they adjust their interlanguage systems to fit with the input. To Andersen, "nativization proceeds away from the target input; denativization towards it" (p. 109). In the first process, English is Nepalized and in the second process, Nepali is Englishized. In the bi/multilingual contexts, English has Janus-like two faces: nativization, the effect of English in a localized context, and Englishization, the effect on local languages in the same context (Bolton, 2006; Kachru, 1996b, 2011). In the context of the Outer and Expanding Circles, contact between English and local languages has resulted in

nativization of English and Englishization of indigenous languages (Kachru, 2020). Besides these two Circles, even in the Inner Circle, English has undergone the process of nativization and resulted in localized forms of English (Matsuda, 2020).

Nativization was originally used to refer to the innovation occurring in pidgin and creole language studies (Kachru, 1981, 2011). It was gradually used as an adaptation of a language in a different cultural and social context (Nur Aida, 2014). This view endorses what Kachru and Nelson (2011) regarded "nativization" as the adaptation of English in the particular socio-cultural settings and "Englishization" as the manifest influence of English on other languages in the given repertoire. In the context of English, nativization refers to "the changes which English has undergone as a result of its contact with various languages in diverse cultural and geographical settings… [.]" (Pandharipande, 1987, p. 149). Although the terms are different, some scholars use nativization, acculturation, indigenization, and hybridization for the same purpose (Nur Aida, 2014; Pandharipande, 1987). In this sense, an imported variety is "nativized" or "acculturated" or "indigenized" or "hybridized" and becomes a local variety.

As the South Asian region is essentially multilingual, we can observe the tradition of acculturation and nativization of non-native languages (Gargesh, 2020). In South Asian sociolinguistic contexts, the native language (e.g. Nepali, Hindi) is Englishized, and English has been Nepalized or Indianized. Nativization brings forth a new variety of English because it affects both the structure and use of language (Kachru & Nelson, 2011). South Asian writers have not only nativized the language by extensive stylistic experimentation, but also acculturated English in terms of the South Asian context. They have nativized English at the level of phonology, lexis, syntax, and in a variety of acculturated speech acts, discoursal strategies, and very

effectively in literary creativity. Gargesh (2006, p. 90) stated, "The nativization of English has enriched English as well as the indigenous languages through processes of borrowing and coinage of new words and expressions, and through semantic shifts." Through the nativization process, locally characteristic linguistic features have emerged which might be deviated from the input variety of BE or AE at the levels of pronunciation, lexis, grammar and style, but they have been accepted as features of non-native variety of English in its own right (Mukherjee, 2010). Nativization causes lexical, grammatical, and stylistic variations in English over time. The long tradition of nativization process has resulted in the permeation and wider acceptability of English in South Asian linguistic cultures (Abrar-ul-Hassan, 2010).

The creative users of English are also consciously appropriating the patterns and rules of English according to their context. In this regard, Canagarajah (1999, p. 175) argued, "The standard grammars and established discourses are being infused with diverse alternative grammars and conventions from periphery languages." Therefore, there are no same grammars and same conventions everywhere, and it is not possible to remain so because the users of language are creative and critical who do not want to be the slaves but acclimatize the language to fit into their local contexts. Speakers in the postcolonial world, divorced from the norms of the center, appropriated English at the grammatical level to suit their own local purposes (Higgins, 2003). Such appropariation is done for resisting hegemony and fulfilling the local needs. Canagarajah (1999, as cited in Kumaravadivelu, 2001) reported:

How Tamil students of English in civil war – torn Sri Lanka offered

resistance to Western representations of English language and culture and how

they, motivated by their own cultural and historical backgrounds, appropriated

the language and used it on their own terms according to their own aspirations,

needs and values. (p. 543)

The above excerpt shows that Outer and Expanding Circle countries have started appropriating English according to their contexts to resist western hegemony, to make it practicable and intelligible, and to reflect their own identity in their language usage. In the present bi/multiligual settings, Canagarajah et al. (2012) maintained that local communities appropriate English for their own interests and purposes such as to conduct business. It indicates that English is undergoing changes due to both normal evolution, which is taken to be a matter of fate, and linguistic adaptation, which is a matter of choice (Bailey, 1990, as cited in Kachru, 1996a).

English is being rapidly and extensively localized and nativized, which has accelerated the ramification of English into varieties (Yano, 2001). One of the reasons for nativization is to own any language. Its process shows the influence of the local languages on English as it is used in the new settings, and is manifested in the sound system, vocabulary, and sentence structure (Nur Aida, 2014). However, the influence is bidirectional: the local languages on English (nativization) and the English language on local languages (Englishization). In Nepal, we still lack adequate research on Nepalization and Englishization at different levels of language. In what follows, I describe the different types of nativization which help us to understand the term better.

Types of Nativization

There are three kinds of nativization – linguistic, pragmatic, and creative (Bamgbose, 1998; Falola, 2003). Linguistic nativization is only the process of indigenizing a non-native variety of English (Bamgbose, 1998) in which process, substitution, pluralization, introduction of culture-specific vocabulary items, semantic

shifts, and different verb-preposition combination take place (Falola, 2003). Innovations at the levels of phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics fall under linguistic nativization. In the words of Bamgbose (1998), this type follows the feature form (structures or rules). Pragmatic nativization is culture-based (Bamgbose, 1998) in that the rules of language use typical of English native situations are modified under the pressure from the cultural practices of another language environment (Falola, 2003). English can function maximally in the non-native situations only when it reflects the norms of appropriateness. Creative nativization reflects aspects of cultures by rendering authentic indigenous idioms and rhetorical patterns into English (Bamgbose, 1998). In creative nativization, new words or expressions are coined to convey the message (Falola, 2003). Both pragmatic and creative nativizations fall largely within the scope of behavioral norms such as conventions of speaking, mode of interpreting, attitudes (Bamgbose, 1998). Of the three norms- code (standard variety), feature, and behavioral- the frequently appealed one is the feature norm (p. 2), which is the typical property of the new varieties of English and the behavioral norm has nothing to do with what is appropriate and what is not in those varieties. Bamgbose clarified that linguistic nativization is less tolerated than pragmatic and creative one. In other words, innovations in pragmatic and creative nativization are more accepted and tolerated than that of the linguistic one. Of the linguistic innovation, lexical and semantic innovations are easier to accept than phonological, morphological, and syntactic innovations. In the nativization process, lexical and structural (linguistic) features present in local languages are imposed on English, and the creative use of English depends on the reservoir of knowledge derived from local languages and cultures (Falola, 2003). Rather than imposition as indicated by Falola, I

agree with Kachru (2011) that nativization is a normal process in the contexts of language contact, language convergence, and in bilinguals' creativity.

In the present globalized context, the goal of English language teaching should be to develop the learners' intercultural communicative competence (Corbett, 2003; Sowden, 2007), which enables them to "understand the language and behaviour of the target community, and to explain it to members of the 'home' community – and vice versa" (Corbett, 2003, p. 2). One way to facilitate learners for developing their intercultural communicative competence is to "deculturalize or nativize English in various degrees" (Alptekin, 2002, p. 62), which means, to change the original target language cultural terms and expressions with the local cultural terms and expressions. This is what Alptekin meant cultural nativization. In his recent work, Alptekin (2006, p. 499) defined cultural nativization on the basis of sociological, semantic, and pragmatic dimensions as "the sociological, semantic, and pragmatic adaptation of the textual and contextual clues of the original story into the language learner's own culture, while keeping its linguistic and rhetorical content essentially intact." By textual cues, he meant data having to do with settings, locations, characters, and occupations. He has presented some examples of culture-specific textual cues such as using "Istanbul" for "New York City," "piano player" for "organist," and "mosque" for "church." Contextual cues involve culture-specific customs, rituals, notions, structures, and values. Examples of culture-specific contextual cues embody "ten lakhs" for "one million," "twenty kilometers" for "fifteen miles," and "Saturday is holiday" for "Sunday is holiday."

Alptekin (2006) argued that nativization through sociological dimension includes culture-specific contextual clues of customs and rituals such as religious conventions, courting patterns, social festivities, interpersonal relationships, and home

and family life. In our Nepali culture, we can nativize "Christianity" as "Hindu or Buddhism," "uncle" as *kaka* or *mama*, "good morning" as *namaskar*, and "English New Year" as "Nepali New Year," and "single parent family" as "nuclear family." Nativization through sematic dimension incorporates the adaptation of culture-specific notions and structures, for instance, conceptual and lexical changes made in the areas of food, currency, clothes, drinks, and institutions. For example, we can nativize "dumpling" as *momo*, "dollars" as "rupees," "trousers" as *daura-suruwal*, "wine" as "fruit juice" or *raksi*, and "Oxford University" as "Nepal Open University." Similarly, nativization through pragmatic dimension encompasses the substitution of local cultural values for the target cultural values, such as "solidarity" for "individualism," "co-operation" for "competition," and "social hierarchy" for "equality," and "modesty" for "assertiveness." Some researchers have conducted research on cultural nativization. Alptekin's (2006) experimental research showed that the nativization of a short story from the target language culture facilitates second language students' inferential comprehension significantly. Another study by Jalilifar and Assi (2008) also showed that cultural nativization has a facilitative effect on comprehension of stories. The effect had both on literal and inferential level of comprehension. The reason for the positive effect or facilitation is that the non-native speakers of English already have cultural schema or background knowledge of their cultures, which helps them to comprehend the texts easily when the target cultural contents are nativized in their own cultures. Kachru (1986) regarded the nativization of context or contextual nativization of texts as the most obvious and the most elusive process in which cultural presuppositions overload a text and demand a serious cultural interpretation. Nativization manifests itself both linguistically and culturally (acculturation of English) and the result is that, both linguistically and culturally,

English comes closer to the new, changed sociocultural context which contributes to the deviations from the traditional linguistic norm or model (Kachru, 1992). In his article in 1981, Kachru described both formal and functional nativization. In the pluralistic societies, non-native varieties of English comprise different formal or linguistic features at different levels of language and serve different functions.

Second or foreign language learners use different strategies to nativize English or English texts. Lowenberg (1986) argued that non-native speakers use two strategies of nativization – the generalization of rules from the established varieties and the transfer of features from other languages used in each speech community. In this sense, NE speakers create new expressions by overgeneralizing the rules of the BE or AE and by transferring the features of Nepali or other first languages. In the following section, I describe the process of nativization by which different new varieties of English emerge in course of time.

Process of Nativization

Nativization is a long-term process because it has to pass through several stages of evolution and development. It is an ongoing process during which it undergoes some changes at sounds, lexis, meaning, grammar, and discourse, and gradually becomes different from its parent language. For Phillipson (2007, pp. 195-196), nativization is "the process by which English has indigenized in different parts of the world, and developed distinct and secure local forms determined by local forms as opposed to those of the native speaker in the Centre." The process of nativization can be viewed from two perspectives. The first process is concerned with indigenizing and institutionalizing any variety as a recognized variety, and the second process is with changing the attitudes of its speakers toward the nativized variety. As for nativization process, Moag (1982, as cited in Schilk, 2011) described it as a dynamic

diachronic process, during which English starts out as a foreign language in an alien land, then becomes increasingly nativized and institutionalized, developing into a second language, is (in some cases) substituted by another national language, shifting back to a foreign language status. This life cycle is influenced by four different factors or processes such as transportation, indigenization, expansion in use and function, and institutionalization, which have been described above (see Moag's Life Cycle).

The processes of nativization of English can take place at different linguistic levels differently. Pandharipande (1987) asserted that processes of nativization are described variously as adjustments, borrowings, transfer, reduplication, compounding, and deviation of grammatical patterns. Such processes do not come all of a sudden. Vethamani (1996) maintained that the nativization process comes in two stages. At the first stage, new learners of English incorporate a number of culturally-loaded local words into English. Such words, which are generally cultural markers, do not have an exact equivalent in English. At the second stage of nativization, nativized Englishes get liberated from the standards of English set by the native speakers. More local features get penetrated into English as people of different language backgrounds start using it as a lingua franca. Pandharipande (1987) claimed that a better understanding of the processes of nativization helps the teachers to distinguish between mistakes and deviations and understand why such deviations occur.

Kachru (1998, 2011) analyzed the process of nativization of English in the Asian contexts. He argued that in many Asian countries, English has attained "functional nativessness," which is determined by the *depth* and *range* of a language in a society. He defined range as the domains of function and depth as the degree of social penetration of the language. The degrees of nativization of a variety of English are determined by the range and depth of the functions of English in a non-native

context and the period of exposure in English to the society (Kachru, 1992). It is assumed that "The greater the number of functions and the longer the period, the more nativized is the variety" (p. 59). By this account, English is functionally nativized in different Asian countries and such nativized varieties of English have penetrated in the social domains. In terms of functional domains, English is the eminent "access code" and medium in media, development, education, government, trade and business, science and technology, and creative writing (Abrar-ul-Hassan, 2010). In terms of the social depth of language use, the users of English in China and India are much more than the total of the USA, the UK, and Canada (Kachru, 2011). The creative writers have "emphatically related the process of nativization to the questions of identity and local contexts" (p. 195). For example, the nativization of English as NE indexes Nepali identity which is a locally appropriate variety in the Nepali context.

Reasons for Nativization

In the above sections, I described nativization as a natural and conscious or intentional process. I also described why English has been nativized in different countries. In the section below, I describe different reasons for nativization:

Historical Reasons. Jenkins (2009) described the historical reasons for nativization. He asserted that this has happened in two diasporas of English. First, English dispersed from England, Scotland, and Ireland to North America, Australia, and New Zealand through migration. The English dialects which traveled with them gradually developed into American and Antipodean Englishes we know today. In the altered sociolinguistic contexts, the migrants had to adapt and change their languages. The vocabulary of the migrants rapidly expanded through the contact with the languages of the indigenous populations. In many cases, they did not have

vocabularies to refer to all that they came across in the new land. In the later stage,

English dispersed to Southern parts of America and the Caribean because of slave

trade. The new Englishes spoken by the slaves and their captors were initially pidgins,

which developed into creoles in course of time. There was the situation of dialect

mixing which was further influenced by indigenous languages.

Second, English dispersed to Asia and Africa through colonization, which

resulted in the emergence of different second language varieties known as "New

Englishes." In this regard, Kachru (1981, p. 18) maintained that "during almost three

hundred years of contact with Africa and Asia, English has been completely

embedded in the local contexts and has slowly gone through the process of

nativization." In the colonized countries, English became the dominant language,

even the official language. As a result, many words from English were borrowed into

local languages, and vice versa since heavy lexical borrowing and hybrid word

formations take place extensively during the nativization process. The contact of

colonizers' language with the languages of the colonized has changed and is changing

English. Gradually, there was also the influence of colonization of Asia and Africa

over other non-colonized countries like Nepal.

Linguistic and Cultural Reasons. Languages vary from each other. Each

language is inadequate to label all the phenomena and real things found in the new

regions. In many respects, English words cannot express the local cultural meanings

explicitly. Therefore, words and names from local languages are borrowed. Perhaps it

is because of this inadequacy that Dasgupta (1993, as cited in Patil, 2018, p. 2)

labeled the English language as "an alien language, an aunt, not a mother." It cannot

express the cultural meanings and gives Nepali sensibility. Achebe (1965) maintained

that English needs to carry the weight of his African experience, which is possible

only through a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings. He highlighted why nativized English is today's need. About writing in English, similar experience was expressed by Rao (1938, p. vii) in his novel *Kanthapura* as "'the telling has not been easy' since 'one has to convey in a language that is not one's own the spirit that is one's own.'" His experience also justifies that the native variety in its unchanged form is inadequate to express one's inner feelings and desires. Therefore, it is necessary to adapt and modify the native English to make it able to express local cultures.

Patil (2006) professed that the linguistic, social, and cultural contexts necessitate, initiate, and propel the development of new varieties of English. He further added that the various reincarnations of English share the medium but use it to express native and local messages. They borrow the medium and appropriate it so that it can easily express their linguistic and cultural messages. This nativization is necessitated by the inadequacy of English to convey effectively the thoughts and emotions of other language speakers. Similarly, Phillipson (2007) stated:

> There are writers from many parts of the periphery-English world who have refashioned the English language so as to meet their own cultural and linguistic needs. It appears that their capacity to draw on English and other local languages and to blend their own culture with the canons of certain genres has not resulted in attempts to reassert a global standard, meaning one that conformed to British or American expectations. (p. 26)

The above excerpt explicates that the reason for nativization, localization, and hybridizing of English is to meet the cultural and linguistic needs. The creative writers do so to give local linguistic and cultural flavor in their writings. They favor nativization because it provides them with an opportunity to explore their local

experiences in this language (Mahmood, 2009). Regarding the nativization of English, Pakistani novelist Sidhwa (1993, as cited in Habib & Ullah, 2017) expressed:

> We, the ex-colonized, have subjugated the language, beaten it on its head and made it ours! ….. in adapting English to our use, in hammering it sometimes on its head, and in sometimes twisting its tail, we have given it a new shape, substance, and dimension. (p. 134)

The creative users of English nativize English to express their sensibility, for example, Nepali sensibility, and to own English. In the words of Wole Soyinka (as cited in Mahmood, 2009, p. 20), "When we borrow an alien language […] we must stretch it, impact and compact it, fragment and reassemble it […]" The above ideas by Sidhwa and Soyinka are concerned with adaptability and adoptability of English according to the context, which is the need of the present postmodern era. Similarly, people nativize English texts to resist linguistic and cultural imperialism. Bhatt (2009) described how the local communities adopted different strategies to appropriate the global norms and resisted and negotiated the linguistic imperialism. He further added that IE speakers and writers created their own English which combines both the richness of their regional or local cultures and the homogenized global norms. To make English practically fit into their context, Patil (2006) reported that the creative writers like India's Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao, and Khushwant Singh, and Nigeria's Achebe and Ojaide consciously deviated English from the norms of the so-called native varieties of English.

Individual Reasons. Another driving force for the nativization of English is the inherent desire of people to be different. People generally want to highlight their identity and uniqueness by nativizing English according to the contexts. They nativize English to express their individual, social, cultural, ethnic, and national identities.

There are several creative writers who intentionally borrow words form local languages though they have their equivalent words in English and hybridize the words and structures of English. Following Kachru and Nelson (2011), borrowing of words and meanings from the Nepali language serves as a strategy for indicating the Nepali identity. This identity factor is very strong for codemixing words from the speaker's mother tongue and codeswitching into the mother tongue. Another reason for nativizing English is to develop the speaker's proficiency which is clearly expressed by Widdowson (1994, p. 384) as "You are proficient in a language to the extent that you possess it, make it your own, bend it to your will, assert yourself through it rather than simply submit to the dictates to its form." I agree with Widdowson that the acutual proficiency in English can be developed only when the users of English can appropriate it to their context, possess it, and use it to their advantage.

Acculturation

Acculturation is "the process of adjusting and adapting to a new culture" (Brown, 2007, p. 376). In the words of Schumann (1986), acculturation is the social and psychological integration of the learner with the target language group. He highlighted how acculturation is influenced by the degree of social and psychological distance between the learner and target language culture. He claimed that the degree of acculturation leads to pidgin-like language. Unlike Schumann, who focused on learner acculturation in the target language culture, B. Kachru (2011) and Y. Kachru and Nelson (2011) focused on language acculturation. For Kachru and Nelson (2011, p. 331), acculturation is "the process a language undergoes becoming adapted to a new social/cultural context." It is by acculturation that localized varieties of English acquire new linguistic and cultural identities. Acculturation of English has given us such labels such as NE, IE, and CE because "as users of English are enlarging its

range and depth in the Outer and Expanding Circles and the language becomes acculturated and transforms into localized varieties" (Kachru & Nelson, 2011, p. 16). It is a natural phenomenon in the pluralistic societies, which may result in the introduction of loan words, phrases, idioms; derivation of new words, use of calques or loan translations, code-mixing, code-switching, language specific conventions of discourses, and many more. In this process, local varieties of English become acculturated by local people and take on local flavors (Kirkpatrick, 2014). Such flavors can be found at the phonological, lexical, grammatical, and discourse levels.

With the globalization of English, the tradition of acculturation began. This tradition has embraced English more than any other language of the world (Mahmood, 2009). In this regard, Gargesh (2006) stated:

> There is a long tradition of acculturation of non-native languages in South
> Asia and the appropriation/nativization/acculturation of English is nothing
> new. The acculturation of Persian led to the development of a non-native
> Indian variety termed Indian Persian (*Sabk-e-Hindi*), while the acculturation of
> English has given us labels such as Indian English, Pakistani English, and
> South Asian English. (p. 91)

Acculturation is a common phenomenon when two languages or cultures come into contact. Nepalization of English, Nigerianization of English, and Indianization of English are some instances of acculturation. Kachru (2011) maintained that the cross-cultural acculturation of English, its manifestations in various varieties, and its two faces, those of Englishization and nativization, provide a gold mine of data for the study of contact, change, and attitudes.

On the basis of the discussion in this chapter, we conclude that globalization has diversified English into different varieties through the process of acculturation

and nativization. In acculturation, the socio-cultural identity of a group is transferred into their particular variety of English, and in nativization, a language is appropriated to fit the socio-cultural needs. For Kachru (2011), nativization may be seen in the areas of context, cohesion and cohesiveness, and rhetorical strategies. For him, context refers to contextual nativization of texts, i.e. texts are nativized according to one's sociocultural and historical contexts, textual cohesion and cohesiveness refers to a transfer from another underlying dominant language and may involve a lexical shift such as direct lexical transfer, hybridization, and code-switching, and the devices used in rhetorical strategies include the use of local similes and metaphors that may result in unusual collocations. Similarly, as Pandharipande (1987, p. 149) stated, nativization can take place in three contexts: nativization as a process of the transfer of logic of the local languages to English, nativization as a system of variable patterns, and nativization as a deviation of various types. He maintained that in the nativized varieties of English, deviation can result with or without conscious effort on the part of the user. It means, nativization occurs intentionally and unintentionally. Nativization as intentional deviation can be found in creative writings, newspaper registers, billboards, advertisements, banners, and other media communications, and nativization as unintentional deviation occurs in the ordinary speech. In the following section, I describe the conceptual framework of my study.

Conceptual Framework

In my research, I have reviewed the theoretical, philosophical, and academic literatures which provided the theoretical lens to address my research questions and to identify the theoretical, conceptual, methodological, and research gaps. The theories I have reviewed above also helped me to make the conceptual framework, the roadmap of my study, which is presented in the figure 4:

Figure 4

Conceptual Framework to Study NE Lexical Features and Teachers Perspectives

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                              ┌──────────────────────┐
                              │         WEs          │
                              └──────────────────────┘
        ┌──────────────────────────┐  │  ┌──────────────────────────┐
┌───────────────────┐  ┌───────────────────────┐  ┌───────────────────────┐
│ McArthur's Circle │  │ Moag's and            │  │ Kachru's Concentric   │
│ of World English  │  │ Schneider's Models    │  │ and Develomental      │
│                   │  │ of WEs                │  │ Circles               │
└───────────────────┘  └───────────────────────┘  └───────────────────────┘
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┌──┐
│ Globalization, Hybridity, Bilinguals' Creativity, Nativization   │
└──┘

┌──┐
│ Content Analysis (of Texts and Interview Transcripts)   │
│   │
│ Multimodal Analysis (of Billboards, Advertisements, Banners)   │
└──┘

┌───────────────────┐   ┌───────────────────┐
│ Lexis/Lexical   │◄────────────────────────────►│ Perspectives   │
│ Features of NE   │   │ on NE   │
└───────────────────┘   └───────────────────┘
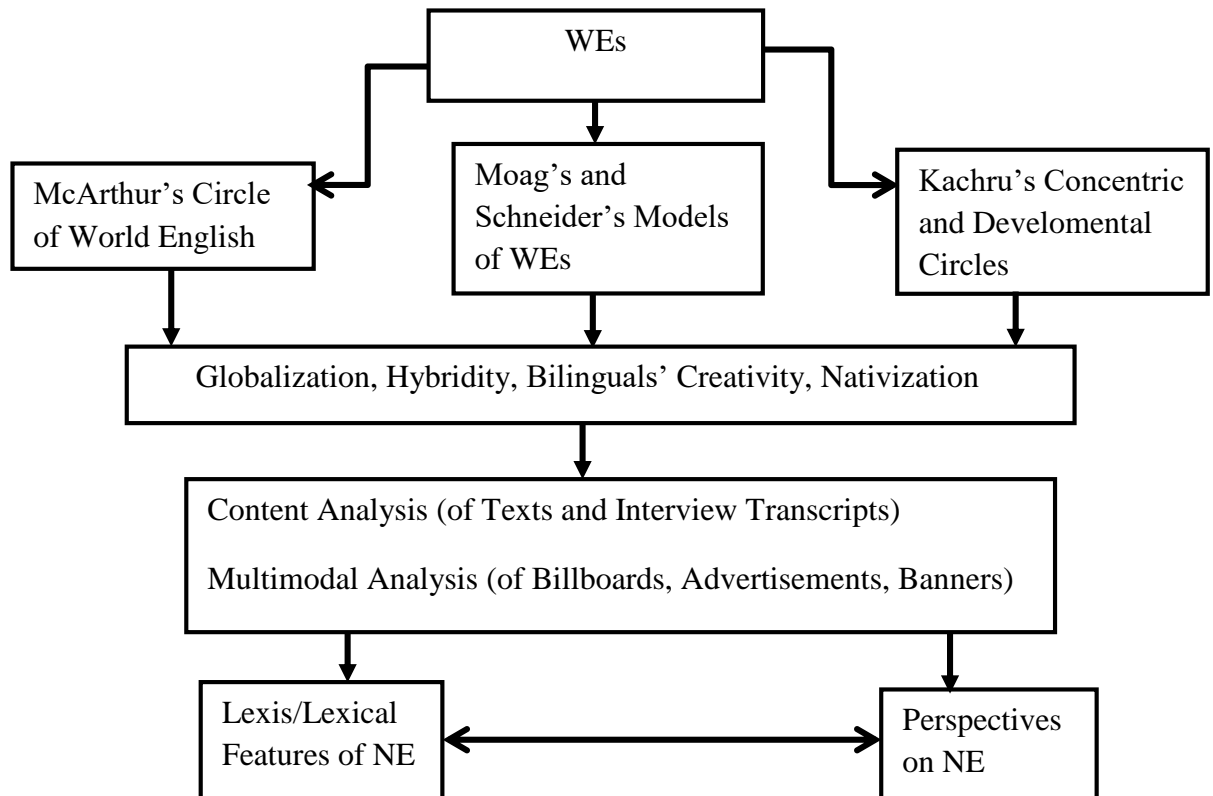
The study of different models and cycles of WEs helped us to draw the basic

theoretical constructs like globalization, hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and

nativation/acculturation. Globalization is the vehicle for the emergence of new

Englishes in the world, which has hybridized and diversified the English language,

cultures, and traditions when it came into contact with several local languages in the

world. Both hybridity and nativization/acculturation are the intentional and natural

phenomena in the linguistically and culturally pluralistic societies. In such societies,

bi/multilingual speakers create new words which might be different from other

varieties of English. In my research, I applied qualitative content analysis on the texts

and interview transcrips and multimodal analysis on billboards, advertisements, and

banners. I studied, analyzed, and interpreted the collected data through the lens of

hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization/acculturation in order to identify

different NE lexical items and lexical features and to explore English teachers'
perspectives on NE. Particularly, I focused on different lexical features such as lexical
borrowing, compounding, affixation, reduplication, blending, coinage, redundancy,
unusual words, semantic broadening, semantic narrowing, amelioration, pejoration,
and inconsistent use of different varieties of English. I have justified my claims with
examples.

Summary

In this chapter, I have described globalization, hybridity, bilinguals' creativity,
and nativization/acculturation which underpinned my study. Globalization accelerates
the unprecedented spread and use of English in the world as a first, second, and
foreign language, which has been vividly described by Kachru in his three Concentric
Circles. As the spread of English globally, it has come into contact with several local
languages. As a result, more hybridized, indigenized, and localized varieties of
Englishes have emerged in the South Asia and in other countries which have been
described by Kachru and McArthur. In this sense, globalization is viewed as
heterogenization and hybridization which is a major factor for the emergence of WEs.
It is not one-way trafficking. There is a synergetic relationship between the global and
the local. The global has become local, and vice versa. Linguistically, the local
morphemes and words have been extensively borrowed into English and vice versa.
As a result, more hybrid lexical items have emerged. In addition, the bi/multilingual
speakers have brought linguistic, literary, and pedagogical innovations in the
pluralistic societies. They have created hybrid and other new words and expressions
according to the local contexts. Similarly, during the globalizing process, BE or AE
gradually dominated other varieties of English. Such domination was perceived as
hegemony or linguistic imperialism by the Outer and Expanding Circle countries. To

resist it and to maintain their identity, the creative writers and users of English have deliberately started appropriating English linguistically and culturally according to their local contexts, which is known as nativization. This chapter has dealt with globalization as well as different circles, models, and standardization process of WEs, followed by hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, nativization and its types, process, and reasons, and then acculturation. Finally, I have made a conceptual framework which clearly shows how the theories I have adopted help to address my research questions. In the next chapter below, I describe the methodology I have adopted in my research.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The methodical part begins with the introduction of research paradigms, particularly the postmodern/poststructuralist paradigm, my ontological, epistemological, and axiological positions to explain my research problem, and the qualitative design I adopted and the reasons behind choosing it for my study. Then, the chapter moves to the nature and sources of data, followed by population, sample, and sampling strategy I applied, then the data collection techniques (methods) and procedure I followed, and finally to the data analysis and interpretation procedure I applied in my research.

My Research Paradigm

In terms of paradigm selection, I held the position of the postmodern or poststructuralist paradigm since it focuses on difference, diversity, appropriation, local epistemologies, mini narratives, identity, and deconstruction in research. Given (2008, p. 665) mentioned that "the research approaches and methodologies employed by postmodern researchers range from textual analysis and deconstruction to interviewing and ethnomethodologies." As regards the postmodernism, Richardson and Pierre (2017, p. 1413) maintained that "the core of postmodernism is the doubt that any method or theory, discourse or genre, tradition or novelty has a universal and general claim as the "right" or the privileged form of authoritative knowledge." It goes against the taken-for-granted concept and looks at the issues from multiple eyes. It challenges convention, emphasizes diversity, seeks resistance, embraces innovation and change, and focuses on local realities. It focuses on multiplicity of meaning and the hybrid, diasporic, and dynamic nature of language (Kubota, 2012). In postmodern

globalization, diverse languages and cultures are mixing, each language and culture becoming more hybrid and plural in the process (Canagarajah, 2012). In the context of postmodernity, "we have to treat languages and cultures as always in contact and therefore mixed or hybrid" (p. 127). Such pluralist views of English such as WEs, English as a lingua franca, and English use as postcolonial performativity are consistent with postmodern, poststructuralist, or postcolonial inquiries (Kubota, 2015). Following Canagarajah (2012), postmodern researchers attempt to explore how users of English appropriate, borrow, resist, and transform English in context-specific ways. Their focus will be on postmodern or postcolonial practices such as diversification, heterogenization, hybridization, resistance, localization, and nativization of English in different pluralistic societies. In my research, my attempt was to see how English in Nepal has been diversified, hybridized, localized, and nativized at the lexical level.

WEs now comprises a research paradigm to be widely explored and amply accepted (Anesa, 2019). Following the postmodern tradition, the emergence of WEs (e.g. NE, in my case) is natural and intentional. It is a novelty or a kind of appropriation from the British or American tradition. The essence of postmodernism is to disrupt the grand narrative and privileged system (Given, 2008). It focuses on the endless appropriation and recycling of older cultural or linguistic forms to make new but familiar forms (Tracy, 2020). In Nepal, the Nepali people have nativized English to make it appropriate to their own contexts. There is no language – no syntax and no lexicon – which is foreign to history (Green & LeBihan, 2011). Linguistically, all localized varieties of English are as equal as the so-called standard varieties of English. Therefore, to label BE or AE as standard and WEs as interlanguages is just a myth. This ideology has privileged the English native speakers and marginalized the

non-native speakers. The advocates of WEs have started to rupture hierarchies claiming that they are also the native speakers of their variety of English. Thus, postmodern researchers take reality and knowledge as "fragmented, multiple, situated, and multi-faceted" (Tracy, 2020, pp. 55-56). In my research, I posited myself as a postmodern researcher, and look at NE from the perspective of hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization.

Philosophical Stances

My postmodern paradigm guided me not only in choices of methods, but also in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Here, I explain three worldview elements such as ontology, epistemology, and axiology along with their relevance to my research study.

Ontology

As a postmodern researcher, my ontology was to look at the realities of NE at the lexical level and how local English teachers perceived NE since ontology discusses the question of "how things really are and how things really work" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 108). My ontology was concerned with multiple, fragmented, layered, fluid, and multi-faceted realities (Tracy, 2020) of NE. Ontologically, I raised basic questions about the nature of reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), that is, the reality of localizing the English language by using different nativization strategies and the perspectives of local English teachers on the local use of English. Of the various ontological positions such as materialism, idealism and relativism, I held the relativist position because postmodernism accepts the basic ontological assumption of relativism and claims that there is no objective truth as all truth is a socially constructed entity. By this ontology, I prepared myself not to be absolutist and I always considered and enjoyed the "local and specific constructed realities" (Guba &

Lincoln, 2005, p. 109) related to NE. Saunders et al. (2016) categorized ontology into two aspects: subjectivism and objectivism. My relative position was subjective in nature. Therefore, I posited the subjective ontology. Saunders et al. explained that in subjective view, the social phenomena are created from the perceptions and consequent actions of social actors. In my case, I saw how the creative writers, academic writers, and Nepali speakers of English have appropriated English to give the flavor of Nepaliness and how English teachers in Nepal perceive the ontological status of NE.

Epistemology

From postmodern perspectives, my epistemological position was to take knowledge as relative, skeptical, and as much fantasy as it is reality (Tracy, 2020). Following and slightly adapting to Kachru (2011), my epistemological concerns were why not consider NE as a part of our local pluralistic linguistic heritage and why not consider NE as functionally viable parts of our linguistic and cultural heritages. My focus was local epistemologies in terms of the use of English in Nepal and English teachers' perspectives on such local usage. Concerning the truths, I held the position of multiple truths. I explored the truths behind how NE is distinct from other varieties at the lexical level and how it is perceived by the NE teachers.

Axiology

My axiological stance was concerned with "values associated with areas of research and theorizing" (Tracy, 2020, p. 49). It was also concerned with how I dealt with my own values and those of my research participants. As a researcher, I acknowledged the value laden nature of the study and valued the data available. Value judgment is subjective because universal values do not exist. The notions of good

English and bad English, right English and wrong English, and Standard English and non-standard English are concerned with values.

Creswell (2013) argued that values, from the postmodern perspective, need to be treated as problems and then deep questions raised that can be used effectively to deal with these problems (values). Advocates of BE or AE see WEs as the problem since they are uncodified and non-institutionalized which cause unintelligibility and problems in teaching, testing, and error analysis. Creswell further added that respect for indigenous values is one of the main axiological principles of postmodern philosophies. My axiological position was to value on NE and to respect local teachers' perspectives on it.

<div align="center">

Research Design

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My philosophical position on my research declares the kind of research design I adopted. My philosophical stance of postmodernism allows me to choose qualitative research design. In this regard, Given (2008) stated:

> Qualitative methods frequently are used by researchers influenced by postmodernism because they allow a more detailed accounting of how the report was produced. Qualitative accounts typically contain more contextual detail and permit greater exploration of difference and diversity, rather than being framed primarily around analysis of central tendencies. (p. 368)

There are two main forms of qualitative data analysis: content analysis and grounded theory (Cohen et al., 2008). In my research, I adopted the qualitative content analysis for analyzing the texts from printed materials and interview transcripts, in which "the many words of texts are classified into much fewer content categories" (Weber, 1990, p. 12). In content analysis, newspaper and magazine articles, advertisements, interview transcripts, diaries, textbooks, websites, brochures, literary writings,

documents, and speeches are analyzed. Given (2008, p. 120) regarded content

analysis as "the intellectual process of categorizing qualitative textual data into cluster

of similar entities, or conceptual categories, to identify consistent patterns and

relationships between variables or themes." In qualitative content analysis, "the text is

open to subjective interpretation, reflects multiple meanings, and is context

dependent" (p. 120). The data is reduced out of which meaning is derived. To Cohen

et al. (2008), content analysis, often used to analyze large quantities of text, is the

process of summarizing and reporting written data, that is, the main contents of data

and their messages. They further maintained that content analysis can be undertaken

with any written material, from documents to interview transcriptions, from media

products to personal interviews. Berelson (1952, as cited in Neuendorf, 2002, p. 52)

proposed five purposes of content analysis: (a) to describe substance characteristics of

message content, (b) to describe form characteristics of message content, (c) to make

inferences to producers of content, (d) to make inferences to audiences of content, and

(e) to determine the effects of content on the audience. These five purposes indicate

that content analysis is descriptive and inferential. Content analysts describe the

features of communication in terms of "how," "what," and "to whom" to infer their

antecedents in terms of "why" and "who" and their outcomes in terms of "with what

effects" (Holsti, 1969, as cited in Krippendorff, 2004). Similarly, Given (2008)

asserted that qualitative content analysis attempts to answer "why" questions and

analyzes perceptions after close reading of texts. In qualitative content analysis, I, as a

researcher, described the formal, semantic, and pragmatic features in the contents

from literary writings, English newspapers, and billboards/advertisements/banners

and made inferences from the content of the interview transcripts. I agree with Cohen

et al. (2008) that content analysis focuses on language and linguistic features, and

meaning in context, and that the rules for analysis are systematic, explicit, transparent and public. In my research, I analyzed two kinds of content or meaning: manifest and latent (Bryman, 2016; Schreier, 2013). Manifest content or meaning is fairly explicit which can usually be identified by looking at a small segment of material, such as a single word, phrase, sentence, or paragraph (Schreier, 2013). It is the surface structure present in the message (Berg, 2001). In this sense, content analysis aims to uncover the apparent content of the item in question –what it is clearly about (Bryman, 2016). Moreover, the researcher in manifest analysis "describes what the informants actually say, stays very close to the text, uses the words themselves, and describes the visible and obvious in the text" (Bengtsson, 2016, p. 10). Latent content or meaning, in contrast, is the deep or hidden meanings, that is, "meanings that lie beneath the superficial indicators of content (Bryman, 2016, p. 231). Content analysts often have to take context into account to detect the latent meaning (Schreier, 2013). Latent analysis moves beyond the superficial level of analysis to a deeper level of interpretation in which the researcher "seeks to find the underlying meaning of the text: what the text is about" (Bengtsson, 2016, p. 10). All these writers intend to say that content analysis is "useful for identifying both conscious and unconscious messages communicated by the text (i.e. what is stated explicitly as well as what is implied or revealed by the manner in which content is expressed)" (Given, 2008, p. 120). In my study, sometimes I did manifest analysis of some linguistic features given in the content and other times, I did latent analysis for deeper interpretation of the meanings of lexical items and English teachers' responses. Of the two approaches of content analysis - inductive and deductive (Given, 2008), I adopted the inductive content analysis. I moved from specific to general, that is, from close deep reading of the texts to the description of lexical items and features of NE on the basis of the

hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and the nativization strategies used by the writers and also from the analysis of recorded interviews to the exploration of teachers' perspectives on NE.

I also applied multimodal approach for analyzing billboards, advertisements, and banners. In multimodal analysis, language, image, sound, and music are all put together to understand the full message (van Leeuwn, 2011). In my study, I analyzed the lexical items and the images of billboards, advertisements, and banners, both linguistically and visually to clarify their forms and meanings explicitly.

Nature and Sources of Data

The proposed research was based on data collected from both primary and secondary sources. I obtained primary data from six English teachers teaching in different colleges, four books, namely Narayan Wagle's translated book "Palpasa Café" (2016), Samrat Upadhyay's "Arresting God in Kathmandu" (2018), Sheeba Shah's "The Other Queen" (2018), and Vishnu Singh Rai's "Martyr and Other Stories" (2016a); English texts written by Nepali authors, articles and news reports published in English newspapers in Nepal; and billboards/advertisements/banners. Similarly, I also consulted secondary sources of data. Some of them included books such as Ferguson (2006), Kachru (2011), Kachru and Nelson (2011), Kirkpatrick (2010), Sailaja (2009), and, articles such as Brett (1999), Giri (2015), Kamali (2010), Karn (2011, 2012), and Rai (2006), and some theses such as Mahmood (2009), and Nur Aida (2014). Regarding their nature, the data I collected from the books, articles, news reports, and interviews were descriptive in nature and those from billboards, advertisements, and banners were semiotic one.

Population, Sample, and Sampling Strategy

The story books in English, novels, English textbooks, English newspapers, billboards/advertisements/banners, and English teachers teaching in different colleges were the population of my study since the population includes not only people but also texts (Cohen et al., 2008). Out of them, two story books, one novel written in English by a Nepali writer, another novel translated into English, eight texts/articles from English textbooks and a Journal, eight news stories (six from Republica and two from The Kathmandu Post) and three articles from English newspapers (two from Republica and one from The Kathmandu Post), 23 billboards/advertisements/banners, and six English teachers were sampled using the non-random purposive sampling strategy. I selected local novels and stories which not only reflect hybridity, code-mixing, bilinguals' creativity, nativization, and global-local interplay but also, following and slightly adapting to Proshina (2020), reveal the Nepali mindset and represent NE as a variety. They also contain elements that provide local authenticity, such as personal names, titles, proverbs, discourse markers, and code-mixed dialogues (Kachru & Nelson, 2011). In addition, I selected the local English literatures which are part of the local canons of creativity and the texts in the local literary books have their own context within the new canons of creativity such as a context of sociocultural canons and canons of creativity (Kachru, 1996b). I selected articles from English textbooks and a journal, news stories and articles from the English newspapers, which all use the standard acrolectal variety of English. Likewise, I selected the billboards/advertisements/banners, which are the linguistic landscapes to see how hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization are reflected in them. The rationale for selecting and collecting diverse data is to explore diverse features of NE

at the lexical level and to present more examples from different sources as evidence to justify that NE has unique lexical features.

Data Collection Techniques and Tools (Methods)

I collected the relevant data from both primary and secondary sources using the following tools (methods) and techniques:

Texts

Content analysis is an approach to the analysis of documents and texts (Bryman, 2016). Most content analyzes begin with the texts - any written data which "are meant to be read, interpreted, and understood by people other than the analysts" (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 30). Texts broadly incorporate "books, book chapters, essays, interviews, discussions, newspaper headlines and articles, historical documents, speeches, conversations, advertising, theatre, informal conversation, or any occurrence of communicative language" (Moinuddin, 2017, p. 24). In my study, the texts I analyzed were books, book chapters, essay, newspaper articles, news reports, and billboards/advertisements/banners. Using content analysis's basic methods - conceptual and relational analysis, I determined the presence of certain words, concepts, themes, phrases, or characters within texts (Moinuddin, 2017).

Researcher's Diary

I used a diary to pick up the relevant data during the process of data collection. I noted down the lexical items of NE that I frequently heard, read and saw during my study. In this sense, I myself was one of the participants in the research.

Semi-Structured Interview

Content analysis can be undertaken with any written material, from documents to interview transcriptions, from media products to personal interviews (Cohen et al., 2008, p. 475). I also collected data on NE from the six English teachers by taking a

semi-structured interview using open-ended questions. I recorded the interview in my mobile.

Data Collection Procedure

First of all, I collected two story books, two novels, English textbooks, newspapers, Journal article, and billboards/advertisments/ banners which were the population of my study. I chose two story books - one by Vishnu Singh Rai, and another by Samrat Upadhyay, one novel of Narayan Wagle translated into English by Bikash Sangraula, and another novel by Sheeba Shah since they were familiar writers having good writing skills in English. Then, I looked over those books, identified some examples that can provide useful data to answer my research questions, and then sampled them purposively. I went through the selected texts thoroughly and repeatedly, underlined the typical features of NE related to lexis, compared them with British or American norms, and recorded the data by typing in my laptop.

I purposively selected six experienced English teachers teaching in different colleges, visited them, told them the purpose of my study, made rapport with them, took consent from them to collect data, and conducted semi-structured interview by asking open-ended questions to collect further data. I recorded their responses using the mobile recorder, and some of the things were noted down on the blank spaces left on each question of the questionnaire.

Data Analysis and Interpretation Procedure

I followed the nine steps in analyzing and interpreting qualitative data as suggested by Cohen et al. (2008) and Creswell (2017).

Defining the Units of Analysis

After the collection of data, I defined the units of analysis. This can be at very many levels such as a word, phrase, sentence, paragraph, whole text, people, and

themes (Cohen et al., 2008). The units of analysis are sampling units (units included or excluded from an analysis), recording/coding units (units that are typically contained in sampling units or units that are distinguished to be separately described or categorized), and context units (units of textual matter that set limits on the information to be considered in the description of recording units) (Krippendorff, 2004). The units of analysis were at the lexical and thematic levels.

Organization and Transcription of Data

I studied the data minutely and organized them into computer files by type such as all interviews, all texts/contents, and all images. I transcribed the data (four of them were in Nepali and two were in English) recorded in the mobile into the text data. I also transcribed diary notes into text data or computer document for analysis. I printed out the organized and transcribed data.

Deciding the Codes

Cohen et al. (2008, p. 478) mentioned that "codes can be at different levels of specificity and generality when defining content and concepts." I decided the codes to be used in the analysis, for examples, for teachers to maintain confidentiality and on the transcribed data.

Constructing the Categories for Analysis

Categories are the main groupings of constructs or key features of the text, showing links between units of analysis (Cohen et al., 2008, p. 478). I grouped the data into domains, clusters, groups, patterns, themes, and coherent sets to form domains. More specifically, I categorized the lexical items and lexical features of NE into lexical borrowing, affixation, compounding, blending, reduplication, coinage, redundancy, modification, unusual use of words, approximant quantification, semantic broadening and narrowing, amelioration and pejoration, and inconsistent use

of different varieties of English. Some of them were further subcategorized into different subheadings for clarity and specificity. Using track changes and new comment options, I also categorized the data collected from interviews into different themes.

Conducting the Coding and Categorizing of the Data

After deciding the codes and categories, I started following the codes I decided and categories I made. Following Creswell (2017), I first read the text data, divided the text into segments of information, labeled the segments of information with codes, reduced overlap and redundancy of codes, and collapsed codes into themes.

Conducting the Data Analysis

Once the data were coded and categorized, I conducted data analysis minutely. I looked at themes/categories and relationships between themes/categories. I checked each data incorporated in each theme/category. I summarized the inferences from the text, and looked for patterns, regularities and relationships between segments of the texts.

Summarizing

I summarized the main features that have been researched so far. The summary included key lexical features of NE and main teachers' perspectives on NE. I reported the findings in the narrative description.

Interpreting Findings

I reviewed the major findings considering how my two main research questions have been answered, conveyed my personal reflections about the meaning of the data, compared and contrasted my findings with the literature reviewed, offered

limitations, recommended implications of my research findings in various areas and pointed out some areas for future research.

Validating Findings

Validating findings implies determining the accuracy or credibility of the findings through triangulation, member checking, and auditing (Creswell, 2017). I triangulated the data by collecting them from various sources. I verified some data obtained from texts with the data collected from interviews. Similarly, I verified the findings with the original texts and interviews time and again. Besides triangulation, I also asked the dissertation supervisor and my colleague to check the accuracy of my data and findings. In the similar vein, I shared my dissertation among my colleagues, teachers from Nepal Open University, and some experts and revised it several times on the basis of their feedback and comments.

Ethical Considerations

During the research process, I honestly followed the research ethics or ethical principles. I did not misinterpret and misuse the texts and data I collected and used. I provided an accurate account of the information since correct and unbiased reporting of the findings is an important characteristic of ethical research practice (Kumar, 2017). I assured that the findings of my research will not harm others, rather benefit the readers. I did not use language or words that were biased. As my study was based on content and multimodal analysis, I never claimed them as my own. Rather, I acknowledged the authors and teacher participants and gave credit to them.

As for the interview, the teacher participants were involved voluntarily. I never showed the power in terms of age, knowledge, and status. It means, any type of compulsion, tension, influence, and force was not used for the participants during the data collection. I started the interview with them only after taking consent from them.

I provided them freedom to speak and answer. I adopted two methods to protect the participants' rights to privacy: anonymity and confidentiality. I guaranteed the anonymity of participants by designing the semi-structured interview schedule that bears absolutely no identifying marks such as their names. I used codes to present the information they provided. For confidentiality, the participants were assured that identifying information will not be made available to anyone who is not directly involved in the study. For this, I assured and remained committed to the code that all personal data would be secured or concealed and made public only behind a shield of anonymity. To sum up, all ethical measures were adopted for maintaining privacy.

Summary

This chapter described the methodology I adopted in my research work. I followed the postmodern paradigm to look at the English language used in Nepal since postmodernism focuses on hybridity, localization, resistance, localization, and appropriation or nativization. My ontology was to look at the local realities and local usage of NE at the lexical level. I also explored the subjective perspectives of English teachers on NE. My epistemological position was to explore the truths behind how NE is lexically distinct from other varieties of English. To value NE as well as teachers' perspectives on it was my axiological position.

As for my research design, I followed the qualitative content analysis and linguistically analyzed the contents from books, articles, and newspapers. I applied the multimodal analysis for data collected from billboards/advertisements/banners. My focus was how creative writers and users of English hybridized, innovated, and nativized English at the lexical level. For the very purpose, I purposively selected the books, the texts/articles, the news stories, and the billboards/advertisements/banners. I analyzed the interview transcripts of six English teachers to explore their perspectives

on NE. I coded, thematized, and analyzed and interpreted the data collected from texts, semi-structured interview, and diary. I strictly followed the ethics of research from the data collection to the entire research process. In the chapter below, I analyze and interpret the lexical items and lexical features of NE on the basis of the hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization strategies adopted by the writers and speakers of NE.

CHAPTER V

NE LEXICAL ITEMS AND LEXICAL FEATURES

The main purpose of my research is to describe the lexical items and the lexical features of NE on the basis of hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization strategies used by NE speakers. In this chapter, I have analyzed and interpreted the collected typical lexical items as well as lexical features of NE with examples on the basis of hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization/acculturation. I have focused on different linguistic strategies employed by NE speakers to hybridize, create, and nativize English at the lexical level such as lexical borrowing, compounding, affixation, reduplication, coinage, blending, semantic broadening, semantic narrowing, amelioration, pejoration, approximate quantification, unusual use of words, redundancy, and inconsistent use of English words and spellings.

Lexical Features of NE

NE emerged with the contact of English with Nepali and other indigenous languages. Their light and superficial contact results in lexical borrowing, whereas more intensive mutual involvement produces morphological transfer (e.g. by attaching the inflections of one language to words to another) and structural transfer (Schneider, 2010). This gradually results in the growth of nativized or indigenized variety of English. Compared to other levels or systems of language, nativization extensively takes place at the lexical level. This is because English lacks sufficient equivalent words to express and represent cultural meaning of other languages. Therefore, English accepts and receives the words from local languages. Anesa (2019, p. 35) claimed that "new word formations, variations, and acquisitions of new meanings are the manifestations of a linguistic need, and of creative linguistic power

of individuals." Lexical features of any variety of English are always subject to modification and variation. In my study, I found different lexical items and lexical features of NE. In the following subtopics, I analyze and interpret the different lexical features of NE in terms of hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization strategies adoped by the NE speakers.

Lexical Borrowing

In my study, heavy lexical borrowing is one of the prominent lexical features and strategies used by NE speakers to nativize English in Nepal. The creative and academic writers in my study have extensively borrowed words from local languages. Lexical borrowing occurs when one language has semantic gaps in its lexis and needs to borrow a term to express the necessary idea or concept (Ying, 2012). The writers have borrowed words from Nepali and other local languages to express some concepts which cannot be explained by using English words. Two main reasons for them to borrow words from other languages were to fill the lexical gaps (linguistic reason) and to perceive the borrowed words as neutral in many interactional contexts (sociolinguistic reason) (Kachru, 2011).There are two ways of nativizing the lexis of a variety of English: native lexical items will be used in the localised registers and styles to place the language in its context, and English lexical items may acquire extended or restricted semantic markers (Hajar, 2014).

The bilingual writers use lexical borrowings unconsciously and deliberately, when there is no known equivalent of a word or phrase (Rajashanthan, 2016). Borrowing can take place at two levels: "pure borrowing," where the word retains all its native features, and "adjusted borrowing," where the word adapts to the structural characteristics of the host language (Ying, 2012). Following Ying, Nepali words in English are borrowed through transliteration (which approximates to pure borrowing),

loan translation, and the combination of both (which is equal to adjusted borrowing). The writers borrow words from local languages to make English more relevant to local contexts and such borrowings also serve ideological purposes (Kachru & Nelson, 2011).

English is the most loaning language in the world because of its contact with several other languages. It has the largest vocabulary because of its extensive borrowing of words from other languages. In my study, the writers have extensively borrowed words from Nepali and other languages spoken in Nepal because of their uniqueness and irreplaceability. They have borrowed such words because English has no totally equivalent words to represent and express local cultural meanings; it has only partially equivalent words; and it has equivalent words but the writers have used Nepali and other local words knowingly to show Nepaliness and to resist hegemony in their writings. Such lexical borrowing has hybridized both the language and the texts. In the following section, I have categorized the borrowed words into different areas, and analyzed and interpreted them.

Kinship Terms. Wardhaugh (2010, p. 238) described kinship systems as "a universal feature of languages, because kinship is so important in social organization." Each language has different lexical items to refer to various kinds of kin. Some languages are richer than others in kinship terms. Kinship is based on blood/birth, marriage, and other social connections such as adoption. Ewuruigwe (1994, as cited in Jack, 2015) maintained that kinship can be derived from four principles: blood or consanguinity, marriage or affinity, adoption, and ritual. I have described all the kinship terms collected as data in my study on the basis of these four principles.

Consanguineal Relation. The relation based on blood or birth is known as

consanguineal relation. The creative writers have borrowed different words from

Nepali and Hindi to show consanguineal relation in English. The main reason behind

using Nepali and Hindi lexical items is that English kinship terms cannot express all

kinship relations of other cultures. The creative writers use Nepali kinship terms in

their writings which justify that English equivalents if used will convey only

fractional or hazy senses (Karn, 2012). The commonly used kinship terms to indicate

consanguineal relation are *dai/daju/da, bhai, bahini/baini/bainee, chora/beta,*

ba/buahajur/buasaheb/buasahebjiu, ma/aama, muahajur, hajur aama, chori,

kaakaa/kaka, and *baaje*.

One of the lexical features of NE is heavy borrowing of kinship terms from the

Nepali language. Rai (2016a) has nativized the texts by borrowing Nepali and Hindi

kinship terms such as *bahini, bhai, dai/daju, kaka, chora,* and *beta*.

1. Parvati *bahini*! I'm so happy to hear the good news.

2. What's the time *bhai*? He asked the sentry… [.]

3. These are my two sons, *daju*.

4. Look, *dai*, it's none of your business.

5. Yes, *didi*. However, he manages to spend weekends with us.

6. So what do you say Somi *kaka*? Ramlakhan asked the old man.

7. No, *chora*! She cut him short.

8. They're rich people, *beta*.

The above examples show that the kinship relation in the Nepali cultures is not

only biological but also social one since we address someone with the above terms

even if they are not related to us by blood. For example, in the example (1), the Head

Mistress addressed Parvati as *bahini* and the speaker in the example (2) addressed the

sentry as *bhai* although they are not related by blood or birth. The writer has borrowed Nepali kinship terms *bhai* and *daju* to fill the lexical gaps since English has no totally equivalent words to replace them. The Nepali terms *bhai* and *daju* or *dai* are expressed by the English word "brother." In English, "elder brother" is used to refer to Nepali kinship term *daju* or *dai* and "younger brother" to refer to Nepali kinship term *bhai*. The word "brother|" is a more generic or a superordinate term for *bhai* and *daju*/*dai*, the interlingual hyponyms. The same thing happens in the case of the English word "sister," which only partially gives the sense of *didi* and *bahini*. In English, *didi* is expressed by "elder sister" and *bahini* is by "younger sister." The writer has used the Nepali words such as *chora* to refer to "son" and Hindi word *beta* to refer to "daughter." The use of *beta* shows that there is the influence of IE on NE. Rai (1995) mentioned that Hindi native speakers use the word *beta* for their son and daughter both, whereas Nepali speakers use it only to refer to their daughter; they never address their son as *beta*, rather they use *chhora*. He explained that the word *beta* being used to address a daughter confirms that the sociolinguistic factor is more important than any one. The use of *beta* to address the daughter reflects the modern attitude of treating a son and a daughter equally. Similarly, Rai (2016a, 2016b) has borrowed the Nepali kinship term *kaka* to refer to "uncle." The word "uncle" has more generic and inclusive meaning than the Nepali word *kaka* and its use creates confusion among the Nepali speakers if the context is unknown. In the example (6), Ramlakhan and Somi have the social relationship. In NE, the kinship term "uncle" is used for politeness to address people considerably older than the speaker, who might be related by blood or not.

Upadhyay (2018) has borrowed kinship terms such as *bahini* "younger sister," *dai/da* "elder brother*," ba* "father," and *ma* "mother," which are generaly used to express consanguineal relations:

1. Nandini said, "How are you, *bahini*?" And Shanti turned her head away.

2. This Ram Mohan *dai*.

3. I'll go and see Shambhu-*da* tomorrow.

4. Get out of my way, Sharda-*ma*.

5. I'm just thirteen, *Ba*.

In the example (1), the relationship between Nandini and Shanti is only a social one. In NE, *bahini* is used for politeness to address the women or girls younger than the speaker. The writer has also used the short Nepali words *da* to refer to *dai* or *daju*, *ma* to refer to mother, and *ba* to mean father. This is very common in the discourse of the Nepali speakers speaking English. In the above examples, the Nepali kinship terms *da* and *ma* have been suffixed to the name of the addressee. Generally, the young generation people use the word *da* to refer to the elder brother. Similarly, in Nepali, *ba* is also used to address the old man. The writer has used this word in that sense too, for example, "Don't worry, Ba," Siddhartha said. "Your daughter will be one of our dear comrades in the great struggle." Besides *dai, didi, bhai, bahini, ba*, and *kaakaa*, Wagle's translated novel "Palpasa Cafe" (2016) has borrowed other Nepali kinship terms such as *chori* "daughter*," Hajur Aama* "grandmother," and *Aama* "mother":

1. What do you say, *Chori*?

2. Tell me, *Hajur Aama*, what should I do?

3. "Don't talk like that, *Aama*," I said. The boy teased her… [.]

All the above Nepali kinship terms have their equivalent words in English. However, the writer seems to be using the Nepali words knowingly to show Nepaliness and the bilinguals' creativity. In the example (3), the speaker (the boy) and the addressee (*Aama*) have only a social relation, not a biological or genetic one. In the Nepali culture, we affectionately address someone as *Aama* to show politeness. In the same way, Shah (2018) has used some more honorific address terms such as *buahajur/buasahib/buasahebjiu* "father*," muahajur/muaji/ muajiu* "mother*,"*and *kakajiu* "uncle" and some common kinship terms such as *baje* "grandfather*," aama* "mother*," dai* "elder brother*,"* and *baini* "younger sister"*:*

1. *Buahajur,* now the children are seeking permission to begin their meal.

2. But it is when the children say *'Muahajur.*

3. Procrastination has always been your weakness*, buasahib.*

4. When is later, *buasahebjiu?*

5. *Muaji, muajiu,* what happened?

6. Why ten pindas, *baaje?* The younger prince asks… [.]

7. the adventures of *kakajiu*

In the above examples, *hajur*, *sahib*, *sahibjiu*, *ji*, and *jiu* have been attached to the kinship terms to show more respect and politeness. Use of such words after the kinship terms shows a variety within a variety and these words are used by a particular class. Furthermore, the word *hajur* is used in three senses: it is used for an honoured or a respected person, as an acceptance or response to the call by a respectable or an honourable person, and as a pronoun to refer to a respectable person (Pradhan, 1997). The Nepali kinship term *baaje* refers to father's father, mother's father, and any older people. In the context of the example (6), the speaker (the prince) and the addressee (*baaje*) are not related by blood or birth. They have only a

social relationship. In the Nepali culture, the older people are addressed as *baaje*, whether they are related to the speaker or not. The use of such kinship terms makes English in Nepal different from other varieties of English.

Bhattarai (2012) has nativized his essay by borrowing the words like *maldai, dai/daju*, *bainee*, and *kaka*, which are generally used to show consanguineal relations in Nepali:

1. One day my mother went to an astrologer and asked him: *Daju*, what will our *Saila* be in future?

2. The astrologer read my horoscope for long and said*, Bainee, Saila* will a Pundit or a *Dhami*, that is, witch doctor.

3. …I did it secretly thinking of how my *kaka* used to do the same.

4. *Maldai* would sit by me and turn his pages; his was a different book of Sanskrit usually.

In the examples (1) and (2), the speaker and the addressee do not have the consanguineal but the social relation. In the Nepali cultures, the kinship term *daju* is also used to address a male person who is assumed to be older than the speaker and the kinship term *bainee* is used to address a female person who is assumed to be younger than the speaker. The kinship terms *kaka* "father's younger brother (uncle)" and *Maldai* "second eldest brother" in the examples (3) and (4) show the consanguineal relations. The use of English words "uncle," "brother," and "sister" creates confusion among NE speakers because there are several Nepali kinship terms such as *kaka* "father's younger brother," *thulo buwa* "father's elder brother," *mama* "mother's younger or elder brother," and *phupa* "father's sister's husband" for English word "uncle." If someone says "He is my uncle," the meaning is not explicit to Nepali speakers. Similarly, if we address *dai/daju* and *bhai* by "brother" and *didi*

and *bainee* by "sister," it will not be explicit to the Nepali people. Therefore, the Nepali writers prefer to borrow Nepali kinship terms to fill the lexical gaps. Similarly, in NE, Nepali and English kinship terms are commonly used after someone's name such as Somi *kaka* or Somi uncle, Ram Mohan *dai*, and Debi *bhai*. Such culturally nativized kinship terms make the meanings explicit and facilitate comprehension on the part of NE readers.

Affinal Relation. Simply, relation through marriage is called affinal relation. It is a kind of bond between spouses and their relatives on either side. The creative writers have largely borrowed the kinship terms relating to affinal kins for giving the flavor of NE. Rai (2016a) has borrowed Nepali words like *buhari* "daughter-in-law," and *bhauju* "elder brother's wife":

1. She needed a *buhari*, daughter- in- law.

2. *Bhauju*! What's this party about? We're dying of suspense.

The writer, in the example (1), has hybridized the sentence by using both Nepali and English kinship terms to make the foreign readers easy to understand the sentence. English does not have a particular kinship term equivalent to Nepali kinship term *bhauju*. The writer has borrowed the Nepali word *bhauju* to fill that linguistic gap. Similarly, Rai (2016b) has borrowed *mama* "mother's brother" and *sanima* "step mother" with their meaning in English so that the foreign readers can understand the text. The ability to use the kinship terms in both languages also shows the bilinguals' creativity.

Shah (2018) has nativized her novel by borrowing Nepali kinship terms to show affinal relation. She has used very honorific terms commonly used by Hindu women *pati parmeshwar* and *shriman* to mean husband. The use of *parmeshwar*, which means god, indicates that the husband in the Hindu tradition has been given the

place of god. The writer has also used the words *mama* or *mamajiu* to refer to mother's elder or younger brother, *maiju* to refer to mother's brother's wife, *bhanja* to refer to elder or younger sister's son, or sister's husband's nephew and *sauta* to mean co-wife of her husband.

1. He is my *pati parmeshwar*.

2. What difference does it make, *mamajiu*?

3. What kazi, *mama*?

4. Do not forget, *bhanja*, who you are.

5. As for me, this is only too familiar – watching my *sauta* stand tall… [.]

Although English has the word "husband" to refer to *pati parmeshwor* or *shriman*, Nepali kinship terms show the prestigious position rather than the English word "husband" in the Nepali society. Nepali women generally address their husband by using such honorific words. The social and cultural meaning of *pati parmeshwor* cannot be expressed by the word "husband." Therefore, the writer has used *pati parmeshwor* instead of using the English word. The use of "uncle" to refer to *mama* is not explicit for the Nepali people. The English word "nephew" refers to both the son of one's brother or sister (*bhanja*), and the son of one's husband's or wife's brother or sister (*bhatij*). Similarly, the Nepali word *sauta* has more negative connotation than the English word "co-wife." Like Shah, Upadhyay (2018) has also borrowed the kinship term *mama* in his anthology. Furthermore, Bhattarai (2012) has borrowed the Nepali kinship term *phupa* or *phupaju* "father's sister's husband" to show Nepaliness:

1. One day one of my *phupas* came to our place with his son *Omnath*, junior to me at the *iskool*.

2. *Phupaju* would look at my face.

In English, the word "uncle" is used to refer to *phupa* or *phupaju*, which is not explicit to the Nepali people. The real meaning of *phupa* or *phupaju* cannot be explicitly conveyed by the word "uncle" since it conveys a more general meaning in English. Similarly, Bhattarai (2016) has also borrowed Nepali kinship term *jwain* "son-in-law" in his article to give Nepali flavor to the text.

Adoptive Relation. Adoption is the system of making one as a son or daughter who is not so by law. The relation made by means of adopting one as son or daughter is known as adoptive relation. Shah (2018) has borrowed the word *dharmaputra* to refer to an adoptive son in the sentence "It is I, Mathabar Singh Thapa, the *dharmaputra* of my uncle." The word *dharma* carries a deep cultural meaning than its equivalent word "adoptive" in the Nepali society.

Ritual or Fictive Relation. It incorporates kinds of relation other than blood/birth, marriage and adoption. It is the relation by ritual friendship and godparents in religious and political life. Wagle (2016) has borrowed Nepali kinship terms such as *Miit* "ritual friend*,*" *Miitini* "ritual friend or wife of ritual friend," *Miit Ba* "ritual father," *Miitini Aama* "ritual mother," *Miit Kaakaa* "ritual uncle," and *Miit Chhora* "ritual son," which are the social relations formed by friendship or ritual in the Nepali tradition. English does not have their equivalent terms to show social kins.

1. *Miit Ba* used to give us bananas and *Miitini Aama* used to feed us yoghurt and chiura.

2. So I left and went to *Miit Kaakaa*'s house nearby.

3. Have you seen my *Miit Chora*?

4. To my *Miitini*'s house

5. Are you going to your *Miit*'s house?

These examples show that NE is different from other WEs in terms of kinship terms referring to ritual or fictive relation. Such kinship terms carry social and cultural meanings in the Nepali society. To Alptekin (2006), nativization through sociological dimension includes culture-specific contextual cues of customs and rituals. In the Nepali society, the expression "best friend" cannot actually incorporate the deep cultural value of the Nepali ritual kinship terms *miit* and *miitini*. Therefore, the writer has borrowed the above kinship terms to fill the lexical gaps.

It was found that English terms have full equivalent, partial equivalent, and no equivalent terms to express Nepali kinship relations. The writers have used Nepali kinship terms to fill the lexical gaps and to show Nepaliness in their writings. Even some kinship terms, which are generally used to show the consanguineal relation, show the social relations according to the contexts. The following table shows the common NE lexical items referring to kinship relations:

Table 1

Common NE Lexical items Referring to Kinship Relations

S. N.	Lexical items	Sources	Meaning in English
1.	bahini/baini/ bainee	Bhattarai (2012), Pokharel (2020), Rai (2016a), Shah (2018), Upadhyay (2018), Wagle (2016)	elder or younger sister
2.	bhai	Bhattarai (2016), Pokharel (2020), Rai (2016a), Shah (2018), Wagle (2016)	younger brother
3.	daju/dai	Bhattarai (2012), Koirala (2017), Rai (2016a), Shah (2018), Upadhyay(2018), Wagle (2016)	elder brother
4.	didi	Rai (2016a), Wagle (2016)	elder sister
5.	kaka/kaakaa	Bhattarai (2012), Rai (2016a, 2016b), Shah (2018), Wagle (2016),	father's younger brother
6.	(miit)chora	Rai (2016a), Wagle (2016)	son
7.	ma/mua/ama	Shah (2018), Upadhyay (2018), Wagle (2016)	mother
8.	ba/bua	Shah (2018), Upadhyay (2018), Wagle (2016)	father
9.	mama	Rai (2016b), Shah (2018)	mother's brother

Although the writers nativized their texts by borrowing several kinship terms from the Nepali language, they have used some common kinship terms to show different consanguineal, affinal, and ritual relations, some of which show the social relations (see the description above). Among the kinship terms, *daju/ dai* "elder brother" and *baini/bahini/bainee* "younger sister" were used by more writers in their texts, followed by *bhai* "younger brother" and then *kaka/kaakaa* "father's younger brother or uncle." The three writers have used three different terms *ma/mua/ama* to refer to mother and two terms *ba/bua* to refer to father. The two writers have used *didi* to refer to elder sister and *chora* for son. The frequent and common use of such kinship terms in their texts by the different writers shows that they are NE lexical terms.

Terms of Address. The creative writers have nativized their writings by borrowing different address terms from Nepali and other languages to refer to different kinds of people. In his anthology, Rai (2016a) has borrowed Nepali words like *kumbhkarna, swami, Mundre, gunda, khalasi, babu, ghusyaha, bhustighre, raksya, jwade, hawaldar sab, guruji, sahuji, raja, Mem sab, sab, kanchi,* and *yaar:*

1. O *Kumbhkarna*! How long are you going to sleep?

2. …a new *swami* who is young and very good looking has come to the town and delivering his religious preaching in the town hall.

3. If you don't help me, I'll go and tell Mom, that you talk with *Mundre* 'a boy with a ring,' and that you meet him after school.

4. …you looked like a real *gunda*… [.]

5. The driver opened the side door and jumped onto the road followed by the *khalasi* and the conductor.

6. When my *raja chora* earns a lot of money he'll buy a fan for me.

7. Oh no! Someone groaned. That *ghusyaha*.

8. You *bhustighre* cowards!

9. He was not a *raksya* or a *juade.*

10. They are dying of envy because *hawaldar sab*, the *guruji*, and the *sahuji* help us.

11. Our Belayati babu is no less crazy than them.

12. I couldn't come *Mem Sab* because I had fever.

13. Everyday his mother, *Kanchi* burnt incense sticks… [.]

14. Sorry for the smoke, *yaar*.

The word *kumbhkarna* in the Hindu tradition refers to the younger brother of Ravana or one who sleeps too much (Pradhan, 1997). The writer, in the example (1), has used this term to address someone who sleeps too much. English does not have the equivalent word to refer to *kumbhkarna* because it has the different religious or socio-cultural meaning. The word *swami* in (2) refers to a title of great saints or ascetics (Pradhan, 1997), whose equivalent word is not found in English. The word *Mundre* in (3) refers to a boy who wears a ring in his ear. English lacks the equivalent word to refer to him. The word *gunda* in (4) has a negative connotation which refers to a hooligan. In (5), the word *khalasi* refers to a helper of the bus driver, particularly in cleaning the bus, changing the tyre, and assisting the passengers in getting in or off the bus. Rai (2006) suspected that the word *khalasi* is a Hinglish word borrowed into Nenglish. The word *raja* in the context of (6) is used to persuade the son, which heightens the significance of a son in the Nepali society. The words *ghusyaha* in (7) and *bhustighre* in (8) are used to mean a person who takes the bribe and a strong but a useless person, respectively (Pradhan, 1997). As English has no their equivalent words, the writer has borrowed them to fill the lexical gaps. In (9), the Nepali words

raksya and *juade* refer to a drunkard and a gambler, respectively. However, the Nepali words have more specific meaning than the English ones. The writer has mixed these codes to show some kind of Nepaliness in the text. Similarly, in (10), the word *hawaldar sab* is a common term of address borrowed from the military and police force, which is a rank higher than a police constable or soldier. Its equivalent word is not commonly found in English to address them. In Nepal, *guruji* and *sahuji* are commonly used to address a driver and a shopkeeper, respectively. However, these Nepali words have more positive connotations than the English ones. Therefore, the writer has borrowed these words. In (11), *Belayati babu* is used to address a person who is from Britain. The word *babu* is generally used in NE and IE after the name and their profession such as Indra Mohan *babu*, Prem *babu*, Painter *babu* to show both respect and love toward men. In (12), *Mem Sab,* which lacks its equivalent word in English, is an honorific word used to address a woman in a position of authority. The use of *sab* is perhaps borrowed from IE. Likewise, in (13), *kanchi* in the Nepali culture is used to address the youngest woman. It has its own social or cultural value, which has no equivalent word in English. The Nepali word *yaar* is used to mean a comrade, a friend, a mate, a lover (Pradhan, 1997). This word is borrowed from Hinglish (Rai, 2006). English has no equivalent word to replace *yaar*. Similarly, Rai (2016b) has borrowed the Nepali word *mahakavi* (e.g. mahakavi Devakota) to mean great poet. However, *mahakavi* and "great poet" have different connotative meanings. *Mahakavi* is the title given to only Laxmi Prasad Devkota but there are many great poets in Nepal, who are not addressed by *Mahakavi*. Therefore, the writer has used *mahakavi* rather than great poet. The extensive use of all the terms of address described above gives the recognition of NE, which varies from other varieties of English.

Upadhyay (2018) has borrowed different terms such as *lami, saheb, babu, langadi, sadhu, Lamfu,* and *nani* to give the Nepali flavor in his stories.

1. Hiralal was grateful to her for acting as a *lami* –the middle woman – for Moti.

2. Hiralal worked as a driver for a rich Marwari businessman, Chaudhari *saheb*… [.]

3. Well, I expect Moti *babu* will get a job once they're married.

4. The girl is a *langadi*.

5. A few days ago, he brought home a *sadhu*, a Shiva devotee… [.]

6. His nickname was *Lamfu*, which meant stupid… [.]

7. He patted her hand and said, "Tea, *Nani.*"

In (1), the word *lami* in the Nepali culture is used to refer to the middle man/woman or mediator of wedding. It does not have its completely equivalent word in English. The use of "the middle man/woman or the mediator" does not express the deep social or cultural meaning of *lami*. It is the reason why the writer has borrowed this word. The word *saheb* in (2) is a common term of address used in the Terai to refer to a man in a position of authority. English lacks its equivalent word. In (3), the Nepali word *langadi*, which has more negative connotation, is used to address a woman who is lame. The writer has perhaps borrowed this word to show the attitudes of the Nepali people toward a lame. The words *sadhu* and *Lamfu* in (4) and (5) are used to address a sage or a holy person in the Hindu religion and a stupid person or one who is good for nothing or loiters aimlessly, respectively (Pradhan, 1997). These two words, which have no equivalent words in English, express different cultural meanings in the Nepali society. In (6), the Nepali word *nani* is an affectionate term

used to address a child or one's junior. English does not have the equivalent word to refer to *nani*. Let us see some more examples from Upadhyay (2018):

1. "Ram Mohan, is my hot water bottle ready?" he asked me, his voice hoarse.

   "*Hajur*, I was making tea for Nani Memsaheb. But I'll fix some hot water for you."

2. "He owns a hotel in Singapore," I told him. I'll heat the water, *hajur*," and I quickly left the room.

3. "Shall I make you some tea, *hajur*?"

4. "*Hujoor*, do we have to go to the factory today?"

In the example (1), *hajur* refers to an acceptance or a response to the call by a respectable person, which means "Yes." In the examples (2), (3) and (4), *hajur/hujoor* is used as a pronoun to address a respectable person. As English does not have its equivalent word, the writer has borrowed it to make the discourse Nepali-like.

Similar to Rai (2016a) and Upadhyay (2018), Wagle (2016) has also borrowed Nepali terms of address such as *babu* and *sab* in his novel. Other borrowed words to address different people are *Khuile, Kumale*, *Kaila, Damai, Bahun,* and *Lahure*.

1. …*Khuile*'s eldest son, *Kumale*'s second oldest son, Birkhe's Bishokarma's son, *Kaila*'s daughter and Pundit Homnath's.

2. 'It's mostly other *Damai*,' he said.

3. Only the children of *Bahun* families went into other professions, mostly teaching.

4. After he recovered, *Lahure* Kaakaa had two stories to tell.

5. You should be the *heroine* in an action movie.

In (1), the word *Khuile* is generally used to address a man who is bald, *Kumale* to address a man who is traditionally involved in pottery, and *Kaila* to refer to the fourth born son. Similarly, the Nepali word *Damai* in (2) is an occupational caste who is traditionally involved in tailoring. In (3), *Bahun* refers to Brahmin caste people in Indo-Aryan or Khas group. In Nepal, *Lahure* in (4) is used to address an Indian or a British soldier. The main reason for the writer to borrow all the words mentioned above is that they do not have their exact equivalent words in English and English words cannot express the Nepali socio-cultural meanings. Similarly, as in the example (5), NE speakers use the term *heroine* to refer to an actress in the movie. Brett (1999) explained that *heroine* is a NE term which is replaced by the term "actress" in Standard English.

Shah's (2018) novel is heavily nativized from linguistic and cultural perspective because she has extensively borrowed Nepali terms to address different people such as *Shree Paanch Maharajadhiraj, Shree Paanch Badamaharani, badamaharani, prabhu, sarkar, firangees, chandalni, putali, zamindar, rajmata, dhai ma, bhariyas, badagurujiu, rajpurohits, kaanchhi, angrez, damais, gaines, bhaduwa, kukkur, paaji, jyapu, newar, sevak, bhedas, kaanchha, nani, kapati duijibre, gora sarkar, raj guru, bada kazis, sardars, khardars, gajalu nani, namard, pallu, vaidyas, hakims, dhamis, jhakris, purohit, maharaja, baise and chaubise rajas, pitri, ranisaheba, pakhe, saitan, Badis, Badinis, pancha kanyas, kaptini, bahunis, magarnis, gurungnis, jyapunis, kanchhamaharani, sipahi, goru moote*, and *gurujiu*. Let us observe some of the examples below:

1. …these men evince goodwill and abiding loyalty to each word uttered by the invincible *Shree Paanch Maharajadhiraj* Rajendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev… [.]

2. He sits in the courtyard, his hands firmly secured in the clasp of his senior queen, *Shree Paanch Badamaharani* Samrajya Devi Lakshmi Sha, who takes control of the court session.

3. My ears have ears in every quarter, *sarkar*.

4. Anyway, my *pari*, now you have to do your best to please the *rajmata*.

5. …*Sahibzada* Surendra chases him with a naked khukuri in hand… [.]

6. The *maharaja* poisoned the *badamaharani*.

7. What makes you to certain, *ranisaheba*, that Gagan will stay forever.

8. The English Government is honoured indeed by *Kanchhamaharani* Lakshmi Devi's most thoughtful goodwill.

9. What of the *maharani, sahibjiu*?

In the above examples from (1) to (9), all the italicized words except *pari* "a beautiful woman" are used to address the Royal family members. They were extensively used during the Royal dynasty in Nepal. The Shah Kings were titled *Shree Paanch*; *badamaharaja* or *maharaja* was a title for the king (great king); and *badamaharani* or *maharani* for the queen. Although there are words like the king/queen or His Majesty the King/Queen in English, the writer borrowed the Nepali words since they have the special historical meaning in the Nepali society. The word *sarkar* is used to address the king in general or the ruler, *rajmata* to address the mother of the king, *Sahibzada* to refer to the young prince, *ranisaheba* as the respectful address term to the queen, and *Kanchhamaharani* for second/last wife of the king. English does not have the total equivalent words to address them. Therefore, the writer has borrowed them. The use of such terms of address has given the Nepali flavor of the English language. Let us see some other examples:

1. 'I agree with you, *mukhtiyar*,' she says.

2. The *raj guru*, the *bharadars*, the *bada kazis* and the *kazis*, the *sardars*, the *mirsubbas* and the *khardars*... [.]

3. She was being carried out by her *bhariyas*.

4. Did the *badagurujiu* never teach you that?

5. I say, and ask for the *raj purohit* to be brought in.

6. …the attempts of his *hakims* and *vaidyas* fail to cure this fatal disease… [.]

7. The *gora sarkar* allows us to rule without much interference.

The words used in the above examples (1) - (7) were commonly used during the Rana period in Nepal. The word *Mukhtiyar* is used to refer to the successor or heir of a minister or the prime minister; the authorized representative. Pradhan (1997) gave its meaning as the commander-in-chief of Nepal army before democracy started in Nepal in 2007 B.S. The other words such as *raj guru* means royal spiritual preceptor, *bharadars* indicate courtiers or officers, or in Pradhan's (1997) words "Feudal high official" during the Rana and Shah dynasty. Similarly, *kazi* means the respectable term equivalent to the minister. It is the highest rank in civil service or an honorific word used for Chhetri and a Newar boy (p. 75). *Sardars* refer to those in civil rank in Nepal who were higher than *mirsubba* and lower than *kazi* (p. 868). Similarly, Neupane (2076 B.S.) mentioned that during the Shah period, *kaji* was the head of department and the regional head, *sardar* was the head of auditor hospital, *subba* was the head of the civil servants of district, and *mirsubbas* were those holding the positions of administration higher than *subba* and lower in rank than *sardar*. At that time, *khardars* were the secretaries or legal draftmen, *bhariyas* were porters, *badagurujiu* meant chief preachers or priests (Pradhan, 1997), and *raj purohit* referred to Royal family priest. Likewise, *hakims* refer to officer-in-charge or executive official and *vaidyas* mean Ayurvedic physicians. *Vaidyas* were practitioners of

Ayurvedic medicine who were government's traditional physicians. Likewise, *gora Sarkar* refers to the White or British ruler. All the words discussed above do not have the exact equivalent words in English. Therefore, the writer is compelled to borrow such words in the novel to convey the particular meanings. Some more examples include:

1. The *firangees* are termites, look what happened in Indi a.

2. Mind you, my *putali*, anger and arrogance, if not contained, can consume you in your entirety.

3. He is no preety *zamindar* like your father.

4. No more 'kaahe *dhai ma*'

5. She will come, *kaanchhi*.

6. You will be safe there, *kaanchha*

7. The waiting *pancha kanyas* usher him in… [.]

8. My dear Batuli, my *gajalu nani*, calm down, calm down… [.]

In the example (1), the word *firangees* is used to refer to English people or white men (Pradhan, 1997), which does not have its equivalent word in English to address them. The writer, therefore, has borrowed it in the novel. The word *putali* in (2) has the connotative meaning which is used to address a lovely or beautiful woman just like a butterfly. The words *zamindar* in (3) and *dhai ma* in (4) are used to address the landlord and a caregiver woman who also feeds her breast to another woman's child, respectively. The writer has borrowed the word *zamindar*, which has its historical and political meaning that is not explicitly expressed by landlord or landowner. She has borrowed the words *kaanchha* and *kaanchhi* in the examples (5) and (6) to address the last born son and daughter, respectively which do not have their equivalent words in English. In (7), *pancha kanyas* refer to five ladies who always

remain maidens or virgin in spite of getting married (Pradhan, 1997). The term *gajalu nani* in (8) refers to a beautiful woman who has awesome eyes with *gajal*, a kind of black substance put around the eyes. All these words do not have their equivalent words in English. Therefore, the writer has borrowed them to fill the lexical gaps. The use of such words expresses the socio-cultural meanings and reflects the bilinguals' creativity.

The writer has also nativized English according to the Nepali context by borrowing words from Nepali and other languages whether they have their equivalent words in English or not. Let us observe some examples of NE:

1. His power is so great that even the mighty *angrez* fear him.

2. …the infectious rhythms of *damais* and *gaines* when they play the *madal, murali* and the cymbal have never failed to enchant me.

3. Wandering off alone, caring two hoots for protocol and behaving much the same way as those *Jyapu* girls outside.

4. Will someone make sure these *bahunis* are removed from around me?

5. Bring me more of those *magarnis* and *gurungnis*, even *jyapunis* will do.

6. Another *sipahi* taunts

7. Fires are lit, madals brought out, women are abducted from the nearby villages, *Badis* sing and *Badinis* dance and the camp indulges in frivolous celebration.

The writer, in the example (1), has borrowed the word *angrez* to address the White/British people. In Nepal, *angrez* is a commonly used word to refer to them, which is comprehensible among the Nepali people. The words *damais* and *gaines* in (2) are used to address to those who are traditionally involved in tailoring and those whose profession is singing from door to door, respectively. The words *Jyapu* girls in

(3) and *jyapunis* in (6) generally are used to address Newari girls or women of Nepal. In the same way, *bahunis* in (4), *magarnis*, and *gurungnis* in (5) are used to address the women from the Brahmin caste, Magar, and Gurung ethnic groups of Nepal, respectively. In (6), the Nepali speakers use the word *sipahi* to address the soldier or military person. The Nepali words *badis* and *badinis* in (7) refer to those men and women who play musical instruments. The use of such words indexes the Nepali culture and identity. As English lacks the equivalent words of some words described above, the writer has borrowed those words to fill the gaps between the languages. Some more examples from Shah include:

1. *Sevak* is called second lieutenant Bir Nar Sing Kuwar, *sarkar*.

2. The *dhamis* and *jhakris* dance in the courtyard.

3. …and receiving condolences that have come pouring in from all the *birtas* and the *baise* and *chaubise rajas*.

4. Our queen has been so good, especially to you, *kukarmi*.

5. …even the *Doms*, all stand congregated together in any open space they can find.

6. The *apsaras* will be happy in his company.

The word *sevak* is generally used to address a devotee, helper, or servant. The writer, in the example (1), has borrowed it to refer to those who serve the nation and others. The words *dhamis* and *jhakris* in (2) are the ritual practitioners believed to possess the ability to embody local deities or spirits; particularly, *dhamis* are commonly used to refer to oracles or spirit mediums, while *jhakris* are simply shamans or witch doctor (Walter, 2004). The writer has borrowed these Nepali words since they have special cultural values in the Nepali society. Similarly, *baise* and *chaubise rajas* in (3) are used to address the kings of 22 kingdoms and 24 kingdoms

of Nepal, respectively which were tiny but sovereign before the unification of Nepal (Pradhan, 1997). The writer, in the example (4), has borrowed the Nepali word *kukarmi* to address someone who is not kind but commits misdeed or sin since English does not have its equivalent word. In (5), *Doms* refer to low caste people of Nepal, who are considered as untouchable according to the Hindu caste system. The writer has borrowed it to fill the lexical gap since English does not have the equivalent word to refer to *Doms*. Similarly, she has borrowed the Nepali word *apsaras* in (6) to address the beautiful women or fairies since *apsaras* have the special roles and values in the Hindu culture.

The writer has also borrowed some other words such as *Jetha budas* "village headmen," *dharmaadhikars* "judges," *dwares* "attendants," and *kapardars* "controllers of the Royal household," who had special roles during the Shah dynasty. Similarly, Bhattarai (2011) has also borrowed the Nepali word *Mahakavi* to address the great poet. It has the special meaning in Nepal because it is the special title given to the great poet Laxmi Prasad Devkota. Similarly, in his essay, Bhattarai (2012) has Nepalized his writing by borrowing Nepali address terms such as *Saila*, *Maila*, *Thule*, *Sane*, *Dhami*, *bahunnani, guruputra,* and *pitri*:

1. The neighbor asked him, "Where pundit, where with little *Saila*?"

2. I had two neighboring friends – *Thule* and *Sane*.

3. Then I began to imagine being a *Dhami*… [.]

4. Mother would shout: don't use the *chulesi, Maila*!

5. To be worshipped as a *bahunnani* or *guruputra* or the son of a Brahmin was a great honor, incomparable.

6. I shall wear the crown and make my *pitri*, my great ancestors proud.

The words *Thule, Maila, Saila*, and *Sane* from (1) to (4) are used to address the first born (eldest one), second born, third born, and last born (youngest one) son, respectively. There are no typical equivalent terms of these Nepali words in English. Therefore, the writer has borrowed them to fill the lexical gaps. Similarly, to address the Brahmin's child, he has borrowed *bahunnani* and *guruputra* in (5) which do not have their equivalent words in English. The meaning of *Dhami* has been described above.

Some more borrowed words in Koirala's (2017) text include *kajis, Maharaja, Sardar, Bahun, Chhetri*, and *lahurey*, which are all described above. In addition, another borrowed word is *Lama* "the priestly clan in *Tamang* community," which is a cultural word that does not have its equivalent word in English. The use of such words reflects the Nepali society. Similarly, Devkota (2017) has borrowed some words like *gaine* (described above), *amarballari* "immortal creepers" (p. 229), *sabitris* "wife of Satyavan, regarded as the beau ideal or highest pattern of conjugal fidelity" (p. 230), *gandarbha* "Nepali tribe whose profession is singing and playing on the fiddle-like musical instrument called sarangi in Nepali" and *Angrezibaj* "those who know a little bit English but pretend to know a lot" (p. 234). The reason for borrowing all these words is that they do not have their equivalent words in English. Some borrowed words from Pradhan (2017) incorporate *Priyadarshi* "looking kindly upon anything" (p. 248), *dharmaraj* "a benevolent person," and *shantadarshi* "peace loving." These words have their own cultural meanings which cannot be explicitly expressed by the English words.

All the terms of address described above show that the English words are inadequate to express the Nepali socio-cultural meanings. Therefore, lexical borrowing and code-mixing are the common phenomena in speaking and writing.

There are different ways of addressing people in NE, many of which do not have their equivalent words in English. By borrowing such words, the writers have filled the lexical gaps and given the Nepali flavor to their writings. There are also some pragmatic needs for borrowing words. In the following table, I have listed down some common lexical items used to address different people:

Table 2

Common NE Terms of Address

S. N.	Lexical items	Sources	Meaning in English
1.	babu	Rai (2016a), Upadhyay (2018), Wagle (2016)	a term used to address someone to show respect or love
2.	sab/sa'b/ saheb/sahib	Rai (2016a), Shah (2018), Upadhyay (2018), Wagle (2016)	a common term of address used in the Terai to refer to a man/woman in a position of authority
3.	nani	Bhattarai (2012), Shah (2018), Upadhyay (2018)	an affectionate term used to address a child or one's junior
4.	hajur/hujoor /hajoor	Shah (2018), Upadhyay (2018)	a word used to address a respectable person or as an acceptance/response to a call
5.	shreeman/ shriman	Shah (2018), Wagle (2016)	husband
6.	bahun	Bhattarai (2012), Koirala (2017), Shah (2018), Wagle (2016)	Brahmin caste people in Indo-Aryan or Khas group
7.	kaji/kazi	Koirala (2017), Shah (2018)	Head of Department and the regional head during the Shah period
8.	dhami	Bhattarai (2012), Shah (2018)	witch doctor
9.	lahure/ lahurey	Koirala (2017), Wagle (2016)	British or Indian soldier
10.	damai	Shah (2018), Wagle (2016)	someone who is traditionally involved in tailoring
11.	Newar	Khadgi (2020), Shah (2018),Wagle (2016)	ethnic tribe living mostly in town areas of Nepal
12.	gaine	Devkota (2017), Shah (2018)	someone whose profession is singing from door to door
13.	raja	Rai (2016a), Shah (2018)	king
14.	guruji	Koirala (2017), Rai (2016a)	driver
15.	maharaja	Koirala (2017), Shah (2018)	great king
16.	mahakavi	Bhattarai (2011), Rai (2016b)	great poet

The Nepali writers have borrowed several words from Nepali and local languages to address different people which have already been described above. The above table shows the common terms of address used by those writers. Among them, the words like *bahun* and *sab*/*sa'b*/*saheb*/*sahib* are used by four writers. To address the people, the writers have written four different spellings which generally come after the profession (e.g. doctor *saheb*, engineer *sa'b*), surname (e.g. Chaudhari *saheb*), name of a person (e.g. Prakash *sab*), kinship terms (e.g. *buasahib*), and other words like mem (e.g. *mem saheb*/*sab*). The three words *babu*, *nani*, and *Newar* have been used by three writers. The word *babu* generally occurs after the proper name (e.g. Prem *babu*, Mohan *babu*), profession (e.g. Painter *babu*), and nationality (e.g. Belayati *babu*). Another word *nani* occurs alone (e.g. tea, *nani*) and after the name of address (e.g. *bahunnani*, *gajalu nani*). Similarly, the word *Newar* generally occurs before the noun (e.g. *Newar* woman, *Newar* festivals). All other words in the table are used by two writers. The words like *hajur*/*hajoor*/*hujoor* occur alone as a term of address to some respectable people and as an acceptance or response to a call by the respectable people. They are also attached after the kinship term as a suffix (e.g. *buahajur*, *muahajur*). Other words have been described above. The common use of these words by different writers shows that they are NE words.

Slang and swear words. Slangs are casual, very informal words and expressions (Richards & Schmidt, 2010) and swear words are rude or offensive words, used especially to express anger. Slangs and swear words are culture-specific which make NE different from other varieties of English. Shah (2018) has borrowed some slangs and swear words from Nepali to show Nepaliness in the English language, which are exemplified, analyzed, and interpreted below:

1. '*Thukka mori*,' I spit it out instantly.

2. '*Bhaduwa, kuukkur, paaji,*' Maharajdhiraj Rajendra had bawled in sheer frustration.

3. '*Namard firangee…kapati duijibre.*' Pacing back and forth, the *Badamaharani* screams abuses.

4. *Chhaad jaatha*, go get the others.

5. *Allichhini*! I did not expect this from you of all my maids.

6. '*Pakhe*,' Jung Bahadur teases him.

7. '*Harami kukkur*! Another abuse.

8. 'Or did she part her pretty legs for you or did she bend over and give you her *kondo ko dulo* as she does for that *kukkur* Gagan.

The writer has borrowed the slangs and the swear words from Nepali to fill the lexical gaps since they do not have their equivalent words in English. In the example (1), *mori* is a word used to abuse a woman and *thukka* is a word that denotes disgust or contempt. The word *mori* is also used to address a woman to show endearment (Pradhan, 1997). The word *bhaduwa* in (2) is used to abuse someone who helps others for food only without any salary or who is a beggar or an idler, *kuukkur* is used to abuse someone negatively who has dog-like behavior, and *paaji* is used to abuse someone who is an idiot. In (3), *namarda* means coward, *kapati* is used to address someone who is deceitful or deceptive, and *duijibre* (double-tongued) refers to someone who is hypocritical. In (4), the word *jaattha,* which refers to furs grown up round the private parts of the body (Pradhan, 1997)*,* is a term of abuse addressed to a man. Similarly, *allichhini* in the example (5) is an abusive word used to address a woman who has bad manner, *pakhe* in (6) is a Nepali slang for an ignorant and uncivilized man who does not know the modern world, *harami* in (7) is an abusive word addressed to someone who is bastard or wicked (Pradhan, 1997), and *kondo* in

(8) is a slang word for the buttocks. All these words express Nepali cultural meanings.

Let us observe some more examples from Shah (2018):

1. '*Randi*!' You whore!

2. '*Jaattha chor*! Dare you touch the king!'

3. Debi falls cursing, '*Mujhi, jaattha…randi ko choro.*'

4. 'You *goru moote*, you abuse my mother!'

5. Mathabar knew about her *randibaaji*.

6. A fearful *saitan*, he destroys everything on his path.

7. Batuli! A *kaptini*? Never. She was ever a loyal.

8. When have the Nepalese done anything besides talk. *Bhedas*, sarkar, that's what they are all.

9. '*Tero bauko ko khappar chandalni*, you'll get into serious trouble someday… [.]

In the example (1) and (3), the word *randi* is used to address a prostitute or whore. *Jaattha* in the example (2) and (3) is used to rebuke a man (*jaattha* also refers to pubic hair), and *mujhi* is an asshole, which in the example (3), is a vulgar word or an abusive word used to show hatred. Such words are produced when someone is angry at someone. In the same way, *goru moote* in (4) is used to address someone who is coward or lazybones. The word *randibaaji* in (5) refers to prostitution, *saitan* in the example (6) means a devil, *kaptini* in (7) is used to address a woman who is deceptive or who keeps everything secret, *bhedas* in (8) are used to address people who do not use their wisdom in their work, and the word *chandalni* in (9) refers to a woman who is very cunning. The slang and swear words described above incorporate cultural features and do not have the exact equivalent words in English. Let us observe an example of a slang word used by Rai (2016a):

1. He looked at Mina incredulously who asked, "Who was it? It must be that woman *Shalini*…who else can ring you at this time of the day.

In the above example, the writer has borrowed the Nepali word *Shalini*, a term used to abuse a woman or a girl. This word does not have its equivalent word in English. In the Nepali culture, it is a rude word which is not used in a formal situation.

All these swear and slang words described above are the instances of cultural nativization which have only partial or no equivalent words in English because they are the typical words used in NE, which have pragmatic or cultural meanings in the Nepali society. The writer has borrowed them to fill the lexical gaps created by English.

Clothes, Ornaments, and Other Wearing Items. Different creative writers have borrowed different lexical items referring to clothes, ornaments, and other wearing items from languages of Nepal. Rai (2016a) has borrowed words like *fariya, chappal, daura-suruwal, topi, lungi, kurta-salwar, kurta, gamcha*, and *ganji*. Let us observe the following examples from him:

1. Punte goes near his mother, and holds her *fariya* that smells of ginger, garlic, and several other species.

2. His five feet three inches frame, his cheap clothes, his toe protruding from the *chappal* and … [.]

3. Mahadev looked at a man in *daura-suruwal* and *topi* coming to him.

4. She was wearing a colourful *lungi* but its colour had faded like her desires and aspirations had faded from life.

5. Now, you tell me *didi*, who wears *kurta-salwar* at my age.

6. Then appeared another man and a lowlander clad in white dhoti-*kurta* with a *gamcha* on his shoulder.

7. In a corner, a man was snoring gently with his mouth open, three men clad in dhoti and *ganji* were playing cards in another… [.]

The above italicized words from (1) to (7) are cultural terms which reflect the identity of the Nepali people. The creative writers both maintain and spread their local or national identity by using culture-specific terms in their writings. *Fariya* in (1) means Nepali sari. The use of the word *fariya* indicates that it is different from sari (Rai, 2006). The word "sari" has already become the part of the English language and incorporated in the English dictionary. Similarly, the writer has used the word *chappal* in (2) instead of the English word "slippers" since slippers are generally made for indoor use only but *chappals* are worn both indoor and outdoor. Words like sandals and slippers do not actually convey the meaning of *chappals*. The writer has borrowed *daura-suruwal* and *topi,* in the example (3), to refer to a national dress worn by Nepali men and a light-weight cap put on the head by Nepali men, respectively since they are the Nepali cultural terms which do not have their equivalent words in English. Similarly, *lungi* in (4) is a long cloth worn by Nepali women round their waist, falling to their ankles. Another cloth *kurta* in (5) refers to a collarless, long-sleeved, knee-length shirt worn by Nepali women or girls and *salwar* refers to a pair of light loose trousers with a tight fit around the ankles of women. Likewise, *gamcha* in (6) is a traditional thin towel wrapped around the head or neck, and *ganji* in (7) generally means vest in English. In his article, Rai (2016b) has borrowed the Nepali word *pachyori* "the shawl or headkerchief used by women." All the clothes described above are culture-specific which do not have their equivalent words in English. Therefore, the writer has borrowed them to fill the lexical gaps.

Similar to Rai (2016a), Upadhyay (2018) has also borrowed the words such as *topi*, and *daura suruwal*. Other borrowed words from Nepali include *phuli, salwar-kameez, kazal,* and *khasto*. Let us observe the following examples:

1. She was wearing a *phuli* on her nose.

2. She wore a simple *salwar-kameez*, one of her older ones, from her school days in Nepal.

3. When she lifted her mirror and studied her face or applied *kazal* to her eyes, he became entranced.

4. She was wearing a traditional Nepali shawl, the *khasto*… [.]

In the above examples, the Nepali word *phuli* in (1) refers to a kind of nose ring worn by Nepali women or girls as an ornament. This word cannot be replaced by any single English word. The writer has used the word *kameez* in (2) to refer to a kind of shirt worn by women/girls with salwar since English does not have its equivalent word. In (3), *kazal* means a black powder used by women or girls as cosmetic around their eyes. Similarly, *khasto* in (4) is a traditional Nepali shawl worn by women to warm their bodies. Both *kazal* and *khasto* do not have their equivalent words in English. Therefore, the writer has borrowed the Nepali words to fill the lexical gaps.

Likewise, Bhattarai (2016) has borrowed Nepali words like *daura suruwal, Bhadgaunley kalo topi*, and *Nepali topi*, and Wagle (2016) has borrowed *bhadgaunle topi, pote* "necklace of colorful glass beads worn by a married woman whose husband is alive" and *sindur* "vermilion applied by married Hindu women along the parting of the hair." Both *pote* and *sindur* are worn by the married women, particularly Hindu women in Nepal which have the typical cultural meaning. Extensive number of Nepali and Newari words referring to clothes, ornaments, and other wearing has been borrowed by Shah (2018) in her novel such as *Dhaka topi, daura surwal, sindoor,*

gajal, lali, pharia, chaubandi cholo, haku patasi, haku gocha, tilhari, poskhak, janai, labeda suruwa, and *thangkas.* Let us observe examples of some other words which have not been described above:

1. Picking up my *gajal* and *lali*, she flicks them back at useless articles.

2. She looks radiant in her bright *chaubandi cholo* and *haku patasi*.

3. I cannot, *sarkar*, this *poskhak*, was gifted to you by His Majesty himself.

4. One after another, I put the three *tilharis*, red, yellow and green around her neck, the *nattha* on the left of her head.

5. I know Gagan will take a shower and change his *janai* before his meal.

6. …grey and brown *labeda surwal* and a simple *Dhaka topi* for head gear…

   [.]

7. He is alone now with his *thangkas* done in gold, hanging and almost covering the entire wall of his room.

As English does not have the equivalent words to refer to the Nepali cultural words presented in the examples, the writer has borrowed them to fill the linguistic gaps. In the example (1), the Nepali word *gajal*, similar to *kazal*, is a black ayurbedic substance worn by Nepali women around their eyes and *lali* refers to the cosmetic applied by women or girls to color or beautify their lips. In (2), *Chaubandi cholo*, is a full sleeved blouse tied at four different corners, and *haku patasi* is a traditional black-and-red sari worn traditionally by the Newar community (Wagle, 2016). *Poshak* in (3) refers to a uniform or dress. Similarly, *tilharis* in (4) are heavy necklaces worn by married Nepali women, and *nattha* is a nose ring worn by women (Pradhan, 1997). *Janai* in (5) is a sacred thread worn especially by Brahmin and Chhetri men. The words such as *labeda surwal* and *Dhaka topi*, from (6), refer to *daura suruwal* and Nepali cap, respectively which have been described above. Likewise, *thangkas* in (7)

refer to Nepali paintings on cotton or painted linen banners. Furthermore, Bhattarai (2012) has also borrowed Nepali words such as *janai* and *tika chandan* "sandalwood paste put on forehead as *tika*." All these clothes are culture-specific, many of which do not have their equivalent words in English.

Koirala (2017) incorporates Nepali words like *suruwal*, *Bhadgaunlay topi*, and *kurta* which have been described above. In addition to them, he has also borrowed *bhoto* (*e.g.* I had – a coat, a *bhoto* and a thin *suruwal*), to refer to a sleeveless jacket, vest, or waist coat (Pradhan, 1997), which does not have its equivalent word in English.

All the nativized words referring to clothes, ornaments, and wearings described above show that there are some words which are used by more than one writer in their texts which are enlisted in the following table:

Table 3

Common NE Lexical items Referring to Clothes and Wearings

S.N.	Lexical items	Sources	Meaning in English
1.	daura-suruwal/surwal	Bhattarai (2016), Koirala (2017), Rai (2016a), Shah (2018)	national dress worn by Nepali men
2.	Topi	Bhattarai (2016), Koirala (2017), Rai (2016a), Shah (2018)	Nepali cap
3.	salwar-kurta/kurta-salwar, kurta	Koirala (2017), Rai (2016a), Upadhyay (2018)	trousers and collarless shirt worn by Nepali women/girls
4.	sindur/sindoor	Shah (2018), Wagle (2016)	vermillion powder worn by married women in their hair part
5.	fariya/pharia	Rai (2016a), Shah (2018)	Nepali sari
6.	janai	Bhattarai (2012), Shah (2018)	a sacred thread worn by Brahmin and Chhetri men

The table 3 shows that the word *topi* has occurred with *Dhaka*, *Nepali* and *bhadgaule*/*bhadgaulay*, which specify where the *topi* is from and what it is made of.

This also reflects the Nepali culture and identity. Other words like *daura-suruwal* [Koirala (2017) has borrowed the word *surwal* only], and (*salwar-*) *kurta* have been used by three writers in their texts to show Nepaliness, and other words given in the table are used by two writers (see their description above). The frequent use of these words by more writers shows that these words have been assimilated into English.

From the above discussion, we can conclude that clothes, ornaments, and other wearing items are culture-specific. Nepali has different words to refer to them, whose equivalent words are not found in English. The use of such words by Nepali writers has given Nepaliness in their writings. The readers can experience the Nepali culture by reading their writings because as Kramsch (1998, p. 8) stated, "Language is not a culture-free code, distinct from the way people think and behave, but, rather, it plays a major role in the perpetuation of culture, particularly in its printed form." Such writings transfer the cultural messages explicitly. In the words of Alptekin (2006), the nativization of such different sociological dimensions such as cultural customs and rituals is known as cultural nativization. The writers have borrowed all these Nepali cultural words to fill the lexical as well as cultural gaps between Nepali and English.

Foods and Drinks. NE incorporates a large number of words referring to foods and drinks which are borrowed from different languages. Rai (2016a) has borrowed *suntala, raksi/raxi, chura or muri, chicken-tanduri, gajar-haluwa, dal-bhat, sag, tarkari, samosas, pakodas, dahi, Hinwa*, and *malda* mangoes, which are presented in the following examples:

1. True to her name she was like a *suntala*.

2. …she drank *raksi* and that she didn't talk with them.

3. There was *raxi* followed by simple *dal-bhat*.

4. Women folks prepare *chura* or *muri* and children just run around.

5. They are well known for their *chicken-tanduri* and *gajar-haluwa*.

6. It was a *hat* day and they were coming to sell their goods – potato and onion, *sag* and *tarkari*, household utensils… [.]

7. All the *samosas* and *pakodas*, *chura* and *dahi* and different kinds of sweetmeats were consumed.

8. I will offer them *Hinwa*, the wine made of local strawberry.

9. He entered the gate with trembling legs, and the sack of 50 ripe *malda* mangoes he was carrying with him grew heavier.

In the example of (1), the writer has borrowed the Nepali word *suntala*, which actually refers to a name of a girl *Suntali*.The words *raksi* in (2) and *raxi* in (3) mean the same thing, that is, local or homemade liquor. It is a special kind of Nepali homemade alcoholic drink. The writer has borrowed it since its meaning cannot be explicitly conveyed by alcohol and liquor. He might have modified the word *raxi* knowingly to convey the message that how the media is influencing the written language. He has borrowed the word *dal-bhat* to refer to Nepali dish composed of steamed rich and cooked lentil soup since English does not have its equivalent word. In (4), the word *chura* refers to beaten rice and *mura* means puffed rice. The word *chicken-tanduri* in (5) refers to a chicken dish prepared by roasting chicken along with yoghurt and spices in a clay oven or *tandur* and *gajar-haluwa* is a food item made of carrot, flour, ghee, and milk (Pradhan, 1997). These words are perhaps borrowed from IE and do not have their equivalent words in English. The two words *sag* and *tarkari* in (6) refer to green vegetable and curry, respectively. However, the use of English words "green vegetable" and "curry" does not explicitly specify the meaning of *sag* and *tarkari* since there are many green vegetables and both Nepali words *tihun* and *tarkari* are called "curry" in English, that is, the hyponyms of

"curry." In (7), *pakodas* and *dahi* refer to a fried Indian or Nepali vegetable snack and yoghurt, respectively. Although *dahi* has its equivalent word in English, the writer has borrowed it to neglicize the text. Similarly, in the example (8), *Hinwa*, which has no equivalent word in English, refers to wine made of berry. The word *malda* in (9) is a kind of mangoes, in which *malda* and "mangoes" have a hyponymous relation; the first Nepali word is a hyponym of the second English word. By using the word *malda*, the writer has made the meaning of mangoes explicit. Similarly, Rai (2016b) has borrowed words like *cha* "tea" and *samose* "triangle-shaped savoury fried in oil, with spiced vegetables inside" which are borrowed from IE or the Hindi language. Other borrowed words from the Nepali language include *dhindo* "porridge prepared from boiled maize or millet flour," *chapatti* "tea leaves," and *bidi* "twist of tobacco rolled in a leaf to be smoked." The borrowing of such words has given the flavor of the Nepali cultures. Words like *samose*, *dhindo*, and *bidi* do not have their equivalent words in English.

Upadhyay (2018) has borrowed some Nepali words such as *raksi, dal-bhat, dal, rotis, bidi, bhoj*, *puris*, *chana-tarkari* and *mung* in his novel to fill the lexical gaps. I have presented only the examples of those words below which have not been described above:

1. The steam rising off the *rotis* she was cooking burned his nostrils.

2. Every two hours or so he would smoke a *bidi*… [.]

3. Don't forget to invite us for the *bhoj*.

4. When her mother brought hot *puris* and *chana-tarkari* from the kitchen, the uncles praised her culinary skills.

5. A woman came in to buy some *mung* beans, and after she left… [.]

In the example (1), the word *rotis* refer to flat bread made of flour. *Bidi* in (2) means a thin cigarette filled with tobacco flake and commonly wrapped by a particular kind of leaf. The word *bhoj* in (3) means festive dinner, and *puris* in (4) refer to bread of wheat-flour cooked in oil or ghee, *chana-tarkari* refers to curry made of green gram, and *mung* in (5) is a kind of bean which is an important pulse crop in Nepal. The writer has borrowed these Nepali words which do not have their equivalent words in English.

In his novel, Wagle (2016) has borrowed words such as *achar, kafal, saag, momo, chhoila, sukuti, daal bhaat, dhido,* and *daal.* Some examples are given below:

1. Near the top, you pick *kafal*.

2. On the wall was a menu listing prices for noodles*, momo*, fried chicken, chowmein, *chhoila*, mutton *sukuti*, rum, vodka, beer and *Khukuri* Filter Kings.

3. He started to cook *dhido* and potato curry.

4. From the kitchen came the smell of *saag* frying in mustard oil. Coriander *achar*, black *daal*, green beans cooked till soft.

In the examples from (1) to (4), the word *kafal* refers to a wild red berry like raspberries found throughout the Nepali hills (p. 272), *momo* is a dumpling made with flour filled with meat or vegetables, *chhoila* refers to buffalo meat prepared in a typical Newari style (p. 272), *sukuti* refers to dried meat, *dhido* is a traditional Nepali dish which is made by boiling hot water and continuously mixing and stirring flour of maize or millet, *achar* means pickle which can be made from salt, chilies, coriander or tomato, and *daal* means soup made of black pulse (the word *saag* has been described above). These words do not have their exact equivalent words in English. Therefore, the writer has borrowed them in his novel.

The words referring to foods, drinks, and other eating items borrowed by Shah (2018) in her novel encompass *paan, pindas, tama, gundruk, lapsi, gundpak, chatamari, dyakula, alu ko achar, sandheko bhatmas, choila, aila, sel, malpuwa/malpua,bandel ko tauko,* and *jiunar.* They are presented in the following examples.

1. How long does one take to make *paan*?

2. Why ten *pindas*, *baaje*?

3. …the fermented aroma of *tama* and *gundruk*… [.]

4. …the sudden craving for *lapsi*, *gundpak* and *chatamari* had made him salivate.

5. There will be *dyakula, alu ko achaar, sandheko bhatmas* and *choila* and *aila* in abundance.

6. So what did she give you? *Sel, malpua, bandel ko tauko*?

7. Learn to say *jiunar* and be patient and sit for your classes.

In the examples from (1) to (7), the word *paan* refers to a kind of food item made from leaves of betel plant wrapped around tobacco and betel nuts, and chewed, *pindas* mean food items offered to the dead ancestors, *tama* refers to pickle made from young bamboo shoot, *gundruk* is a popular Nepali food item which denotes the fermented and dried vegetables made by pressing radish or mustard, *lapsi* is a sour fruit used to make pickle, *gundpak* is a popular sweet or product made of ghee, *sakkhar*, dry nuts, milk, almonds, cardamom, grated coconut, and other items, and *chatamari* is a kind of Newari bread cooked during the auspicious ceremony (Pradhan, 1997). English does not have equivalent words to replace these words. Similarly, the other codemixed words include *dyakula* "cooked buff meat, Newari food," *alu ko achaar* "pickle made from potatoes," *sandheko bhatmas* "food item of

soybeans mixed with spices," *choila* "Newari dish that consists of spiced grilled buffalo meat," *aila* "liquor in Newari community," *sel* "ring-shaped rice bread," *malpua* "a pancake made from rice flour and sugar," *bandel ko tauko* "food item made from the head of a wild pig," and *jiunar* "supplement of food." The writer has borrowed them to fill the lexical and cultural gaps since English does not have words to replace them. In the similar vein, Bhattarai (2012) has borrowed some wild fruits like *aiselu* "berry," jamun "a kind of blackberry," *kafal* "dark-reddish fruit like straw-berry," and *khaja* "light breakfast." He has borrowed them because English words do not explicitly express their meaning. Koirala's (2017) translated text has also borrowed some Nepali words such as *chiura-bhatmas*, and *daal-bhat*, which have been described above. Some more borrowed words from Pradhan (2017) include *bhyakur* and *gittha* "wild roots eaten during famines when there is no other food available," *satu* "powdered corn or gram considered cheapest or low quality food," and *bhyatal* "very cheap soup or gruel made of green vegetable" (p. 254), which do not have their equivalent words in other varieties of English.

The above examples and discussion show that NE incorporates extensive Nepali and Newari food items, many of which do not have their equivalent words. The reason behind the heavy lexical borrowing from Nepali is its dominance over other languages in Nepal. Nepali is the common lingua franca which has heavily influenced the English language spoken in Nepal. It can be observed in the pronunciation and code mixing and code-switching. The writers have borrowed several foods, drinks, and other eating items in their writings which are culture- and location-specific, which are not produced in other countries. In the nativization through semantic dimension, conceptual and lexical changes are made in the areas of foods and drinks (Alptekin, 2006). The use of such words not only makes the texts

comprehensible because the readers have the background and the schematic

knowledge about them but also shows the multilingual and multicultural Nepali

identity because the borrowed words are from Nepali, Newari, and Hindi languages.

Let us observe some common NE lexical items:

Table 4

Common NE Lexical items Referring Foods and Drinks

S.N.	Lexical items	Sources	Meaning in English
1.	raksi	Rai (2016a), Upadhyay (2018)	local liquor
2.	chicken-tanduri/ tandoori-chicken	Rai (2016a), Upadhyay (2018)	chicken dish prepared by roasting chicken along with yoghurt and spices
3.	dal-bhat/daal-bhaat	Koirala (2017), Rai (2016a), Upadhyay (2018), Wagle (2016)	traditional Nepali meal
4.	sag/saag	Rai (2016a), Shah (2018)	a type of spinach
5.	Tarkari	Rai (2016a), Upadhyay (2018)	curry
6.	chura/chiura	Koirala (2017), Rai (2016a), Wagle (2016)	beaten rice
7.	Achar	Shah (2018), Wagle (2016)	pickle
8.	Kafal	Bhattarai (2012), Wagle (2016)	a wild red berry-like fruit
9.	Bhatmas	Koirala (2017), Shah (2018)	soyabean
10.	chhoila/choila	Shah (2018), Wagle (2016)	buffalo meat prepared in a typical Newari style
11.	dhindo/dhido	Rai (2016b), Wagle (2016)	porridge prepared from boiled maize- or millet-flour
12.	bidi	Rai (2016b), Upadhyay (2018)	tobacco rolled in a leaf for smoking

The table 4 exhibits the common Nepali words used in the English texts. The

Nepali word *dal-bhat*/*daal-bhaat*, which is a traditional Nepali meal and reflects

Nepali culture and identity, has been used by four writers in their texts and

chura/*chiura*, a popular food item in Nepal, has been borrowed by three writers in

their texts, and all other listed words have been used by two writers in their texts.

Once the nativization process via borrowing begins, the nativized words are

commonly used not only in day-to-day communication but also in writings. Then, they gradually become the common NE lexical items.

      Interjections. Interjections are used to express surprise, anger, disgust, pain, and other emotions. The creative writers have borrowed words from Nepali to express such emotions in a Nepali way. Rai (2016a) has borrowed words such as *Ammai*! *Chi-chi*! *Aa*! *Are*!

1. …all of a sudden I grabbed her left hand and hurled her towards the bed where she collapsed in a heap saying "*Ammai*!"

2. She would cover her face with her hands and say, "*chi-chi*!"

3. "*Are yaar*! You think *bhauju* has got time to sit in the shop.

4. *Aa didi*! Don't tease me.

      In the above examples, the interjection *ammai* expresses wonder, surprise, or fear; *chi-chi* is used to express disgust, *are yaar* expresses surprise (*yaar* means friend), and *aa* is used to express disgust (Pradhan, 1997) or unwillingness. Although English also has words to express surprise, disgust, and unwillingness, the use of such typical Nepali interjections makes the texts more Nepali-like. Similarly, Upadhyay (2018) has borrowed some Nepali words to express emotions and feelings:

1. *Hare Shiva*, she said, "How are we going to pay the next month's rent?"

2. She uttered a sharp, *"Aiya."*

3. But to kill the bastard baby? *Chee, chee*.

      The Nepali word *hare* is an interjection used to express sorrow, grief, pain, disappointment, oppression, sympathy, and astonishment (Pradhan, 1997). In the sentence (1), *Hare Shiva* is generally produced by those who follow Hindu religion to express their sorrow or grief, *Aiya* in the sentence (2) is used to express pain or suffering, and *chee, chee* in the sentence (3) expresses disgust in the Nepali language.

In English, such emotions are expressed by "Oh my god!" "Ouch!" and "Yuck!" respectively. Similarly, Shah (2018) has borrowed some Nepali interjections, which are given below:

1. *Aabuiii*! Look at the *diyos* being placed all over the *kot*.

2. *Abuiii*! With a grasp my hands cover my mouth.

3. Now what? Should the maharaja discover what happened last night *abbui neee*.

4. Disgusting! *Chhyaa*, *hak thoo*! A blob of spittle lands on Batuli's face.

5. *Thukka paaji*! A blob of spittle splatters all over Jung Bahadur's face.

6. *'Ha*!' bellows Ranjore Thapa, dismissing the notion as futile.

7. *'Allichhini*! I did not expect this from you of all my maids.'

In the above examples, the Nepali words *aabuii*, *abuiii*, and *abbui neee* are interjections used to express fear, *chhyaa* and *hak thoo* are used to express disgust, *thukka* is used to express our dislike or disgust, *ha* is an interjection used to indicate grief, suffering, and amazement (Pradhan, 1997), and *allichhini* (also *allicchina*) is used to curse others when one is angry.

All the interjections described above are language - or culture – specific, which do not have their equivalent words in English. The writers have borrowed Nepali interjections to fill the lexical gaps and to localize English in the Nepali context. Use of such interjections in the literary or creative texts also exemplifies nativization in NE. Among them, *chi-chi/chee-chee* is the common NE lexical word used by both Rai (2016a) and Upadhyay (2018).

Household Items, Tools, and Weapons. The Nepali writers have borrowed several lexical items of the realm of households and weapons. Rai (2016a) has

borrowed Nepali words *pira*, and *doko* to fill the lexical gaps since English has no

their equivalent words.

1. "Yes, Ma'am," Parvati replied and pushed a *pira* for the Head Mistress to

   sit on.

2. As I was watching them, a group of girls with *dokos* on their head came,

   put down their loads and watched the girls on the riverbank.

In the example (1), the word *pira* refers to the wooden seat or a tool to sit on.

The word *dokos* in the sentence (2) has more specific meaning compared to the word

"basket." *Dokos* in the Nepali culture are a kind of baskets made of bamboos and are

used for carrying firewood and grass. The Nepali people do not generally use the

word "basket" to mean *doko*. Similarly, Wagle (2016) has used Nepali words *doko*

and *khukuri* in his novel because of the lack of their equivalent words in English:

1. How long do we have to keep carrying these *dokos*?

2. 'For just a few rupees, I'd stand outside your gate all night and guard you

   with a *khukuri* in my hand.'

The meaning of *doko* is described above. *Khukuri*, in the sentence (2), is a

kind of knife which is known as the national weapon of Nepal. This word was also

borrowed by Pradhan (2017) in his essay. Let us observe words borrowed by Shah

(2018) in the following examples:

1. Should I have her flogged with a thousand flaming *korras*?

2. So Harka drew out his sharpened *khukuri*.

3. The *vajra* and the prayer wheel are prominent over the fire place.

Korras, in the example (1), mean whips. *Korra* in Nepali is a long thin piece

of rope or leather, attached to a handle, which is used for punishing people. The word

vajra in (3) refers to the thunderbolt or a tool for cutting diamond (the meaning of

khukuri is described above). The writer has borrowed these words to convey the meaning explicitly.

Upadhyay (2018) has borrowed the word *pirka*, which is a wooden plank made to sit on. Similarly, in his essay, Bhattarai (2012) has borrowed some words *karda* "a small knife," and *chulesi* "curved kitchen knife used for cutting vegetables," which do not have their exact equivalent words in English. Koirala (2017) has also borrowed a word *lota* "water pot or vessel" since English does not have the exact equivalent word of it. The common words described above are presented in the following table:

Table 5

Common NE Lexical Items for Household Items, Tools, and Weapons

S. N.	Lexical items	Sources	Meaning in English
1.	Doko	Rai (2016a), Wagle (2016)	wicker basket
2.	khukri/ khukuri	Bhattarai (2016), Pradhan (2017), Shah (2018), Upadhyay (2018), Wagle (2016)	Nepali knife
3.	pira/pirka	Rai (2016a), Shah (2018), Upadhyay (2018)	wooden seat

The words given in the table do not have their equivalent words in English. Therefore, the writers have borrowed them in their texts to fill the lexical gaps and show Nepaliness in their texts. The Nepali word *khukuri*/*khukri* has been used by five writers, *pira*/*pirka* by three writers, and *doko* by two writers in their texts. The use of same words by more than one writers shows that they are NE lexical items.

Music and (Ritual) Musical Instruments. The Nepali authors have borrowed culture-specific words referring to music and musical instruments, which show how the English literature created in Nepal is nativized. Let us observe some examples from Wagle (2016) and Shah (2018):

1. He will beat the *madal* and dance the *jhyaure*.

2. 'And *dohori* too'

3. When he played his *narasimha*, the veins in his neck used to swell as though they were going to burst.

4. The piercing pitches of the *sarangi*, the sweet blend of the *jor murali*, the infectious rhythms of *damais* and *gaines* when they play the *madal*, *murali* and the cymbal have never failed to enchant me.

5. An enormous *lawah* (Buddhist bugle) stands as artifice of a decorative medium near his writing desk.

6. There are days when the two play *kaura* together, bringing in their own teammates who stand and cheer from behind.

7. …dance thrashing their limbs to the *dhime* and *bhusia*.

8. Look, Batuli, a *pinwacha*, there is a man playing a *pinwacha* across the road.

The writers have borrowed different Nepali words referring to music and musical instruments to fill the lexical and cultural gaps since their equivalent words are not found in English. In the example (1), the word *jhyaure* refers to a kind of Nepali folk-song, which does not have its equivalent word in English. In the example (2), *dohori* refers to a popular Nepali duet song sung in question and answer. *Narsimha*, in the sentence (3), is a popular musical instrument in Nepal, generally played in the wedding ceremony. It is a trumpet made of two pieces curved copper tube which is played by blowing air through its mouthpiece. It does not have its equivalent word in English. In the sentence (4), *sarangi*, (*jor*) *murali*, and *madal* are all Nepali musical instruments. *Sarangi* is a traditional folk musical string-instrument which is played by rubbing on a group of strings with a small stick fastened with some strings. *Murali* is a flute or fife made of bamboo which generally has six holes

on it. The other word *lawah*, in (5), refers to the Buddhist bugle. In the example (6), *kaura*, also called *kauda*, is a folk musical performance, traditionally associated with the Magar people of Nepal. Likewise, in the example (7), *dhime* is a typical Nepali musical kettledrum-like instrument, and *bhusia* is also another kind of Nepali musical instrument. In (8), the word *pinwacha*, also spelled as *piwancha*, is a two- or three-stringed instrument played especially by Newari farmers. Similarly, Bhattarai (2012) has borrowed *dhyangro* which means "a flat drum that can be struck with a stick on both sides and is typically played by shaman," and Devkota (2017) has also borrowed *sarangi* in his essay. English lacks the equivalent word of *dhyangro* and *sarangi*.

Music and musical instruments are the identities of the nation and the ethnic groups. They also reflect the Nepali cultures. They do not have their equivalent words in English. The writers have nativized their writings by borrowing such words which show that NE is different from other varieties of English.

Locations, Buildings, and Countries. The Nepali writers have nativized the names of places, buildings, and countries. Rai (2016a) has borrowed *Belayat*, *ghur*, *kothi*, *chowk*, *darbars, dhara,* and *chula* in his anthology.

1. He is a *malechha*, who flowed all his culture and traditions down the drain in *Belayat*.

2. They were sitting round the *ghur* by warming up themselves.

3. Every family has rice in their *kothi*… [.]

4. All I need is the land – six by eight feet land near the *chowk*.

5. …and now almost all of them have *darbars* in Kathmandu.

6. I could hear Suntali washing dishes on the *dhara*, and… [.]

7. Her voice mingled with the sound of crackling fire in the *chula* felt like listening to a radio drama.

In the above examples, the word *Belayat* in (1) is a Nepalized word to refer to Britain. This word has also been borrowed by Bhattarai (2011) in his article. The writers seem to be using it to make the sentence comprehensible to the readers. The word *ghur* in (2) refers to a pile of burning firewood. In the example (3), *kothi* means a specific word used in the plain or low land which refers to a granary made of bamboo strips with mud. Similarly, *chowk* in (4) is used to mean an open market area in a city at the junction of two roads. All these three words do not have their exact equivalent words in English. In (5), *darbars* mean large buildings or castles. In (6), *dhara* means water-tap or flow/stream of water, and in (7), *chula* refers to hearth. Wagle (2016) has also given the Nepali flavor in his novel by borrowing the commonly used words *Belayat* "Nepali name of Britain" and *Malaya* "a former name of Malaysia" (e.g. It was the year he'd returned from *Malaya*). He has used these words since they are very familiar among the Nepali readers of English. He has also nativized the country "America" as *Amrika,* a Nepali pronunciation for America (e.g. He lives with his wife in Amrika). Similarly, Upadhaya (2018) has borrowed the word *bhatti* "the shop where liquor is sold," which does not have its equivalent word in English. In Bhattarai's (2012) essay, *paradesh* "a foreign land," *pathsala* "school," *sikuwa* "a semi-open space in a house, generally allocated for the guests to sit," and *Gurukuls* "types of schools where the disciples live near their teacher and get education" are the borrowed words, which has made the essay Nepali-like. Bhattarai has Nepalized the English word "school" as *iskool* because Nepali speakers pronounce it as *iskool*. Let us observe the following examples:

1. *Maldai* knew nothing about the *iskool* culture; mother knew nothing about the *iskool* culture and my father's *Pathsaalas* long way back were completely different *Gurukuls* with a different culture.

2. Father would often be far away, in some *paradesh…* [.]

In the above examples, *iskool* is a Nepali pronunciation for "school," and *pathsala* is a Nepali word to refer to school, which was traditionally called *gurukul*. The Nepali people call *paradesh* to a foreign land or country. The use of such local words has given the local flavor to the text. In her novel, Shah (2018) has code-mixed Nepali words *dhukuti*, *baithak*, *tole*, *mool chowk*, *aakhijyal*, *Cheen*, *Bhot*, *ghats*, *chautara*, *birta*, *gully*, *maita*, *machans*, *baggikhana*, *mangal,* and *filkhana*, which show the bilinguals' creativity. Let us observe the following examples:

1. I remember being locked in the dark *dhukuti* with no attendant.

2. There are with him other *bhardars*, waiting this minute at your *baithak*, Sarkar.

3. …that encircle the *mool chowk*, I see them.

4. When I looked down from the lattice of the *aakhijhyal*, I am certain.

5. …but all nations beyond the Hind *Mahasagar*, the great *Cheen* and *Bhot* included… [.]

6. I shall breathe my last at the *ghats* of the sacred Ganga.

7. …it was here at this *chautara* that he had stood for the first time… [.]

8. We have lands, *birtas* that the royals have granted us.

9. My mother's *maita*, Sarkar.

In the above example (1), the word *dhukuti* refers to a small room to store the grains, and *baithak* in the example (2) is a living-room in a house where people sit and relax. *Mool chowk* in the example (3) refers to the main market area in the city at the junctions of the roads. In (4), *aakhijhyal* is used to mean a small window in a house, and in (5), *Mahasagar* is a Nepali word which refers to ocean in English, *Cheen* is a nativized word to refer to China, and *Bhot* refers to Tibet. Ghats in (6) are

the places on the bank of a river where dead bodies are burnt down. In the example (7), *chautara* is an open raised area used for having a rest. The words *birtas* in (8) and *maita* in (9) refer to granted lands and parents' home, respectively. The writer has borrowed these Nepali words to localize English in the Nepali context. Some more examples include:

1. We pass through *Asan tole*, I*ndrachowk*, then steer into one *gully* leading to another.

2. …catches one of the poles of the high *machans*.

3. She goes into the *baggikhana*.

4. Rahu is sitting very strong on her *mangal*.

5. The venue of the game is by the *filkhana*.

6. The *durbar* will take care of the costs.

7. …removing the British *chowkis* at Parsa and Doodhara.

In the sentence (1), *tole*, which has no equivalent word in English, refers to a particular area in the city or market area or a part of village, and *gully* means lane, that is, a small way/path to walk. In the example (2), *machans* mean raised seats made of planks erected on the support of poles. English has no equivalent word to refer to it. The word *baggikhana* in (3) refer to headquarters of traffic police, Kathmandu. In the example (4), *mangal*, which refers to pit placed on top of the sewerage pipe in order to clear up the blocking of flow, does not have its equivalent word in English. In (5), *filkhana* means the place where elephants are kept. Similarly, in (6), *durbar* refers to the palace. The word *chowkis* in (7) refers to police stations or jails. Similarly, Shah has borrowed *Terai* "plain," *Sagarmatha* "Mount Everest," and *kot* "military storehouse or ammunition store." Some borrowed words in Devkota (2017) include *Kantipur* "the old name of the city of Kathmandu, that is the present capital of Nepal"

and *Bankali* "a forest in Kathmandu," and in Pradhan (2017) include *Takshyasheela* and *Nalanda* "ancient Buddhist universities found as ruins in Bihar, India" (p. 255), *Aligarh* "a place in India famous for locks in the former century in Nepal" (p. 251), *Kanyakumari* "Southernmost end of the Indian border" (p. 248), *Kurukshetra* "a field where the battle between the Pandava and Kaurava was fought" (p. 247), *Khalanga* "a fort where the brave heroes of Nepal fought the British army and were defeated" (p. 247), *Kalinga* "a historical place in India," *chaityas* "small structures or sculptures of stone, cement, etc. symbolic of Buddha's place of worship" (p. 250), and *Sagarmatha* "Mount Everest."

All these examples show how the Nepali writers have borrowed some local names because they do not have their equivalent words in English and they have also borrowed some words even if they have their equivalent words in English to give Nepali taste in their writings. The common words described above are presented in the following table:

Table 6

Common NE Lexical Items for Countries, Buildings, and Locations

S. N.	Lexical items	Sources	Meaning in English
1.	Belayat	Bhattarai (2011), Rai (2016a), Wagle (2016)	Britain
2.	chowk	Rai (2016a), Shah (2018)	a market place at the junction of two roads
3.	Ghat	Shah (2018), Wagle (2016)	burial or burning place of a dead body
4.	darbar/durbar	Rai (2016a), Shah (2018)	castle/palace
5.	Sagarmatha	Pradhan (2017), Shah (2018)	Mount Everest
6.	Terai	Khadgi (2020), Mandal (2020), Rai (2016a), Shah (2018)	plain

The table 6 shows six common words referring to countries, buildings, and locations, out of which four words have been borrowed by two writers in their texts.

The three writers have Nepalized Britain to *Belayat*, which is commonly used in Nepal. Similarly, Rai (2016a) has used another word *Belayati* (e.g. *Belayati babu*) formed out of *Belayat* and Shah (2018) has borrowed the word *angrez* (e.g. Mighty *angrez* fear him). Both words are used to refer to the British people. The Nepali word *darbar* or *durbar* refers to either a large building/castle or the king's palace depending on the context. The other words have been described above. All these words have been acculturated into English spoken in Nepal and therefore become the features of NE.

      Ethnicity, Festivals, and Rituals. The creative writers have nativized their writings by borrowing words from the field of Nepali ethnicity, festivals, and rituals. Bhattarai (2011) has borrowed words like *dashain* and *darshan*:

1. My heart leapt with joy and was absolutely riveted by imagination and I felt like a child eager to reach a *dashain* bazaar as quick as possible.

2. Every corner of the world has forgotten everything and is around Stratford moving along the old streets to have a *darshan* of Shakespeare, the greatest of great masters in literary world.

      In these two examples, *dashain* refers to the greatest festival celebrated by Nepali Hindus in the honor of Goddess Durga which is generally celebrated in the month of September or October, and *darshan* means a holy visit or look. The writer has borrowed these words since they do not have their equivalent words in English. In his another article, Bhattarai (2012) has borrowed some words *Dashain*, *Tihar*, *bratabandha*, *jagges*, *pooja*, and *homadi*:

1. *Dashain* and *Tihar* festivals were round the corner and we expected new dresses to arrive.

2. …since *bratabandha* rites are performed, you have to change your life patterns.

3. My father used to take us both, me and *maldai*, to some *jagges*, when Brahmins would perform some religious rituals like *Pooja*, *homadi*… [.]

4. …you have to wear a dhoti while eating or doing a pooja, put a *tika chandan* on your forehead, and offer gods some flowers, *chandan* and *acchheta*…[.]

In the example (1), *Dashain* (described above) and *Tihar* are popular festivals celebrated by the Nepali people. *Tihar* is the second greatest Hindu festival which is usually celebrated in October. The word *bratabanda* in (2) is a Hindu ritual that a boy must go through before his marriage, which is considered as the beginning of manhood. In the example (3), *jagges* refer to the Hindu rituals performed on a raised place where the bridegroom waits for the bride and the bride's parents offer their daughter to him and other rituals are performed. Similarly, *pooja* refers to the religious ritual of worshipping and *homadi* means the fire sacrifice. Similarly, *acchheta* in the example (4) refers to the sacred rice offered in worshipping gods or deities. These cultural words do not have their equivalent words in English. Therefore, the writer has borrowed them to fill the lexical gaps.

Shah (2018) has nativized English by borrowing words referring to festivals and rituals. Let us observe the following the examples:

1. Tell me more about the *jatra*, *bubu aama*.

2. And it will be led by the *Majhihpa lakhay*!

3. …there are now preparing for *Bada Dashain*… [.]

4. …the *aila* stored for *Shivaratri* celebrations.

5. …he rolls up and puts aside the *badamaharani's janma cheena*.

6. Will this *rudri puja* help remove the curse on my family and life?

7. …after the evening *aarati* bounce off the walls of the palace… [.]

8. …a clump of *dubo* plucked fresh

9. The *linga* there seemed to have eyes that blazed forth fire.

10. No *hom*, no *rudri*, no *swasti shanti* can avert.

11. Ingredients needed for the *haven* are being brought in.

12. Rajendra Lakshmi, *swaha*.

In the examples from (1) to (12) given above, the word *jatra* refers to a kind of festival, particularly celebrated by Newari people of Nepal at the place of god or goddess. This word has no its equivalent word in English. *Majhihpa lakhay* is one of Kathmandu's most important masked dances, particularly celebrated by Newari people only in the week of the full moon of Yenlaa of Nepal Sambat[8] calendar. *Bada* (great) *Dashain* (described above) and *Shivaratri* are popular Hindu festivals in Nepal. *Shivaratri* is celebrated annually in the honor of Lord Shiva. Similarly, *janma cheena* is a birth chart or astrological chart made on the basis of one's date, time, and place of birth. It is a kind of ritual in Nepali society which does not have its equivalent word in English. *Rudri puja* is an ancient practice of offering sacred things to Shiva along with chanting hymn or matra. *Aarati* is a Hindu religious ceremony of moving lighted lamp round the idol (Pradhan, 1997). Likewise, the word *dubo* is a sacred grass which has a deep religious significance and special meaning in the Nepali culture. Another word *linga* (also *lingo*) refers to the long bamboo pole erected for religious purposes. *Hom* is a ritual in the Hindu religion which is done in front of a sacred fire, often with mantras. In the similar vein, *swasti shanti* is a ritual in the

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[8] It is the national era of Nepal that began in 879 AD and was prevalent from its inception until the beginning of the Gorkha conquest of Nepal in 1769 AD, which was later replaced as Bikram Sambat by the Shah kings (Shrestha, 2015). Now, Nepal Sambat 1140 is running. Yenlaa is the eleventh month of Nepal Sambat.

Hindu tradition which is practiced for peace and wellbeing of people or places. In the

Hindu tradition, *haven* is a ritual in which an oblation of ghee or any religious

offering is made into fire. Similarly, *swaha* is a word produced while making a burnt

offering to a Vedic deity or a dead person. The writer has borrowed them because of

the lack of their equivalent words in English.

Bhattarai (2016) has borrowed some Nepali words *jhankis* "cultural

processions with different musical instruments, dress, ornaments, and other

specialties" and *Bhai Tika*[9] festival (described above). Wagle (2016) has borrowed

words like *Dashain*, *Tihar*, *Thulo Ekadashi* "great and special day in the Hindu

tradition that lies on the eleventh day in a lunar fortnight," *puja*, and *tika*. Similarly,

Rai (2016a, 2016b) has also borrowed the word *tika* and Upadhyay (2018) has

borrowed the word *puja* and *moksha* "release from the cycle of rebirth, salvation, or

eternal emancipation" (Pradhan, 1997) in their books. All these words have the

cultural values in the Nepali culture which do not have their equivalent words in

English.

In the news report, Khadgi (2020) has borrowed some words from Nepali and

Newari festivals and rituals because of the lack of words in English to replace them:

1. From observing *jatras* and *nakhas* to even living in the core *Newar*

   settlement of Patan, the Mishra family has been living alongside the *Newar*

   community for generations.

2. We celebrate major *Newar* festivals like *Ya: Mari Punhi, Sa Paru* [*Gai*

   Jatra], *Siti Nakha*, and so on.

3. In order to solve this problem, the *tantriks* suggested the king bring a

   Maithil Brahmin from *Tirhut* region to perform a *yagya*, a special ritual.

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[9] It is a special ritual in the Hindu tradition in which sisters generally put seven-colored substance on the forehead of their brothers. It is practiced at Tihar, the second greatest festival of Hindu, which is generally celebrated in October. Its aim is to strengthen the bond between brothers and sisters.

4. Important ceremonies like *bratabandha*, weddings and other rituals are

followed… [.]

In these examples, the Newari word *nakhas* refer to festivals and *Siti Nakha*

(also *Sithi Nkha*) is a Newari festival celebrated by worshiping the Earth God in May

(Rajbhandary, 2017). *Ya: Mari Punhi* is another Newari festival celebrated in the

month of December with special thanks to the gods for the abundant harvest (p. 46).

In the Newari culture, *Ya: Mari* or *Yomari* is a special cake made from the flour of

new rice and *Punhi* means full moon. Another Newari festival is *Sa Paru* which

means Gai Jatra in Nepali – the cow festival "celebrated in the memory of the dead

and the parade of the decorated cow is believed to help the journey of the departed

soul into the world after" (p. 46). The Nepali word *yagya* refers to a religious

sacrifice or an oblation (Pradhan, 1997). Other words like *tantriks*, *jatras*, and

bratabanda are already described above.

Kunwar (2020) has borrowed some words such as *jaati* to mean diversity, *jaat*

to refer to hierarchy, *dastoor* to mean ritual of paying fee or charge, *tamasuks* to mean

written agreement or acknowledgement of debt or bond of transaction (Pradhan,

1997), *masinya* to mean the convention of dispossession that began with the military

campaigns of Gorkhalis (Lal, 2019), and *astimki* to mean a festival in the Tharu

community which is related to a painting (Chaudhary, 2016). Besides them, he has

also borrowed the word *ghailas* to refer to pitchers or water pots. Similarly, some

borrowed words from Koirala (2017) include *puja* "worship," *tantra-mantra* "spell or

hymn," and *Akshaya Tritia*, which is in Sircar's (2015) words, refers to a festival

which falls on the third day of the bright half of Vaishak, the first Nepali month which

is celebrated by Hindus and Jains. Some borrowed words from Pradhan (2017)

include *mantra* (described above), *akshata* (described above), and *dewa* "a lamp used

in rituals." Similarly, Pradhan (2020) has borrowed festivals like *Tihar* and *Dhanteras* "an auspicious day during the Tihar festivals to buy gold." The meaning of all these words cannot be explicitly conveyed by using English words.

There are culture-specific words to refer to ethnicity, rituals, and festivals, which do not generally have their equivalent words in English. Therefore, the creative writers are compelled to borrow such words in their writings to fill the lexical gaps. Use of such words certainly makes NE different from other varieties of English. Let us observe some common NE lexical items referring to different festivals and rituals:

Table 7

Common NE Lexical items for Festivals and Rituals

S. N.	Lexical items	Sources	Meaning in English
1.	Dashain	Bhattarai (2011,2012), Wagle (2016), Shah (2018), Upadhyay (2018)	the biggest Hindu festival
2.	Tihar	Bhattarai (2012), Pradhan (2020), Pokharel (2020), Wagle (2016)	the second biggest Hindu festival
3.	Bratabanda	Bhattarai (2012), Khadgi (2020)	a Hindu ritual to offer a boy to wear a sacred thread
4.	puja/Pooja	Bhattarai (2012), Pokharel (2020), Shah (2018), Upadhyay (2018)	Worship
5.	tika	Bhattarai (2012, 2016), Pokharel (2020), Rai (2016a, 2016b),	decorative mark put on the forehead
6.	Jatra	Khadgi (2020), Shah (2018)	special celebration with worship at the place of God or Goddess
7.	akshata/acchheta	Bhattarai (2012), Pradhan (2017)	sacred rice offered in worship
8.	Mantra	Koirala (2017), Pradhan (2017), Wagle (2016)	Hymn

The table 7 shows that borrowing words from the Nepali language is very common in English texts written by Nepali writers, which is the result of both biliguals' creativity and nativization. As described above, there are several words

from Nepali and other local languages referring to ethnicity, festivals, and rituals which have been borrowed in their texts. Among the listed words, *tika* has been borrowed by more writers. *Dashain*, *Tihar*, and *puja*/*pooja* have been borrowed by four writers in different texts, *mantra* by three writers, and *bratabanda*, *jatra*, and *acchheta*/*akshata* by two writers. As they are used by more writers, it can be claimed that they are NE lexical items, which have the unique cultural meaning in the Nepali society.

Greetings and Other Social Functions. The creative writers have attempted to nativize their writings by borrowing Nepali words to express greetings and other social functions:

1. And then he heard someone saying, "*Namaskar* Sir" (Rai, 2016a).

2. "*Namaste*, Mister Pandey" (Upadhyay, 2018).

3. *Namaste*, she said, pressing her palms together (Wagle, 2016).

In the above examples, all the writers have borrowed the Nepali word *Namaste* or *Namaskar* which is used to greet someone or to say goodbye to someone who is older than the speaker. It is done by joining both palms. This shows that *Namaste* or *Namaskar* is a NE lexical word. English does not have its exact equivalent word. Similarly, Shah (2018) has borrowed some more words which are given in the following examples:

1. You have to learn to say *dhanyabad*, learn to say the king's *prasasthi*, learn to ask for permission before you start your meals.

2. '*Galti maaf, prabhu*, I have just been told that the army is rioting and it is imperative that we disturb the king.

3. '*Dhok chadayen, maharajdhiraj*.' I hear my voice sounding from the dark labyrinth of my dismal conundrum.

4. … who greet him with exaggerated *salaams.*

5. *'Khawa, Sarkar,'* my morning meal is brought.

In the above examples, the Nepali word *dhanyabad* is used by the Nepali speakers to thank someone and *prasasthi* means a kind of praise or compliment of the rulers. Another word *maaf* is used to apologize when the speaker commits a mistake and the word *dhok* is a kind of greeting in which someone puts their forehead onto the feet of another person as a sign of respect. Similarly, *salaams* in (4) are used as salutation while greeting, and *khawa* in (6) expresses humble request for taking or eating something. Besides these words, the writer has also used the Nepali word *bussa* "giving someone permission to sit down," *jai hos* "wishing for good thing," and *amar rahun* "wishing for long life."

Each language has its own words to make greetings and serve other communicative functions. Although some words have their equivalent words, the creative writers preferred to use Nepali words to give Nepali taste in their writings.

Numbers. The Nepali people use the Hindu Arabic names and numbers such as *hajar*, *lakh,* and *crore* in their writing and speech. The use of *lakh* and *crore* is gradually replacing the words "million" and "billion" in NE, respectively. Let us observe the following examples:

1. What about the time you embezzled five *lakh* rupees from your office? (Upadhyay, 2018).

2. …to pay them *lakhs* of rupees with other gratuities (Shah, 2018).

3. *Hajar kora* till the skins peels off, *hunh maharani*? (Shah, 2018).

4. The head news says the state government will invest 10 *crores* to construct an architectural smarak to convert the cultural icon of Bhupen Hazarika's Samadhi into architectural monument within a year (Bhattarai, 2016).

In the above examples (1) and (2), the Nepali number *lakh* refers to one hundred thousand and in the example (3), the word *hajar* refers to thousand in English. In the example 4, *crore* refers to ten million. The writers have borrowed these Nepali numbers to facilitate comprehension because Nepali numbers are easier for the Nepali people to understand than million and billion. Similarly, English does not have the exact equivalent words for *lakh* and *crore*. The use of such number names also indicates the Nepalization in the numbers.

Months. There are no exact equivalent English words to replace Nepali months. Therefore, the creative writers borrowed Nepali months in their writings to fill the lexical gaps.

1. It was the month of *Jyestha* (Rai, 2016a).

2. …now candidate for the post of Full Secretary, Interview on the 15th *Asar* (Rai, 2016a).

3. On the month of *Bhadra* (August)? (Bhattarai, 2011).

4. Kalidash must be singing uninterrupted in the mid *Ashadh*… [.] (Devkota, 2017)

5. Paush Sudi 5, 1899

6. Magh Sudi Sambat 1899

    (Shah, 2018)

In the example (1), the Nepali month *Jyestha* refers to the second month according to the Nepali calendar which comprises some days of May and some days of June. The Nepali month *Asar/Ashadh* in the example (2) and (4) is the third month in the Nepali calendar which includes some last days of June and some beginning days of July. Similarly, *Bhadra* in (3) is the fifth Nepali month which overlaps with August and September. The other Nepali months *Paush* in (5) and *Magh* in (6) refer

to ninth and tenth month in the Nepali calendar, respectively. The use of Nepali months is one of the features of NE, which gives Nepali taste to the readers.

Games. Some games are culture-specific which do not have their equivalent words in another language. The writers borrow such culture-specific games in their writings which also give the flavor of NE. Shah (2018) has borrowed the following words in her novel:

1. He sweet-talks her and indulges her in games, they play *bagh chaal* with heads bent low… [.]

2. Playing *jor-bijor* with beads and *khopi* and *jhingedhaya* all day is what you have reduced me to; to the idiotic minds of my mindless menials.

3. We bet on *chowka* and we get back the *chowka* today.

Shah has nativized her novel by borrowing words referring to games. In the example (1), *bagh chaal* is a traditional Nepali game played on a piece of ground divided into 25 squares, containing four stones representing tigers and twenty representing goats. In the sentence (2), *jor-bijor* is a traditional Nepali game in which the players play the game saying with the option even or odd. *Khopi* is another popular traditional Nepali coin-throw game in which a player attempts to throw a coin in the small round hole made in the ground. Similarly, *jhingedhaya* is also a kind of game played with coins. In the sentence (3), *chowka* refers to a turn or move of four in gambling. All these game-specific borrowed words from Nepali have made the sentences more local.

Units of Measurement. NE speakers borrow some Nepali customary units of measurement such as *dhur* "an area of 16.93 square meters," *ana*, *ropani*, *katha* "an area of 20 *dhur*," and *bigaha* "an area of 20 *katha*," which do not have their

equivalent words in English. The wrtiers have borrowed them to fill the lexical gaps created by English. Let us observe some examples below:

1. And he would take some loan from the bank for which he has to mortgage his four *ana* land that he brought just last year (Rai, 2016a).

2. He has to pay Rs. 20,000 a month for the three *ropanis* of land he has leased in Bhaisepati (U. Lamichhane, 2020).

3. The land revenue of Jelbang for a year used to be 152 *dharni* iron (Subedi, 2020).

4. Gold hits new record of Rs 74,500 a *tola* (Pradhan, 2020).

5. Let me have half of this *mana* of rice, and with the other half get me some vegetables (Koirala, 2017).

In these examples, the Nepali word *ana* indicates an area of 31.80 square meters, and *ropani* includes 16 *ana* which means 508.74 square meters. Similarly, the Nepali word *dharni* includes 2.39 kilo grams, *tola* consists of 11.664 grams, and *mana* is a measure of ten handfuls of something. By borrowing such words, the writers have Nepalized their writings.

Nepali Currency/Coin. The creative writers have borrowed some words that refer to Nepali currency such as *ana* "one twenty-fifth part of a rupee" (Bhattarai, 2012), *paisa* "a coin worth one-hundredth of one Nepali rupee" (Koirala, 2017), *mohars* "Nepali coins or currency worth fifty piece or paisa" (Shah, 2018), and *rupiya* "Nepali currency worth one hundred paisa" (Shah, 2018). These words do not have their equivalent words in English.

Miscellaneous. The creative writers have borrowed several other words to show how codemixing is a natural phenomenon in NE. Let us observe some words from Rai (2016a):

1. But Mom, what about the *andolen* and democracy?

2. Don't you show me your *triya charitra*. I have had enough.

In the example (1), the Nepali word *andolen* refers to movement. The words *triya charitra* in the sentence (2) literally refer to triple character, which means the mysterious character that nobody knows about it properly. Similarly, Rai (2016b) has borrowed *sayapatri* "marigold," *Sangh* "union/association" and *Sangthan* "association/organization" to give Nepaliness to his article. Upadhyay (2018) has borrowed *Nag* "snake god" and *chilim* "a hookah or a small pipe used for smoking," which have special meanings in the Nepali society. To localize English according to the Nepali context, Shah (2018) has borrowed several words:

1. …obtained more land from the *guthis* for women.

2. …we find this *kapati*.

3. The king will be safe, the queen will be safe and all *dashaa* will be removed.

4. Did he resist our decision, our *hukumnamah*?

5. *Chaal ho yo*! A ploy! All his *chakribaazi*.

6. My eyes span the expanse of the *kot*.

7. My attendants rush in *'Bhuichalo, Sarkar! Bhuichalo*!'

8. Today is *Purnima*.

9. *Prabhu Sarkar*, it was my *karma*.

10. …the *bada gurujiu* places a tiny *tulasi* leaf inside her parched mouth.

In the example (1), the word *guthi* refer to trust, that is, an organization or a group of people that invests money that is given or lent to it and uses the profits to help a charity (Stevenson, 2010). In the example (2), the word *kapati* refers to deceptive. *Dashaa*, in the example (3), means ill luck or misfortune. *Hukumnamah*, in

the example (4) means royal command or order, which does not have its equivalent word in English. In the example (5), *chakribaazi* means serving a person hoping to get favor/benefit from him if he is satisfied/happy with the service provided. This word lacks its equivalent word in English. The word *kot* in (6) refers to massacre. In (7), *bhuichalo* means earthquake in English, in (8), *Purnima* refers to full moon, *karma* in (9) means action, and *tulasi* in (10) refers to a sacred plant to which the Hindu devotees worship every morning. Some other borrowed words include:

1. …wandering *ativahika* and became a *preta*.

2. The *khajanchee* is brought to meet me along with his ledger every day without fail.

3. He has, I was told, given a *panchanama* amounting to 5, 000 gold coins… [.]

4. She helped him with his reading and learning and even understanding the *Dibya Upadesh*.

5. Let this *arzi* be relayed to the Maharaja.

6. I take over the *dharmaadhikars* and with them the *dharmashastra*.

In the example (1), *ativahika* means one who leads beyond and *preta* means the spirit of the dead. *Khajanchee,* in the example (2), refers to a cashier or chief treasurer. In the example (3), *panchanama* refers to the document recorded or made in the presence of five people; it is the statement of persons present at the time of arrest, search and seizure. *Dibya Upadesh*, in (4), means teachings from Prithvi Narayan Shah, the founding monarch of the kingdom of Nepal. In (5), *arzi* means request. The word *dharmashastra* in (6) refers to the religious scripture. All these words have special socio-cultural meanings, which do not have their equivalent words in English. Likewise, some more borrowed words in Shah are:

1. It is as though she were simply instructing a maid to refill her *chillum*.

2. Besides, he still grieves like his father, for his revered mother, the *swargiya badamaharani*.

3. He will not permit me in his *sukula khopi* and… [.]

4. I hear the rambling of *tantriks* and the *mashtas* as they invoke *Mahakal Sankata*… [.]

5. '*Ekaant*!' I ordered everyone to leave and they flee.

6. They fear my *gaddi* is at risk and my life is in peril.

7. Now I watch Tara fix each ornament made in *navaratna*… [.]

8. Jung Bahadur has taken liberty and broken the royal seal and read the *kharita* before presenting it to prince.

In the above examples, the word *chillum* in (1), spelled as *chilim* by Upadhyay (2018) has been described above. In (2), *swargiya* has its equivalent English word "late" which is placed before a name or a title. In (3), *sukula khopi* refers to the inner or secret apartment which is meant for ladies' room (Pradhan, 1997). Similarly, in (4), *tantriks* refer to magicians or those who can spell or use magic power. The word *ekaant* in (5) refers to isolation or solitude. In (6), throne is the equivalent word for *gaddi*. In (7) *navaratna* refers to the nine most precious jewels (Pradhan, 1997), which does not have its equivalent word in English. The word *kharita* in (8) means the royal message to another king (Pradhan, 1997). Some more borrowed words from Shah are *aulo* "malaria," *Shakti* "power," and *dharma* "duty." All these borrowed words from Nepali, whether they have their equivalent words in BE or AE or not, have made English more Nepali-like. Similarly, Devkota (2017) has borrowed some Nepali words like *shirabindu* "the crown," *bindu* "point," *Omkara* "the Hindu sacred word Om," *baimatras* "a name for the short vowel /i/ (the symbol ि in Devnagari)

written on the left of the consonant" (p. 229), and *lila* "activity," which lack exact English words to replace them. Similarly, both Upadhyay (2018) and Wagle (2016) have borrowed *ghazals* "lyric poems with a fixed number of verses and repeated rhyme" in their texts. All these words do not have their exact equivalent words in BE or AE.

This study shows that the lexically entrenched local words have been adopted in NE. Particularly, a large number of words have been borrowed in NE from Nepali and other languages. Such extensive borrowings and insertion of words from Nepali and other languages in different kinds of English texts has created the local variety of English. Borrowings are significant because they are appropriated into one's language so that using them does not require bilingual competence and they are not identified as belonging to an alien language (Canagarajah, 2013). In addition, English with borrowed words from Nepali and other languages can meet the demands of Nepali socio-cultural contexts and in the long run, such borrowed words have "ample opportunity to be transmitted to other members of the community" (Tan, 2009, p. 37) and become "stabilized as part of the local English variety" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 69), which results in the expansion of the vocabulary of NE. The above discussion indicates that NE speakers borrowed a large number of words from Nepali because, following and adapting to Anesa (2019), the English language is unable to define special concepts related to Nepali experiences and culture. Therefore, some reasons for inter-lingual borrowing to occur are the necessity to fill a gap between the languages which Hocket (1958, p. 405) referred to "the need-filling motive," the "convenience factor" (Ratnam, 1993, as cited in Thirusanku & Yunus, 2013, p. 53), and ensuring the preservation of linguistic and cultural identities of the borrowed items (Thirusanku & Yunus, 2013). Because of these various reasons, the English

language in Nepal is undergoing the process of nativization not only by heavy lexical borrowings but also by word formation processes which are described below.

Affixation

It is a word formation process in which new words are formed by adding prefixes and suffixes to the root or base. New words derive from the contact between different languages or between specific varieties of a given language (Anesa, 2019). NE speakers nativize English and Nepali words linguistically by adding affixes to them. Some typical lexical features of NE include some kinds of addition of Nepali suffixes to English words, Nepali suffixes to borrowed Nepali words, English suffixes to Nepali words, and English suffixes to English words.

Nepali Suffixes to English Words. Many NE words are hybrid in nature since they are formed by adding the Nepali suffixes to English words. The commonest Nepali suffix *–ji* has been attached to the names and professions of elders and seniors to show respect and closeness. Rai (2016a) has attached *–ji* with "sir," "poet," and English name "Michael" and Upadhyay (2018) with "postman" to form the hybrid words.

1. Why are you lying on the bed, *sirji*?

2. Won't you introduce me to her, *poetji*?

3. I believe *Mikalji* will also more quite soon.

4. "Postman-ji," she said loudly, and Lamfu jerked his head up.

In the day to day communication, the hybrid expressions with the suffix *–ji* are commonly produced. Similarly, people attach the Nepali suffix - *wala* with other words and form hybrid words such as van*wala*, taxi*wala*, riksha*wala*, tempo*wala*, tractor*wala*, pocket*wala* pants, icecream*wala*, in which the suffix *–wala* is used to describe a person associated with a particular activity.

Nepali Suffixes to Nepali Words. The writers have nativized their texts by borrowing Nepali proper nouns in which some Nepali suffixes are attached. Rai (2016a) has attached *–ji* to Nepali words.

1. I'm a straightforward man *Hari-ji*, so I talk straight.

2. They are dying on envy because *hawaldar sab*, the *guruji* and the *sahuji* help us.

In the example (1), the Nepali suffix *–ji* has been attached with the proper noun *Hari* and in the example (2), the suffix is attached with guru "driver" and *sahu* "shopkeeper or merchant." Similarly, Upadhyay (2018) has attached it with the name, surname, and profession.

1. Aren't you *Prakash-ji*?

2. "Why do you want to know, *Deepak Mishra-ji*?"

3. After he hung up, Deepak requested a file from his secretary, *Bandana-ji…* [.]

The suffix *–ji* has been attached with the proper noun in the example (1) and (3), and with the surname in the example (2). Likewise, Koirala (2017) has also used some words attached with the suffix *–ji* such as *Ganesh Manji*'s grandfather, *Chyanta Guruji*, *Kisunji*, *Jawaharlalji*, and *Jayprakashji*. Similar to the suffix *–ji*, other suffixes *–jiu*, *–sahib*, and *-hajur* are also attached to the words in NE. They are used to show more respect to the seniors. Let us observe some examples from Shah (2018) below:

1. It was the drought, Sarkar, not the fault of my *mamajiu*.

2. *Muaji*, *muajiu*, what happened?

3. Procrastination has always been your weakness, *buasahib*.

4. When is later, *buasahebjiu*?

5. '*Buahajur*,' now the children are seeking permission to begin their meal.

6. But it is when the children say '*Muahajur*,' seeking permission… [.]

7. I have a bad feeling, *gurujiu*.

In the above examples, the three suffixes -*ji*, -*jiu* and –*hajur* have been attached with *mua* "mother," three suffixes -*sahib*, -*hajur* and -*jiu* with *bua* "father," one suffix –*jiu* with *mama* "mother's brother" and *guru* "priest." In addition, NE speakers attach the suffix "–*e*" or "–*ey*" to refer to someone. Karn (2012, p. 36) maintained that "this is the Nepalese way of addressing to underestimate the addressee or to show anger or may be affection words towards him/her." Some of the words derived from these suffixes include *sane* (from *sano*), *thule* (from *thulo*), *junge* (from *junga*) (Bhattarai, 2012), *punte*, *Mundre*, *juade*, *bhustighre* (Rai, 2016a), *Birkhe*, *Khuile*, *Kumale* (Wagle, 2016), *pakhe*, *Junge* (Shah, 2018), and *Ramey*, *Kuirey*, and *Madhisey* (Upadhyay, 2018). Some of the examples are given below:

1. Does *Thule* also sit along with you?

2. …she still meets this boy *Mundre* because her mother has forbidden her to do so.

3. *Khuile's* eldest son, *Kumale's* secon oldest son

4. How does that become your major concern, *Junge*?

5. He was dark, which lead Aunt Shakuntala to wonder whether his father was a *madhisey* from the flatlands down south.

The above examples show that in NE, people are generally addressed by adding the suffixes "–*e*" and "–*ey*." Such word formation process in not found in BE or AE.

English Affixes to Nepali Words. Another very interesting lexical feature of NE is the pluralization of Nepali words by attaching the plural marker "–*s*" to singular

words. This process is known as Englishization of Nepali words, which produces hybrid NE words. Wagle (2016) has pluralized the words such as *Himalaya* as *Himalayas* "mountains," *Nepali* as *Nepalis* "citizen of Nepal*,*" *doko* as *dokos* "wicker baskets," *Sherpa* as *Sherpas* "indigenous people of Nepal," and *dai* as *dais* "elder brother." Rai (2016a) has pluralized some Nepali words such as *dokos*, *Nepalis*, *Gurkhalis* "the word addressed by the foreigners to Nepali people," *darbars* "palaces," *andolans* "movements," and *Dalits* "oppressed social groups in the Hindu caste system." Rai (2016b) has pluralized words like *Hindus* and *Himalayas*. Similarly, Shah (2018) has pluralized several Nepali words in her novel such as *paajis*, *dharmadhikars*, *purohits*, *chautarias*, *kazis*, *sardars*, *khardars*, *dwarias*, *ditthas*, *jamdars*, *subbas*, *subedars*, *khukuris*, *sipahis*, *damais*, *gaines*, *rajas*, *bhedas*, *diyos*, *bhardars*, *bhariyas*, *lakheys*, *pindas*, *pinda daans*, *ghats*, *kothiyas*, *khawasiyas*, *kapardars*, *dwares*, *hakims*, *vaidyas*, *pipas*, *pujas*, *dhamis*, *jhakris*, *tilharis*, *birtas*, *bahuns*, *bahunis*, *magarnis*, *gurungnis*, *jyapunis*, *jetha budas*, *guthis*, *korras*, *firangees*, *Newars, Doms,* and *tarpans*. All these words presented as examples are hybrid words which include Nepali words and English suffix. They show how Nepali words have been Englicized by attaching the plural marker to them as if they are English words.

Similarly, the writer has pluralized the Nepali word *kalash* "pitcher or water vessel" by adding the plural marker "–es" and formed a hybrid NE word, e.g. Giant *kalashes*, painted and decorated flanked the sides of his doorway. In this example, we can clearly observe the transfer of English pluralization rule, such as adding "-es" after the word ending in sibilants (e.g. dish – dishes, push – pushes).

In NE, the English apostrophic ('s) is attached to Nepali words to show possession. Let us observe some examples:

1. *guruji's* bus: bus of a driver

2. *guruji's* will: will of a driver

                     (Rai, 2016a)

3. *kaakaa's* house: house of an uncle

4. *kaila's* daughter: daughter of fourth born son

5. *miitini's* house: house of a ritual female friend

6. *Miit Ba's* house: house of a ritual father

                     (Wagle, 2016)

These examples show the typical features of NE. By attaching the possessive marker to Nepali words, the writers have nativized English to the Nepali contexts and have produced hybridized words and expressions.

There are some hybridized words in NE, which are found in the written texts, and which we can hear in the discourse of Nepali people. They attach English suffixes to Nepali words:

andaz*ification*:   the process of guessing something

adkal*ization*:   the process of guessing something

Nepal*ization/*Nepal*isation*: the influence of the Nepali language on

                    other languages

Nepal*ized*:   made something Nepali-like

Nepal*ese*:   people having the Nepali citizenship

Nepali*ness*:   having the characteristics of Nepali

Newar*ness*:   having the characteristics of Newari people of

                    Nepal

The above two words *andazification* and *adkalization* were also produced by the TV host while speaking in "Janata Sanga Sidha Kura" on 5th March 2020, which

was telecast through News24 channel (R. Lamichhane, 2020). In these hybridized words, the Nepali words *andaz* and *adkal* refer to "guess or rough estimate" and the English suffixes "-fication" and "-ization" are used to form nouns. The English suffix "–ize" attached after *Nepali* is used to change a noun into verb and another English suffix "–ese" attached after *Nepal* refers to people living in Nepal. In addition, the English suffix "-ness" attached after *Nepali* and *Newar* makes them noun, which means "having the characteristic of." Similarly, Bhattarai (2012) has added the suffix "–ic" with the word Brahman (e.g. A *Pathsala* is a very native, traditional, *Brahmanic* tradition of learning… [.]). In this example, *Brahman* is a member of the higher Hindu caste of Nepal and the English suffix "-ic," which is generally used to convert noun into an adjective, gives the meaning of "connected with," that is connected with Brahman. Rai (2016a) has produced the hybridized verb by converting the Nepali greeting term, that is, noun *Namaste* into verb and attaching the past tense suffix "–ed" to it (e.g. Sunil looked at the speaker and *namasted* him as he recognized the school teacher). Such Englishization is a typical feature of NE.

Similarly, in the news report, Budha (2020) has created the hybrid word by attaching the English prefix "anti-"before the Nepali word:

1. The local artists and students performed *anti-Chhaupadi deuda*[10] song, drama and poem.

In this example, the English prefix "anti-" refers to "against or opposite of" which has been attached to the Nepali word *Chhaupadi.*[11] Similarly, the English prefix "non-" is generally attached with the Nepali words:

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[10] Deuda is a Nepali genre of song and dance which is popular in the far western region of the country.
[11] a traditional practice in which menstruating women and girls are prohibited from participating in daily activities such touching other family members and things and cooking. This taboo is particularly practiced in the western part of Nepal.'

1. …it is the blindness of being a *non-Nepali* who counts the Great Wall of China… [.] (Devkota, 2017)

In the above example, non-Nepali refers to one who is other than Nepali. We can find other hybrid words with this prefix such as non-*Gorkhalis*, non-*bahuns, and* non-*Janajatis*. In NE, we can also attach the plural suffix "-s" with the proper names and surnames, for example, Ashokas, Mahavirs, and Gandhis (Pradhan, 2017). Similarly, Rai (2016a) has attached the suffix "-an" to the Nepali word *Terai* (e.g. I went to visit my aunt who lived in a Teraian town) and formed a hybrid word.

English Suffixes to English Words. Bilingual or multilingual NE speakers and writers create new words by breaking or transforming the established norms or patterns. They make unusual plural forms of some nouns such as staffs, works, committees, furnitures, childrens, businesses, researches, global warmings, informations, and peoples, which are the output of bilinguals'creativity. Pluralization of uncountable nouns is one of the features of South Asian Englishes (Kachru, 2011) and English as Lingua Franca (Ferguson, 2006). It is one of the processes of linguistic nativization (Alptekin, 2006). Let us observe some examples:

1. That's why your *works* seem so romantic (Wagle, 2016).

2. He was the chairperson and coordinator of many different *committees* and commissions… [.] (Rai, 2016a)

3. Urgently required qualified and experienced *staffs* for the following (see appendix)

4. With well trained *staffs* and pre-eminent service provided, the café promises to offer a variety of healthy, organic and fresh food, promoting local production (Republica, 2020, January 18).

5. This reminds me of Gorakhpur railway station – the crowd, pushing and pulling, scattered *luggages* of different shapes and sizes… [.] (Rai, 2016b)

6. In the Western world, marriage is no more than a person contract between two *persons*… [.] (Rai, 2016b)

7. He had grown up under great cultural tradition of eminent *persons* like Shankardev, Jyoti Prasad, Kalaguru Vishnu Rabha… [.] (Bhattarai, 2016)

8. Her mother has lots of *jewelries* (Rai, 2016a).

9. The musical instruments, dress items, *jewelries*… [.] (Bhattarai, 2016)

10. There are lots of *works* to be accomplished (Bhattarai, 2016).

11. The tremors in the sahibzada's voice are in sync with the way his entrie frame is shaking – *evidences* of his incensed brain (Shah, 2018).

12. …he finally brings to court a total of 44 *persons* of the Kalu Panday faction… [.] (Shah, 2018)

13. Another step forward to remove him, the eldest of her *offsprings*… [.] (Shah, 2018)

14. Accoring to *researches*, crying is good for everyone, once a while (Pokharel, 2020).

In BE or AE, the word "work" is an uncountable noun which is not generally pluralized but the word "job" is pluralized. "Work" as a countable noun refers to a book, piece of music, and painting, and "works" refer to activities involving building or repairing something (Stevenson, 2010). In NE, it is generally pluralized to mean jobs or tasks to be done. Both Bhattarai (2016) and Wagle (2016) have used "works" to refer to tasks that need to be done. In Standard English, only "work" is used. Such innovativeness both in form and meaning is a feature of bilinguals' creativity. Similarly, the words "committee," "staff," "furniture," "evidence," "jewelry," and

"luggage" are mass nouns which are not generally pluralized in BE or AE but the examples show that pluralization of collective or mass noun is common in NE. Similarly, the word "research" is a noncount noun which is not pluralized in BE or AE but its pluralization is very common in NE. This might be because of the influence of the Nepali language since Nepali native speakers take them as a singular noun and add plural marker –*haru* after them, for example, children*haru*, furniture*haru*, and information*haru*. Similarly, pluralization of "person" as "persons" is very common in NE but it is only used in formal notices in Standard English (Brett, 1999). In the examples, Bhattarai (2016), Rai (2016b), and Shah (2018) have used "persons" to mean "people." Another word "offspring" is not generally pluralized in BE or AE. The above discussion shows that double pluralization is common in NE, which shows bilinguals' linguistic creativity.

Shah (2018) has created a new word by attaching the prefix "re-" to the word "revised" (e.g. Words revised and re-revised flow with causal ease) to mean "revised again," which is not generally used in BE or AE. In his article, Kharel (2020) has written two words "party*fication*" and "party-*less*" which are not generally used in BE or AE, in which two suffixes –*fication* and –*less* are attached to the word "party." Such words are generally formed on analogy of similar words such as "beautification" and "homeless," respectively. Similarly, Kunwar (2020) has used the word "casteist" [caste + ist] to mean the most discriminatory or prejudiced nature of the Nepali state.

NE speakers produce hybrid words through Englishizing Nepali words by adding English affixes and Nepalizing English words by adding Nepali affixes. They also produce unique NE words through the pluralization of the already plural words and other affixation processes, which show their linguistic creativity. Some common affixes are presented in the table 8:

Table 8

Common NE Affixes

Affixes	Structures	Examples	Sources
-ji	proper noun + ji	Michaelji, Hariji Bandanaji, Kisunji	Rai (2016a), Koirala (2017)
	common noun + ji	Punditji,sahuji, guruji, sirji, poetji, postmanji,	Bhattarai (2012), Rai (2016a) Upadhyay (2018)
	surname + ji	Deepak Mishraji	Upadhyay (2018)
	kinship term + ji	muaji, buaji	Shah (2018)
-s	Nepali word + s	dokos, andolans, sipahis, rajas, chaityas, Sherpas, rotis, momos	Pradhan (2017) Rai (2016a), Shah (2018), Upadhyay (2018), Wagle (2016),
	collective noun + s	staffs, committees, works luggages, persons, jewelries, evidences	Bhattarai (2016), Rai (2016a, 2016b), Republica (2020, Jan 18), Shah (2018),Wagle (2016),
-e/ey	name + e/ey	Junge, Birkhe, Mundre, Kuirey Madhisey	Bhattarai (2012), Rai (2016a), Shah (2018),
	adjective + e	Sane, Thule	Upadhyay (2018), Wagle (2016)
-fication	noun + fication	andazification partyfication	diary Kharel (2020)
-ization	noun + ization/isation	Adkalization Nepalization/Nepalisation	dairy
-wala	noun + wala	taxiwala, pocketwala,	Dairy
-ness	noun+ ness	Nepaliness, Newarness	Dairy
-less	noun + less	party-less	Kharel (2020)
		sharamless, paisaless, dimagless	Diary
non-	non + noun	non-Nepali	Devkota (2017)
		non-Gorkhalis, non-Janajatis	Diary

This table shows that "*–ji"* is a common suffix in NE, which is used by five

writers. It is suffixed to the proper noun, common noun, surname, and kinship term.

The suffix "–s" is commonly attached to the Nepali words to make them plural, which

is called Englishization. All the five writers have Englishized the Nepali words by

such suffixation process. In addition, it is suffixed to the collective noun to make it

plural. This finding endorses Brett (1999) that NE makes use of an unusual double

plural such as peoples and childrens. Adding the suffix "*–e/ey"* is common in both in

colloquial Nepali and NE, which is generally attached to noun and adjective. Words suffixed with "–*e*/*ey*" were found in the texts of five writers. The suffix "–fication" was found to be suffixed to the Nepali word *andazi* and English word "party" and another suffix "-zation/sation" was attached to the Nepali words *adkal* and *Nepali*. Adding the Nepali suffix "–*wala*" after some words as exemplified in the table is common in the day-to-day communication of the Nepali people. The suffix "-ness" was attached to the nationality and name of the ethnic group. Rai (2006) found the English suffix "-less" to have attached to the Nepali words such as *dimag*less, *sharam*less, and *paisa*less. It was also found to be unusually attached to the English words like "partyless." The prefix "non-" was found to be attached to the Nepali words. All these affixes and affixation system are common in NE, which exhibit both hybridity and bilinguals' creativity.

Coinage

It is a word formation process in which new words are invented knowingly or accidentally to meet some purposes. From a socio-cultural perspective, creating new words often functions as a barometer of the evolution of any variety of English (Anesa, 2019). Every variety of English incorporates coined words which are called neologisms. Neologisms, whether they are monolexical or polylexical units, "generally express the need to identity a new concept or idea" (p. 38). In a creative nativization, new words or expressions are coined to convey the message (Falola, 2003). Coined words are not always novel, but they are sometimes based on the existing words. There are three main cases or reasons for the birth of neologisms – a new concept to be defined, the recontextualization of existing form, and emphatic purposes and an expression of creativity (Anesa, 2019). Such words generally pass through three stages – protologisms "freshely minted words but not widely accepted

yet," prelogisms "words reiterated and have attained higher frequency of use," and neologisms "words perceived as stable" (p. 41). Anyway, neologisms are innovations which may take time to be accepted as stable words.

The creative users of English have coined some new words on analogy with "Kathmandu," the capital city of Nepal as if –*mandu* is a suffix to those words, e.g. *woodmandu*, *foodmandu*, *maskmandu* and *clickmandu* (see Appendix-IV). We can see Woodmandu Furniture and Woodmandu Advertising & Marketing (WAM) (P.) Ltd. in Kathmandu. The meaning of *woodmandu* is expressed by texts (words on the billboard) and images (room, furniture). The word "wood" in *woodmandu* is the direct translation of *Kath* in *Kathmandu* (*Kath* means "wood" in English). I have found the billboard of different food items with the word *foodmandu*, which might convey the message that Kathmandu is also the city of variety of food items. The advertisement includes both texts (words) and images (different food items) to convey the meaning of *foodmandu*. Similarly, I have seen the demonstrations with the banners and placards of *maskmandu*, which might convey the message that pedestrians are requested to wear mask as Kathmandu is polluted. The meaning of *maskmandu* has been conveyed linguistically through expressions like "maskmandu" and "go eco-friendly" and visually through images such as placards and people lying on the ground in Kathmandu wearing masks, which denotes that Kathmandu is the city to wear masks. Another word *clickmandu* is the name given to the basic photocopy workshop in Kathmandu and the online media. The advertisement image includes words, place names, and images (a young girl carrying a camera and clicking a photo) to convey the message of *clickmandu*. The use of such multimodal mixing makes the texts comprehensible. All the words described above are the unique hybrid NE words, which are the product of bilinguals' linguistic creativity. Similarly, the Nepali people

have coined a new word *Kaliwood* /*Kallywood*/*Kollywood* on analogy of Hollywood and Bollywood to refer to the Nepali film industry in Kathmandu.

NE speakers have also coined "cousin brother" to mean a male cousin and "cousin sister" to mean a female cousin. They generally add brother and sister after cousin to denote that cousin brother and cousin sister sister are regarded as close as their own brother and sister. These two terms are common in South Asian English (Kachru, 2011). Similarly, NE speakers have coined other words such as "freeship" to mean free student ship, "non-vegetarian" to mean non veg meal, "sendu" to refer to a piece of underwear under a shirt, and "half-pants" to refer to short pants coming up to knees.

I have also seen and heard some words coined by adding the English suffix "-ian(s)" such as Neltians "those who belong to NELTA," Koshians "those who teach and study at a school or college called Koshi," and Mongolian(s) "those who belong to the Kiratis and other ethnic groups arrived in the Himalaya Territory (e,g, 'Mongolian Heart' is a popular folk music band in Nepal)." These coined words show the linguistic creativity.

Coinages are the lexical innovations which can be completely new words or unique to each country. Some of the coined words described above are unique to Nepal. Some coined words are hybrid in nature and others are not. Some of them may not have their active use and the public may not be aware of such new words; therefore, they may not be accepted as innovations. However, bilingual and multilingual NE speakers coin new words to convey a particular message.

Compounding

Compounding is a process of forming a new lexical item from two or more existing words. In this process, the new lexical word carries a different meaning from

the original words. Different kinds of compounds are formed through linguistic

nativization, which reflects the bilinguals' creativity:

Noun -Noun Compounds. The most common type of compounds in NE is the

noun-noun compounds which are found within the language (intralingual compounds)

and across the language (interlingual or hybrid compounds). Let us observe some

examples of intralingual compounds from Rai (2016a) below, which shows the

bilinguals' creativity:

Head sir:	Principal or head master/mistress of the school
tea-woman:	a woman who serves tea in an office
campus canteen:	a place where food and drink are served in a campus

"Head sir" is a NE compound which is not used in BE or AE. In Standard

English, Principal/head master/head mistress is used (Brett, 1999). In Nepal, a male

teacher and a female teacher are addressed respectively by sir and miss (unmarried) or

madam/mam (married), which can occur after their name (e.g. Shankar sir, Diksha

mam) and subject (e.g. BOOM sir, Account Sir, English sir). Rai (2016a) has used

such terms such as Gopal sir, Mahadev sir, Ram sir, and Birendra sir in his anthology.

Following Brett (1999), in Standard English, Mr. /Ms. + surname is a common way to

address someone. In NE, "mister" and "mistress" are not considered polite enough.

Therefore, NE speakers use "sir" and "mam/madam" after the name to show respect.

Similarly, the compounding of "tea" and "woman" and "campus" and "canteen" is

also unique. By "campus canteen," the writer intends to say "canteen of a campus."

Similarly, Rai (2016b) has made some unique compounds:

children eyes:	eyes of children
children needs and hoobies:	needs and hobbies of children
plane-window:	window of a plane

moustache-war: fight among men for power

In NE, omission of the apostrophe + s after the noun to show possession is very common. In the above two examples, the writer has omitted the possessive marker after the word "children" which is obligatory in BE or AE (e.g. children's eyes). Another way to show possession in BE or AE is with the use of the preposition "of" which has been omitted in the compound "plane-window." Due to the influence of the Nepali language, the writer has made the compound "moustache-war," which is the literal translation of the Nepali expression *jungako ladai*. Let us observe some typical compounds of NE from Upadhyay (2018):

kuirey journalist: a White journalist from Britain

wedding doli: a wooden palanquin to carry a bride during the wedding

tandoori chicken: chicken roasted in a traditional oven called tandoor

neighbourhood bhatti: a nearby place where local wine is made

goat meat: mutton

khukri knife: a bigger kind of knife called Khukuri, a national knife of Nepal

puja room: a room for worshiping Gods, a prayer room

In the above examples, we can see the hybridized noun compounds: Nepali + English and English + Nepali. *Kuirey* journalist, *tandoori* chicken, *khukri* knife, and *puja* room have Nepali + English compound nouns, whereas wedding *doli* and neighbourhood *bhatti* have English + Nepali compound nouns. Only "goat meat" is an intralingual compound. Some more compounds from Upadhyay (2018) incorporate:

vegetable sellers: greengrocers or those who sell vegetables

rupee notes: bills or banknotes of Nepali currency

elephant god: elephant-headed Hindu god called Ganesh

chicken and goat curry: curry made from chicken (simply chicken) and goat

                                (simply mutton)

puja ceremony: a prayer ceremony

Rana boy: a boy from the Rana family or caste

Tamang girl: a girl from the Tamang ethnic group

The above examples show unique compounds in NE, some of which are hybrid in structure. In NE, people are addressed on the basis of what they do, for example, vegetable sellers, and rickshaw pullers. In Standard English, they use the word "greengrocers" to those who sell green vegetables. "Elephant god" is difficult to understand for non-Hindus. It is used to denote Lord Ganesh, son of Shiva and Parbati, the principal deities of Hinduism. Similarly, the speakers of NE generally say "chicken curry" rather than simply "chicken" to refer to curry made from the meat of chicken, and "goat curry" rather than simply "mutton" to mean curry made from the meat of goat. In NE, compounda are commonly made from the surname or caste to refer to someone.

Menyangbo's (2011) translated story incorporates the compounds such as *Nepal band* "strike in Nepal" and *Nepali bandas* "strikes done by the Nepali people." The word *bund* "strike" has also been borrowed by Rai (2016a). In his article, Bhattarai (2016) has used some compounds:

khukuri knife: (its meaning is mentioned above)

patuka belt: a long piece of cloth tied round the waist as belt

khukuri pin: cufflinks to put on with a cap

Bhai Tika festival: a special day of putting on tika on brothers' forehead

                                from sisters at Tihar

Samadhi site: a place of cremation or burial

Bhadgaule topi: a black Nepali cap

east coat: a kind of cloth worn within a coat or without a coat

In the above examples, the first five compounds are hybrid, which have Nepali + English structure, the penultimate one has Nepali + Nepali noun compound, and the last one has English + English noun compound. Such compounds are unique features of NE. Some more noun compounds from Wagle (2016) are given below:

Nepal magazine: a name of magazine called Nepal

Dashain holidays: holidays in Dashain

bahun bird: child from the Brahmin caste

tomato achar: pickle made from tomatoes

cotton batti: cotton wick

puja kota: a prayer room

Dhanchuli Himal: a mountain which is 7000 feet above the sea level

potato curry: curry made from potatoes

newspaper boy: a boy who sells or delivers newspapers

hotel window: window of a hotel

shirt pocket: pocket of a shirt' or 'shirt with a pocket

potato curry: dish made from potatoes

Malaya story: a story based on his experiences in Malaya/Malaysia

Comrade Chairman: the main party leader of a Maoist/Communist party

In these examples, the first three compounds have Nepali + English structure and the next two have English + Nepali structure. Such hybrid compounds are common in NE. The compounds *puja kotha* and *Dhanchuli Himal* have Nepali + Nepali structure. In other compounds, there are typical English + English noun

compounds. These are the typical compounds of NE, which are not generally found in other varieties of English. Some typical compound nouns found in Shah's (2018) novel include:

Bhringraj oil:	Ayurvedic hair oil made from medicinal herb called Bhringraj
firangee soldiers:	the British or White soldiers addressed in Nepal
raksha thread:	sacred thread worn for protection
Jyapu girls:	girls from the Newari community
Indrajatra tale:	a story of celebrating Indrajatra festival
Rudraksha beads:	a rosary of seeds of Rudraksha
gold kalash:	water-vessel made of gold
gold mohars:	Nepali coins made of gold

In the above examples, the first six hybrid compounds encompass Nepali + English structure. In the seventh and eighth examples, the English word "gold" has been compounded with Nepali words *kalash* and *mohars*. Some more compounds from Shah (2018) incorporate:

gora sarkar:	the British ruler
Pashupati ghats:	the burning places on the bank of Pashupati temple
pinda daan:	offering foods to the dead ancestors
dharmaputra:	adoptive son
annadata:	food provider or one who nourishes others
dhai ma/bubu aama:	the woman who is employed to breast-feed a baby who is not her own (wet nurse)
jor murali:	a pair of flutes
mool chowk:	the main market place

chaar dham: four sacred pilgrimage sites

chakribazi: action of being a slave of others, flattery

rudri puja: ancient practice of offering sacred things to Shiva along with chanting hymn or matra

Nepali shabdakosh: Nepali dictionary

In the above examples, we can see intralingual compounds, that is Nepali + Nepali compounds which have been borrowed into English. Besides some compounds, most compounds are cultural which do not have their exact equivalent words in English. Therefore, the writer has borrowed them to fill the lexical gaps. Similarly, some more compounds include:

Gorkha crown: crown that a king or queen of Gorkha kingdom used to wear on the head

gold teekma: a necklace with a number of four-sided gold plates sewn onto a broad red cloth collar

Navaratri celebrations: Hindu celebrations that span nine nights in the month of Ashwin (September-October) during which goddess Durga is worshipped

dharo dharma: oath upon religion

panchanama: a document recorded in the presence of five people

Nepal Rajya: Kingdom of Nepal

Mahanavami teeka: a mixture of yogurt, rice, and vermillion put on forehead on the ninth day of Dashain

In these examples, the first three compounds are hybrid ones and the others are compounds from Nepali borrowed words. Some hybridized Nepali + English noun compounds found in the essay by Bhattarai (2012) include:

angrezi book: an English book

Brahmin son: son from the Brahmin caste

In his article, Pokharel (2020) borrowed some Nepali compound words which are given below:

Bhai Bahini Tika/Bhai Tika: seven-colored substance put on brothers' and sisters' forehead

Kanya Daan: the bestowing of a girl in marriage (Pradhan, 1997)

Gau Daan: a ritual in Hindu religion in which a cow is gifted or donated to a priest

The above examples show the intralingual compounds in which nouns from the Nepali words are compounded. English does not have the equivalent compounds to refer to them. Therefore, the writer has borrowed them to fill the lexical gaps. Similarly, in his news report, Budha (2020) has included the following compound words:

Chhau sheds: cattle sheds where the Hindu women and girls are put during the period of menstruation

Chhaupadi eradication agency: agency that works to eradicate the practice of putting the Hindu women and girls in the sheds during menstrual period

Chhaupadi-free district: district where there is no practice of putting the Hindu women and girls during their menstruation

Sati tradition: the ancient Hindu tradition in which a widow burns herself on her husband's pyre

In the above four compound words, there are Nepali + English compounds, which are the typical NE hybridized compounds since there are no equivalent words

to refer to those Nepali words incorporated in the compounds. In his news report, Khadgi (2020) has made the following compounds:

Nepal Bhasa: Newari language spoken by Newar ethnic group of Nepal

Maithil Brahmins: also Tirhut Brahmins, the Hindu Brahmin community of the Mithila region

Nepal Mandala: the ancient name of the Kathmandu valley long before Nepal was mapped in the world

Juju Baje: the king of the priest during the Malla period in Nepal Bhasa

kul devta: an ancestral god

In these compound words, there are only Nepali words which have cultural meanings and their exact equivalent words are not found in English. Some more examples of compounds from Kunwar (2020) include:

Panchayat curricula: curricula made during the direct rule of the King in Nepal from 1960- 1990

Khas-Arya group: hill, Hindu, high caste people

These two typical hybridized compounds in NE incorporate both Nepali and English words, which exhibit the bilinguals' creativity. Similarly, Koirala (2017) has made the following compound words:

wood-stove: a traditional Nepali stove called chulo, which is made out of mud

toilet jug: a jug used in pouring water in a toilet

Bahun tradition: a tradition or ritual followed by the Brahmin caste people in Indo-Aryan or Khas group

Kshatriya obligations: obligations for people belonging to Khas Chhetri caste

to follow, who were the military and ruling class of the

ancient Hindu society

Besides "wood-stove" and "toilet jug," other compounds are hybrid or interlingual in nature which have the unique meanings in the Nepali culture. Similarly, the writer has written the compound word "uncooked rice" which refers to rice offered in worship or ritual rice called *achheta* in Nepali. This compound also carries the cultural meaning. Likewise, Devkota (2017) has made the hybrid compounds with "Nepali" such as Nepali air, Nepali heart, Nepali soil, and Nepali sky, which have their own cultural or pragmatic meaning. Similarly, he has made the hybrid compound "*peepul* tree" to mean a sacred tree in the Hindu culture which is best for oxygen to human beings. The word *peepul* or *peepal* neither has its equivalent word in English nor the same religious or cultural meaning because it is also the name given to God Vishnu. Some compounds from Pradhan (2017) include:

sufferer nation: a country which suffers others

Kot Parva: a massacre of royal family and advisers in 1846 that led

the establishment of Rana autocracy (Weinberg, 2013)

Bhandarkhal Parva: a secret plan made in 1846 to kill the Prime Minister

Janga Bahadur Rana (Pradhan, 1997).

bodhibriksya/bodhi tree: the wisdom bo or peepal tree under which

Gautam Buddha had gained wisdom (Pradhan, 2017)

Except the first compound, the other compounds are intralingual in nature, which have the historical importance. They do not have their equivalent words in English. Therefore, they are the typical compounds in NE.

Adjective -Noun Compounds. In NE, compound nouns are formed from the combination of adjective and noun. Rai (2016a) has made some typical compounds, which shows the linguistic creativity:

blue films: porn movies

big man: a great man

In Nepal, the Nepali people commonly say "blue films" to mean porn movies or films. The English native speakers do not say blue films. Similarly, in the sentence "You grow, be a big man," the writer is not talking about size, that is, "to be big in size," but "to be a great or a successful person." Similarly, Rai (2016b) has borrowed some compounds from the Hindi language such as *garam cha* "hot tea" and *taja samosa* "fresh samosas." Some compounds from Upadhyay (2018) include:

Banarasi sari: a sari made in Banaras, India

Nepal-crazy foreigners: foreigners who adore Nepal very much

In the first example, *Banarasi sari* is a compound noun borrowed from IE. In the second example, "Nepal" compounds with "crazy' as "Nepal-crazy" which compounds with "foreigners." In the article by Bhattarai (2016), "architectural *smarak*" is a hybrid compound noun which means a memorial with attractive designing. Some other compounds from Wagle (2016) incorporate:

skinny bahun: very thin person from the Brahmin caste

sun-scorched hillside: very hot or sunny slope of the hill

 widowed hills: hills where most innocent women have turned

                          into widows as their husbands were killed

passing interest: little or superficial interest in politics

In these compounds, the first one is a hybrid compound which has English + Nepali compound and the rest three have English + English compounds. The writer

has made the typical compounds with the typical meanings in NE, which are the output of the linguistic creativity. Let us observe some compounds from Shah (2018):

mighty angrez:　　　a powerful Englishman

royal vaidyas:　　　personal practitioners of Ayurvedic medicine of the Royal family

local jaand:　　　liquor made from fermented rice or other grains

local aila:　　　strong Newari liquor

fumbling bahuns:　　people from the Brahmin caste who are awkward or hesitant to do something

black-uniformed sipahis: soldiers who are wearing their black uniform

knee-deep water:　　water up to knee

Gaijatre cows:　　　cows to be worshipped at Gaijatra festival

Gajal-eyed soldiers:　soldiers who have got black scars around their eyes

In the above examples, beside the compounds "knee-deep water" (English + English), "Gajal-eyed soldiers" and "Gaijatre cows" (both of which have Nepali +English structure), all the compounds have English + Nepali compound structure. They are the unique hybrid compounds in NE. Similarly, Bhattarai (2012) has used the compound word "Second Sir" to refer to assistant Principal or head teacher in the school. This is a unique compounding in NE, which is not found in BE, AE, and IE.

I have seen some typical NE compounds in the public places which have their typical meanings in NE (see Appendix-IV):

fresh house:　　a place/house to sell meat, particularly of chicken

sekuwa corner: a restaurant or hotel where meat cooked on a barbecue is sold

The compound "fresh house" includes both English words. It is the place where meat is bought and sold. It does not include the word "meat" or "chicken." The

meaning of "fresh house" is conveyed linguistically through texts on the advertisements and visually through images such as chickens, eggs, room, and a man cutting and selling meat. In another hybrid compound, *sekuwa* is a Nepali word and "corner" is an English word. The meaning of the word "corner" is extended here because the word "corner" is compounded with *sekuwa* although the place for selling meat cooked on a barbecue is not at or on the corner itself. Both texts on the billboard images such as chicken, he-goats, duck and other food items, and the place where the billboard is kept are the contextual cues to understand the meaning of "sekuwa corner." In my interview, T3 gave the examples of the following compound words, perhaps typical in NE:

cook man: a person who prepares meals

helmet teacher: a teacher who has to rush in different colleges to teach

bazaar note: a small non-prescribed book used as a capsule

These three compounds are intralingual in nature which incorporate both nouns and have the typical meaning in NE. Similarly, the Nepali people commonly produce typical noun-noun and adjective-noun compounds. Rai (2016a) has made the compound "ceiling fan" to refer to an electric fan fixed to the ceiling. Other common compounds in NE are given below:

handphone: mobile phone ("cellphone" in AE)

table fan: an electric fan to be placed on a table

lathi charge: caning of demonstrators by police

cent percent: all the students

pass percentage: the percentage of students who have passed

pin-drop silence: complete silence

playback singer: a singer who sings for actors to be mimed in films

black money: income illegally obtained, earnings without paying tax

khumba/megha mela: grand fair or crowd

welcome speech: speech of welcome or welcoming address

auspicious occasion: great occasion

side hero: a subordinate male actor who has a minor role in a movie

loadshedding: power cut

All the examples of compounding mentioned above show hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization. In NE, compounding is a very productive process in which compound words are formed from the words within the language (intralingual compounding) and across the language (interlingual or hybrid compounding). Some of these compounds are common in IE, too. The use of "welcome speech" and "auspicious occasion" in NE is due to the influence of IE (Brett, 1999). The key words on the advertisement such as Shree Saraswati Pooja, FREE ADMISSION (REGISTRATION), limited seats, and school's name and the image of Saraswati clarify that "auspicious occasion" means a great occasion for the students from Nursery to kindergarden to have free admission on that special day (see Appendix-IV). The word "loadshedding" is commonly used in NE to mean "power cut." Rai (2006) claimed that "loadshedding" is a Hinglish word borrowed into Nenglish since there is no such word in English. Similarly, Sailaja (2009) has incorporated "black money," "table fan," "ceiling fan," and "pass percentage" as the compounds in IE. What we infer from the examples given by these three writers is that there is the influence of IE on NE.

Blending

Blending is a word formation process in which a new word is formed by blending two words, that is, from the initial part of the first word and the last part of the second word. It generally serves the purpose of eye- or attention-catching device in advertisement and journalism. Some blended words in NE I have taken from my diary entry include:

Nepali + English = Nenglish

Nepali + English = Nepanglish

Nepali + Angrezi = Nepangrezi

Nepali + English = Nepenglish

Nepali + English = Neplish

Rana + anarchy = Ranarchy

The above blended words show hybridity and bilinguals' creativity. The first five blended words refer to the Nepali variety of English emerged in Nepal. These are the different names given by different scholars which have already been described in the preceding chapters. They are the hybrid blended words, including "Ranarchy" and "khubility." The blended word *Ranarchy* refers to a situation in Nepal during the Rana period when there was the absence of government since the cruel Ranas ruled over the country. It is commonly used by the writers in their articles, and books (e.g. Shrestha, 2018). The following blended words are taken from the billboard and advertisement images (see Appendix-IV):

shopping + opportunity = shopportunity

offer + opportunity = offertunity

window + door = windoor

Chicken + pizza = Chizza

khubi + ability = khubility

Both linguistic texts and visual images (multimodality) have played a vital role to convey the message explicitly. The idea of the opportunity for shopping (shoppertunity) is expressed both linguistically (the word "shoppertunity" itself, "go cashless, go online" and "avail exclusive offers" and visually (image of Siddhartha bank, shopping bags). The meaning of "offertunity" as the opportunity to grab the offer is coveyed by texts ("offertunity" and "on the occasion of 19th anniversary, subisu presents") and image (happy picture of a young boy and a young girl). Similarly, "windoor" refers to a glass door that can be used as a window. Its meaning has been conveyed both linguistically (texts on the advertisement) and visually (the image of the large door-like windows of the houses). When pizza is made by adding chicken as another variety, it is called chizza. Both texts on the advertisement (e.g. chicken × pizza) and images (food items) convey the message that "chizza" is a food item made from chicken and pizza. Similarly, the Nepali word *khubi*, which refers to skill or ability, is blended with the English word "ability" to form a new blended or hybrid word "khubility" that carries the meaning "skill or ability to do something." This meaning is collectively conveyed linguistically (texts on the advertisement) and visually (image of a young girl showing a resume on a page).

All the blended words described above are the unique features of NE, which are used to express new ideas, concepts, and thoughts. The use of such words has maximized linguistic economy as stated by Lee (2013) and manifested the NE speakers' linguistic creativity.

Reduplication

In a word formation process called reduplication, words or parts of words are repeated to add meaning to the basic words. Quirk et al. (1985) mentioned that

reduplication is mainly used to imitate sounds, to suggest alternative movements, to disparage by suggesting instability, nonsense, insincerity, vacillation, and to intensify. Reduplication in Malay serves a number of grammatical functions (e.g. plurality), spatial-temporal function (e.g. intensity, duration), and some sematic/pragmatic functions (Hajar, 2014).There are different forms of reduplication which serve different functions. Nominal reduplication often expresses closeness or intimacy, adjectival reduplication generally intensifies the meaning, and verbal reduplication is usally used to express attenuation or continuity (Anesa, 2019).

One of the major features of NE is reduplication which can be found within the same language words (intralingual reduplication) and across the language words (hybrid or interlingual reduplication). In Standard English, total reduplication is not very common but it is a major characteristic of NE.

Intralingual Reduplication.There are some intralingual reduplicated words in Rai's (2016a) anthology which are exemplified and analyzed below:

1. *Ok, Ok*. We'll have one more drink.

2. *No, no*. Please go.

3. During the week a dozen people lost their lives, and hundreds of them were injured: loss of eyes, broken leg and arms, fractured ribs and *so on* and *so on.*

4. O! *Yes, yes*. He looked at his audience.

5. *Hello! Hello!* Are you still there?

6. *Narayan, Narayan*! He remembered the god.

7. *Slowly, slowly* – in fact it seemed ages – the sun went to the west.

8. …he drank the water – *click-click, click-click*… [.]

9. *Democracy, democracy*! What has it given us?

In the sentences (1), (2), (4), (5) and (9), the reduplication indicates the emphatic sense. The speaker is emphatically accepting what was said earlier in (1) and (4), and is emphatically rejecting in (2). The reduplication in the example (3) indicates continuation of a list, whereas the reduplication of Nepali word *Narayan* in (6), has the religious/cultural meaning, that is the Hindu devotee produces *Narayan* to refer to Lord Vishnu. This reduplication is also found in Rai (2016b).The reduplication of "slowly" in (7) heightens its meaning, which means "very slowly." In the sentence (8), "click" is an onomatopoeic word which is the sound produced while drinking water. The reduplication of "click" shows that the continuation of drinking water. Let us see some more examples of intralingual and total reduplication from Upadhyay (2018):

1. Oh, *yes, yes*, Pramod-ji.

2. "*Enough, enough*! Cried one woman.

3. "*No, no, no*." Acharya shook his head.

4. "*Here, here*, how can you do this?"

5. Pramod realized that he had to wait *longer and longer* to see Shambhu-da.

6. …he heard a steady *thump-thump-thump*.

7. *All right, all right*. I take it back.

8. Someone passing by outside shouted, "*Namaste, Namaste*"

9. "*Beautiful, beautiful*," the man said, pointing toward the room where the baby was sleeping.

In the above examples, the reduplication has intensified the meaning of words. The reduplication of "yes" in the example (1) expresses strong acceptance to what Pramod has said. In example (2), the reduplication of "enough" intensifies meaning as "it's too much." The reduplication or triplication of "no" in (3) carries the meaning of

"strong denial." The reduplication of "here" in (4) has the emphatic meaning of the particular location, that is, "here, not there." In (5), the word "longer" has been reduplicated which intensifies the meaning as "for much longer time than expected, or for a long time." In the sentences (6), the onomatopoeic word "thump" gives the sense of continuation of someone walking. The reduplication in (7) and (8) accentuates the meaning of words. In the sentences (9), the reduplicated words intensify the meaning as "very beautiful." Some more examples from Upadhyay incorporate:

1. "*Go, go*, leave"

2. First it was Shanti's voice, squealing, followed by a slow *heh, heh, heh* from Lamfu.

3. …the heavy *thump, thump* ringing throughout the building

4. *hot hot* momos

5. my *sweet sweet* mama's boy

6. He bought her a glass of wine, *then another, then another*.

7. Pramod realized that he had to wait *longer and longer* to see Shambhu-da.

8. Here I am *trying and trying*, and you never appreciate what I do.

The reduplication in (1) accentuates the meaning of words. The reduplicated words in (2) are the onomatopoeic words produced while laughing. In the sentence (3), the onomatopoeic word "thump" gives the sense of continuation of someone walking.   In the sentences (4) and (5), the reduplicated words intensify the meaning as "very hot," and "very sweet," respectively. The reduplication in (6) indicates continuation of buying more bottles of wine. In the similar vein, the reduplication in (7) intensifies the meaning "for a long time or for much longer time" and the reduplication in (8) shows continuation of action, i.e., "continued trying." More reduplicated words from Wagle (2016) include:

1. It seemed she'd been in that place for a long time, like a leaf *falling and falling*.

2. She interrupted. "*Enough, enough*!

3. Shreeman *Narayan, Narayan, Narayan*.

4. "Oh, *God. God*." The women's voices scared me more than anything else.

5. '*Shoot! Shoot*!' Myriad noises assaulted my ears.

6. *Hello! Hello*! I screamed like a madman.

7. I saw a young man trying to get a connection on a satellite phone. *Hello? Hello? Hello?*

8. I read it *over and over* last night.

9. *Anything, anything* could happen to deprive the couple of another afternoon like this.

10. Thinking about the whole thing, I just wanted to *laugh and laugh*… [.]

In the sentence (1), the word "falling" has been reduplicated, which indicates the continuation of leaf falling. The reduplication of "enough" in (2) intensifies the meaning as "too much." The reduplicated forms of "Narayan" and "God" in (3) and (4) are generally produced by the religious people, which have typical religious meaning. In (5), the reduplication of "shoot" has an emphatic meaning to shoot as soon as possible. The reduplication of "hello" in (6) and (7) is used to draw the hearer's attention while talking or telephoning someone. In (8), the reduplicated words refer to reading something repeatedly. Similarly, the reduplication of "anything" in (9) gives emphatic meaning. In the example (10), the reduplication of "laugh" refers to the continuation of laughing. In the similar vein, Shah (2018) has extensively used reduplication in her novel:

1. The Rajmata *Shri Shri Shri* Lalita Tripura Sundari

2. *Upadra…upadra…*how much mischief does that little brain of yours contain

3. *Reti reti…reti* that is how I will slice you.

4. *Sapri sapri*, reform your ways, dear girl.

5. *Batuli, Batuli*, this is the only way we can safeguard all of us.

6. *Shree Shree Shree Shree Shree* Panch Maharajdhiraj Rajendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev

7. *'Chhya…chhya…thooo…thooo.'* With the great effort on her part, she manages to spit all over his ear… [.]

8. *Sarkar! Sarkar!* They plead.

In the examples from (1) to (8), the Nepali words have been reduplicated. During the Rana era, Rana rulers were titled as *Shri Teen*, three times reduplication of *Shri* in the example (1). The reduplication of Nepali word *upadra* in (2) intensifies its meaning as "very much mischievous." In (3), the Nepali word *reti* has been reduplicated or triplicated which refers to the repeated act of slicing to kill someone. The reduplicated word *sapri* in (4) indicates emphasis on reform. In (5), the name *Batuli* has been reduplicated, which is very common in the Nepali culture to address or call on someone. Reduplication of *Shree* for five times in (6) was used as a title for the King, Queen, and their family members. The reduplication of *chhya* and *thoo* in (7) intensifies its meaning as "very disgusting." Similarly, the reduplicated word *Sarkar,* a term of address to the king*,* has the emphatic meaning in (8). Some examples of intralingual reduplication of English words from Shah are given below:

1. '*True. True.*' He mutters as he shifts closer from where he is sitting on the floor, closer to the badamaharani.

2. '*Fools. Fools.*' He is almost shouting now… [.]

3. Now *come, come*, you have your ladies for company.

4. …but so I thought and so I thought for the *longest, longest* time.

5. Now on to the hollow of my neck, now between my breasts, moving up, then sliding *down, down* to my naval encroaching further, probing, and sinking *deeper, deeper*. Intoxicating *sweet, sweet* pleasure.

6. *Absolute, absolute* bliss.

7. *Hear, hear*, sipahis, how this traitor now holds on to me about the power of the British!

8. Here, I am alone with my *sweet, sweet* Gagan.

In the sentences (1), (2), and (3), the reduplicated words have the emphatic sense "really true," "really fool or stupid," and "really come, not go," respectively. The reduplication of "longest" that comes before "time" in (4) intensifies the meaning of time. In English, the word "longest" is the superlative form, which is not generally reduplicated. In the example (5), the reduplication of the word "down" heightens the meaning as "much more down," of the word "deeper" intensifies the meaning as "much deeper," and of the word "sweet" intensifies its meaning as "very sweet." The reduplication of the word "absolute" in (6) and of "sweet" in (8) intensifies the given meaning. Similarly, in (7), the reduplicated word "hear" implies the emphasis and continuation of hearing. Some more examples of reduplication of English words from Shah are given below:

1. *Shame…shame…shame…shame*. I am jolted from my sleep.

2. *Disgusting! Disgusting!*

3. *Traitor!Traitor!*

4. She is clever, *very very* clever.

5. *Her heart…her heart*. Yes, *her heart*.

6. I want *air…air…air*.

7. *They? They?* Who they?

8. *My queen, my queen*, the worst has happened!

9. *Gentle. Gentle*. I feel his face.

In the above examples, the reduplication of the word "shame" in (1), "disgusting" in (2), "traitor" in (3), and "very" in (4) intensifies the given meaning as "very much same," "very disgusting," "very traitor," and "too much clever," respectively. Similarly, the reduplication in of "heart" in (5), "air" in (6), "They?" in (7), and "my queen" in (8) have the emphatic meaning of the given word. Likewise, the reduplication of "gentle" in (9) intensifies the meaning of gentleness.

The unique feature of NE is to repeat the word to show the continuity in action, for example (Shah, 2018):

1. …crowd around chautaris and *discuss and discuss* (=continuity in discussion).

2. Obstinate voices continue to chase and come *closer and closer* (=continuity in coming much closer).

Reduplication is a common feature in NE which is done both is speech and writing. In my interview, T2 gave the examples of the following reduplicated words:

1. long long ago

2. Notice! Notice! Notice!

3. very very tall

4. good good

5. few few ideas

The reduplicated words in the above examples intensify the meaning of words. To mean "very long ago," Nepali writers start their story by reduplicating the word

"long." T2 explained that reduplication in English occurs because of the influence of Nepali. In English, the word "notice" is reduplicated two or three times which is a common practice in Nepali. To mean "too much tall," NE people reduplicate "very." In NE, "good good" means "very good" and "few few ideas" means "very few ideas." Similarly, T1, beside the example of "notice," provided another example of partial reduplication "mix max" which means to "mix and match."

    Hybrid or Interlingual Reduplication. Hybrid reduplication is "a strategy used in cross-cultural texts, in order to provide an explanation to the non-English words, either in the form of word, clause, or a sentence to reflect the cultural baggage that the context has" (Jadoon, 2017, p. 12). Nepali writers make unique way of reduplication by mixing words from two languages. Let us see some examples from Rai (2016a):

1. Bhola bhai you're really *bhola (innocent).*

2. …she needed a *buhari, 'daughter-in-law'*

3. She started going to the town alone by bus because *the guruji, the bus driver* offered her a free ride.

4. After ten years of *Jana Yuddha 'people's War'*, he is not sure if he has achieved anything out of it.

5. …and discuss future by sharing hubble-bubble or *khainee 'chewing tobacco*.'

6. I went to the platform number 5 to catch the *Shaheed (Martyr)* Express.

7. A family of five were having their evening meal *muri 'puffed rice'* mixed with gram.

    In the above examples from (1) to (7), the writer has formed the hybrid reduplication of the Nepali word followed by English meaning by using appositive

elements, brackets, and inverted commas. Rai (2016b) has used hybrid reduplication

like *garam cha* "*hot tea*," *taja samose* "*fresh samosas*," *kaka* "*father's brother*,"

mama "*mother's brother*," and *sanima* "*step mother*." Such hybrid reduplication not

only shows the bilinguals' creativity but also makes the texts comprehensible for both

English and Nepali people. Let us observe some more examples from Shah (2018):

1. *Disgusting! Chhyaa, hak thoo!*

2. *Jaa, go* away!

3. *Bhann. Tell me. Speak.*

4. *Bussa, sit,* mukhtiyar.

In the example (1), the Nepali words *chhyaa* and *hak thoo* also refer to

disgusting. In (2), the Nepali word *jaa* and English word "go" have the same

meaning. The three words *bhann*, "tell" and "speak" in the example (3) generally

mean the same thing, and the Nepali word *bussa* and English word "sit" have the

same meaning (interlingual synonyms). These examples include redundant words,

which enhance the comprehensibility of the readers.

Echo Reduplication. Eco reduplication is a process in which a lexical item is

repeated, with the first syllable changed (Meshrie & Bhatt, 2008), or with the word-

initial sound changed. Let us observe an example from Rai (2016a):

1. Shashi, Honey! Now leave this 'but-shut.'

In the above example, "shut" is an echo reduplication of the word "but," in

which the initial sound of "but" is replaced by another sound, retaining all other

sounds. Thus, "but-shut" denotes but and suchlike. This might be the result of the

influence of the Nepali language because echo reduplication is very common in

Nepali. Slightly adapting to Meshrie and Bhatt (2008), its aborption into NE shows

the process of indigenization (i.e. making English structurally more like an indigenous

language). Such reduplication is common to most South Asian languages, which shows the bilinguals' linguistic creativity.

The discussion on reduplication shows that NE comprises three major types of reduplication – interlingual or hybrid, intralingual (only from Nepali or only from English), and echo. Majority of reduplicated words are from within the same language. In NE, words are reduplicated to serve various purposes.

Use of Unusual Words

NE speakers produce unusual words in speaking and writing such as "proudy" to mean proud, "talency" for talent, "heighty" to mean very tall, "hancy" to mean handsome, and "cookman" for cook, which show the bilinguals' creativity. Brett (1999) also explained that Nepali speakers of English use "proudy" to mean "proud or not helpful." The word "proudy" might have formed on analogy with words like "greedy" and "bloody," the word "talency" on analogy with "pregnancy" and "vacancy," the word "heighty" on analogy with "mighty," and the word "cookman" on analogy with "postman" and "salesman." Regarding the unusual word, T3 stated:

> I have heard the word "scooty" several times. I have found the word scooter but we usually say scooty in Nepal. If someone has a scooter, we say, "Lend me your scooty." This is the word that we are feeling easy to use.

The word "scooty" is perhaps brought from IE because scooty is an Indian brand of scooters. In BE or AE, only the word "scooter" is used. Let us see another example:

Figure 5

Welcome Banner

In the above banner, we can see the multimodal mixing, that is, the welcoming words "HEARTLY WELCOME TO NEPAL" (language) and people carrying a banner on the occasion of World Tourism Day 2019 (image), which together convey the meaning of "heartly welcome," in which the word "heartly" is unusual in that it is not used in BE or AE. However, it is a commonly used word in Nepal to mean hearty. Another commonly used word in Nepal is "besty," which means a best friend in Standard English. This word seems to be used by the young Nepali people in their speech and writing. Still another unusually written word is "welcome." Let us observe the following figures:

Figure 6

Welcome Billboards in Nepal

In these two billboards, two words "wel come" and "well-come" look like compound words which are found on several billboards in Nepal and students' writings. In the first billboard, the language on the billboard and the placement of billboard on the side of the road where Patharisanischare Municipality begins help the people to understand the meaning of "wel come." In the second, girls with Nepali clothes and ornaments, *namaste* sign (Nepali greetings), rhododendron, mountains and hills, and language written on it all together clarify the meaning of welcoming people to Nepal. The meaning of welcoming is expressed both visually and linguistically, which is the feature of multimodality. In BE or AE, the word "wel come" is senseless and another word "well-come" has a different sense. Such way of writing the word "welcome" is not found in BE or AE. However, these words exhibit the linguistic creativity. Brett (1999) also accepted that "wel come" is the feature of NE. Let us observe some words from Rai (2016b):

1. Even the USA, the richest and most powerful contry of the world has not been able to eradicate *unequality* and poverty among its citizens.

2. The book is almost *unwritibale* except by someon who actually lives in such a place… [.]

In the above examples, two words are unusual which are not used in BE or AE. There are words like "unequal" and "inequality" but using the antonym of "equality" as "unequality" is the feature of NE, which actually means "inequality" in BE or AE. Similarly, the word "unwritibale," which means something that cannot be written, is not used in BE or AE.

Although those words discussed above are unusual in BE or AE, they are commonly used in NE and are comprehensible for NE speakers. The use of such

unusual words also justifies that NE exists in Nepal. Such words are not errors but innovations both in form and meaning which show bilinguals' creativity.

Approximate Quantification

In NE, two numbers are used together to mean "about" or "or." This feature is not generally found in BE or AE.

1. "Earlier, it would take the *five-seven hours* to reach my home on foot from the district headquarters," Limbu said (Gautam, 2020).

2. Going by the regular modality can take *two-three years*… [.] (Mandal, 2020)

3. While all that was happening I was already *20-22 days* into my fast (Koirala, 2017).

When the time or day is not clear, NE speakers write two numbers separated by hyphen to convey the meaning of approximation. In the above examples, "five-seven hours" means about five to seven, or five or seven' years, "two to three years" means about two to three, or two or three' years, and "20-20 days" means about 20 to 22 days, or 20 or 22 days. They show the bilinguals' creativity and the nativization of English according to the local contexts.

Semantic Broadening

Linguistic nativization includes semantic shifts (Falola, 2003), that is, shift from general to specific, and vice versa. Semantic broadening refers to the extension of meaning from the native speakers' usage, which is one of the features of bilinguals' creativity. The Nepali writers and speakers use some words which have more extended meaning than in BE or AE.

Eat. Nepali people use the verb "eat" not only with edible things but also with drinkable things (e.g. I eat beer) and with non-edible things. Let us observe the following sentence from Rai (2016a):

1.   Some ate bridges and roads, some fertilizers and aeroplanes.

In this example, the verb "ate" has pragmatic meaning, that is, "corrupted the budget allocated to construct bridges and roads and to buy some fertilizers and aeroplanes." Perhaps, this is the typical NE usage of the verb which may be difficult for the English speakers to understand it. NE speakers also use the verb "eat" with "water" (e.g. I eat water) to mean "drink" and with "promises" (e.g. I eat promises) to mean "make" because of the influence of Nepali. The use of "ate" in the above example reflects both the influence of Nepali and the bilinguals' creativity. It also indicates that when any word is used in a new local context, the meaning of the word may also be changed.

Master. In Nepal, the teachers are generally addressed by "masters." Let us observe the examples from Bhattarai (2012):

1. What did the masters do to you today *Saila*? Did they beat you?

2. Let's have a look at your works– how your masters have written in your
   notebook.

In these examples, the word "masters" refers to the teachers who teach in the schools. Now, the meaning of "master" is not limited to the teacher. In this regard, T1 explained:

The word "master" is an English word which was used to address a specific

person who had mastery over any specific subject. Now its meaning is

extended. It is used to refer to a tailor as well as a school teacher.

The meaning of the word "master" is much extended since it is also used to address a tailor. This is a typical lexical feature of NE because the word "master" is not generally used in these senses in BE or AE.

Guru. Stevenson (2010) incorporated two meanings of *guru*: (a) a Hindu or Sikh religious teacher or leader, and (b) (informal) a person who is an expert on a particular subject or who is very good at doing something. In Nepal, *guru* is commonly used in our day-to-day communication to refer to anyone who is not a religious teacher or an expert, for example*, ke chha guru*? (How are you *guru*?). In my interview, T1 explained:

> The term "guru" is used in Nepali English but the meaning of guru in the past and at present is different. Its meaning at present is extended. In the past, guru was used to refer to a specific person but now it is used to refer to many people whether they have knowledge on any specific subject matter or not.

Similar to this view, Rai (1995) explained that *guru* was the highly prestigious word which was used to denote a person devoted to teaching-learning, who was poor but highly learned, honest and having a very strong moral character; a person who was not afraid of anyone except God. He further explained that now this word is used to denote those who teach in the schools and the campuses but not necessarily the scholars, who are not well-paid, and are lowest among the white-collars, and who need not be honest or moralist. In this way, the meaning of *guru* is gradually moved from a religious teacher or an expert, to anyone without any expertise, and then to a driver. Moreover, the driver is addressed by adding a suffix "–*ji*" to the word "guru." Let us see the example from Rai (2016a):

1. It was also OK that SHE went a couple of times in the bus of that *guruji* without paying the fare.

Rai (1995) explained that the word *guru* is also used for the bus and truck drivers. But there, the term is prestigious, as the suffix '*ji*' is attached to the word *guru* and they are always addressed as *guruji*, not simply *guru*, which indicates that teachers are less paid than the drivers and are respectless in the present Nepali society. With the extension of its meaning, the word "guru" has completely lost its glorious position in Nepal.

Line. In Nepal, the word "line" is used uniquely. NE speakers extend the meaning of this word to mean electric supply. In the words of T3:

When the electric supply is gone, we only say "line" that is "line is gone" or

"line has come." I think the word "line" might be particularly used in Nepal. In BE or AE, line refers to the thick wire that carries electricity from one place to another, but in NE, it is used to mean electricity. It indicates that the speakers of local variety of English use the English word with a different meaning according to the local context.

Manpower. In BE or AE, the word "manpower" simply refers to the human resources or workers to do a particular job. In Nepal, its meaning has been extended. We can hear the following expressions in our day-to-day communication:

1. I work in the manpower.

2. I am going to the manpower to return my money.

3. I have opened the manpower in Kathmandu.

In my interview with T3, he said that the agency which sends workers abroad has been named as "manpower." In NE, manpower refers to not only the workers or human resources but also the agency/office/organization that sends workers abroad.

Tiffin. Tiffin is a commonly used word in the private schools of Nepal. Brett (1999) also mentioned that Nepali people say "tiffin carrier" to mean lunch box. Let us observe its use from Bhattarai (2012):

1. There was no Tiffin hour, no break, and no pocket money, nothing to eat.

In the above example, the word "tiffin" refers to break time to have snack rather than snack or lunch itself. To its usage, T3 stated:

The word "tiffin" might be used as "meal" by the foreigners but we are calling the break time to take snack as "tiffin." Now it is about to have tiffin.

T3 opined that the word "tiffin" is used to mean not only snack one eats in the middle of the day at school but also the time to take such meal. Its meaning has been extended in NE, which reflects the bilinguals' creativity.

Boarding. Stevenson (2010) incorporated the meaning of the word "boarding" as the arrangement by which school students live at their school, going home during the holidays. In NE, its meaning has been extended. For its usage, T3 viewed that the word "boarding" is used to refer to a private school, although there is no boarding facility in that school, that is, facility of accommodation and meals. Brett (1999) mentioned that the boarding school is called the private day school in Britain and the public day school in other countries.

Tower. In NE, the meaning of "tower" is extended from "a tall narrow building" to "mobile network." In our day-to-day communication, I have heard many mobile users say "There is no tower in my mobile today" or "Check whether there is tower in my mobile."

Family. Generally, family refers to a group of parents and their children. In Nepal, the word "family" is used to mean more than this, that is, to refer to one's wife, for example, "She is my family" means "She is my wife."

Read. In NE, the verb "read" is used more than "to look at and understand the meaning of the written or printed words or symbols," for example, to read books, to read English newspapers. The verb "read" is used to mean "study" and more than this. A very common question asked by the NE teacher is "In which class do you read?" rather than "In which class do you study?" Furthermore, Brett (1999) exemplified that the Nepali people say "My son reads in K.G." to mean "My son is in kindergarten" (as children neither read nor study in kindergarten). In my interview, T3 also responded that NE uses the verb "read" (e.g. I read in class three) where "study" is used in BE or AE.

Give. In NE, the verb "give" is used to mean "to hand or provide something to somebody," "to take," and "to lend." Let us observe some common expressions in Nepal:

1. I am going to give the driving test for license.

2. Give your SEE exam properly.

3. Give me your dot pen.

In BE or AE, students or examinees take an exam or a test, and the examiners give it. In NE, the verb "give" is commonly used "to take" an exam. Similarly, in the example (3) above, the verb "give" refers to "lend."

Campus. Campus actually refers to the buildings and grounds of a university or college. NE extends the meaning of it to refer to secondary school which runs grade 11 and 12 classes, college, and university. We have names of colleges and universities with the word campus such as University Campus, Mahendra Multiple Campus, Sukuna Multiple Campus, and Patan Campus. In Nepal, the word "campus" is used to refer to a place or university where students can study for a degree after they have left school.

Tall/high. Stevenson (2010) mentioned that "high" is used to talk about the measurement from the bottom to the top of something or to describe the distance of something from the ground, whereas "tall" is used to talk about people and for things that are high and narrow such as trees. Let us observe the following examples from the news report by Prasain (2020):

1. Krzysztof Wielicki of Poland first climbed the world's *tallest* peak in the dead of winter on February 17, 1980.

2. …of the world's *tallest* mountain

3. The world's *highest* peak normally sees the highest number of climbers during the spring season.

In these examples, the word "tall" seems to be used in the broader sense which has replaced the word "high" or collocated with "peak" and "mountain." Generally in BE or AE, it is not the word "tall" but the word "high" which collocates with "peak" and "mountain."

Trustee. Shah (2018) overextended the meaning of the word "trustees" as those whom we trust or believe which actually mean persons or organizations that have control of money or property of a charity or trust (Stevenson, 2010). Let us observe the example from Shah:

1. If my scandalous affair was revealed, not only would it further reveal Jung Bahadur's motive in this affair, but also lead to his downfall and restore the advantages of the chautarias, the only *trustees* of the maharaja's interests.

In BE or AE, the trustees are concerned with controlling the financial affairs or properties of any charaity or trust but in NE, the meaning of "trustees" is more than this. They also mean credulous or confidant.

Romantic. Brett (1999) mentioned that the word "romantic" has two specific meanings in Standard English: one is synomymous with "dreamy"- a person whose feet are not quite on the ground or one who has an active imagination, and another is connected or concerned with "love." But in NE, romantic means more than this. Let us observe some examples:

1. That's why your works seem so *romantic* (Wagle, 2016).

2. One day, I heard the voice of a man singing a *romantic* song… [.] (Koirala, 2017)

3. Don't I look like a *romantic*? (Wagle, 2016)

In the first and second examples, "romantic" is an adjective which may mean nice or pleasant as Brett (1999) argued. In the third example, it is a noun which means a person who is not serious but makes a lot of fun. In Nepal, a person who makes a lot of fun or always tells jokes is generally called a romantic. Stevenson (2010) has mentioned its meaning as a person who is very imaginative and emotional. In NE, the meaning of "romantic" is overextended.

Straight. In NE, the word "straight" is concerned with not only direction, size and shape but also someone's attribute. Let us observe the following examples from Wagle (2016):

1. Yes. We're both equally *straight*.

2. And she told me you were as *straight* as a rod.

In these two examples, the meaning of straight is "not talented" or "simple-minded." The writer produced these sentences because of the influence of the Nepali language. It is the direct translation of *sojo* or *sidha* from Nepali. It indicates that the meaning of "straight" is overextended in NE.

Semantic Narrowing

Semantic narrowing refers to the restriction of meaning or the use of words in the limited or restricted sense. Words which have the broader sense in BE or AE are used with the restricted meaning in Nepal:

Degree. One very common word that the Nepali people frequently produce is "degree" which is used in the restricted sense in NE. In BE, it is the qualification obtained by students who successfully complete a university or college, that is, the bachelor degree, or the master degree, or the postgraduate degree. In Nepal, it is used to refer to only the master degree. For instance, there is a Post Graduate Campus in Biratnagar, which is also known as Degree Campus, where only the master level courses are taught. I have heard many students who study at the master level say "I am studying degree." Similarly, the teachers also say, "I teach degree level students." In these examples, the meaning of "degree" is restricted to "master level only."

Don. In Stevenson (2010), the word "don" has two senses: a teacher at a university and (informally) the leader of a group of criminals involved with the Mafia. In NE, it is restricted to the second sense only.

Knife. The dictionary includes the meaning of "knife" as "a sharp blade with a handle, used for cutting or as a weapon" but the Nepali writers have restricted its meaning by using more redundant words:

1. And Ganesh would hoist the khukri *knife* high in the air… [.] (Upadhyay, 2018)

2. The male is in lose white daural suruwal with a khukuri *knife* inserted into his patuka belt (Bhattarai, 2016)

3. …he would bring me a karda *knife* or chulesi… [.] (Bhattarai, 2012)

In NE, the word "knife" is not used to denote all sharp cutting instruments. For the Nepali people, *khukuri, karda,* and knife are different weapons. T4, in my interview, also responded that the word "knife" is used in a more restricted sense, that is, a specific type of cutting instrument, particularly *chakku* in Nepali. It indicates that the meaning of the English word changes when it is used in the local contexts.

Bike/cycle. Stevenson (2010) incorporated the meaning of "bike" and "cycle" as "a bicycle or motorcycle." In this regard, T3 also responded that the word "bike" and "cycle" refer to both bicycle and motorcycle. But in Nepal, "bike" is used to refer to only motorcycle and "cycle" to refer to only bicycle. Both words are used in the restricted sense in NE.

Safari. The use of the word "safari" does not have a long history in Nepal. It is now commonly used in the small cities as a vehicle. For this word, T3 explained:

> A few years ago, I had not seen safari in Nepal. A vehicle which is generally used as a local transport in Nepal is called safari. I think safari might have a broad meaning but we have been giving the name of safari to the electric rickshaw. I don't know whether it is called safari in the foreign countries.

Stevenson (2010) incorporated the meaning of "safari" as a trip to see or hunt wild animals, especially in East Africa. In Nepal, it is used in the different and restricted sense to denote an electric *rickshaw* used locally in the transportation.

Wood. In Standard English, the word "wood" is used to mean the hard material that the trunk and branches of a tree are made of as well as an area of trees smaller than a forest (Stevenson, 2010). T4 remarked that this word is generally used in the restricted sense to refer to the first meaning, and for the second meaning, NE speakers either say "forest" or "jungle."

Hero/heroine. Stevenson (2010) mentioned that the word "hero/heroine" refers to a man/woman or girl who is admired by many people for doing something brave or good. It also refers to the main male/female character in a story, novel, or film/movie. In Nepal, these two words are generally restricted to mean an actor or an actress. They are also used to refer to someone who is handsome or good-looking physically (hero) and beautiful (heroine). Let us observe the following examples from Wagle (2016):

1. You should be the *heroine* in an action movie.

2. You presented me as a romantic *hero*, an individual.

In the above examples, the English native speakers prefer to use "actor" and "actress" to refer to "hero" and "heroine," respectively. Regarding the word "hero," Rai (1995) explained that in the sentence *tyo manchhe ta* hero *bhaisakya chha* "That man has become a hero," the word "hero" refers to a hooligan, or a dandy, rather than a man who ought to be respected for his bravery or noble qualities. In the Nepali society, hooligans are not only feared but also praised and respected as heroes. He further added that it is not at all surprising because in the long run these hooligans take the saddle and bridle of the government. In this way, the meaning of "hero" and "heroine" has been changed in Nepal.

Basket. The word basket in BE or AE has a broad sense because they use the same word to refer to several things. In this regard, T1 explained:

The word "basket" has one type of meaning there. In our context, it refers to only a specific thing. We have several words to refer to different forms of basket. Its meaning seems to have narrowed down in our context.

NE is rich in words compared to BE or AE to refer to the basket. This word is not used to refer to *doko* "a big eyed bamboo basket carried on the back," *dhobe* "a large

bamboo basket used to carry dungs," *thunse* "a large basket carried out by the women on their back" and *dhakar* "a large bamboo basket used to carry things while traveling a long distance." In NE, the word "basket" refers to a small bamboo object such as *dali* and *tokari*.

Amelioration

It is the process in which the meaning of words becomes more positive. Some words which have the negative meaning in BE or AE have become positive in NE.

Silly. In BE or AE, the word "silly" has much negative connotation, that is, it is used to mean stupid or embarrassing, but in NE, it has a more positive connotation. In my interview, T1 said:

> The word "silly" was used in the negative sense in the past but now it is used to refer to someone who is clever and wise and can trick others easily.

In the Nepali culture, if someone is silly does not always imply that they are stupid. They might be much cleverer or more intelligent than others. This view is also expressed by T2 as:

> I think the words like "silly" and "cunning" are used much positively in our context despite having much negative connotations. We call those politicians "silly" or "cunning" who have easily reached in the upper posts.

Both teachers agree that the word "silly" is used much more in the positive sense in NE. It is not used in the sense of foolish, rude, or weak-minded but as clever, wise, and intelligent. Let us observe the meaning of "silly" in the following paragraph from Shah (2018):

> He is a poor man. But he holds fast to his religion and his honour. Oftentimes, I have told him to take a wife, but that he won't. He says that he loves me and if he cannot have me, he will never marry. Silly boy!

In the above context, the word "silly" does not seem to have a negative connotation. The boy seems to be clever, not stupid.

Danger. In BE or AE, the word "danger" has the negative meaning. In NE, it is also used in the positive sense. It is because of the direct translation from the Nepali word *khataraa*. The word *khataraa* has undergone the volte face which was used to show negative quality previously but it is not used in its previsous sense anymore (Rai, 1993). T2 explained:

> If someone did something perfectly, we call him danger. We use it to mean brilliant and talented. We say that he gives a danger speech, which means good speech.

In the above excerpt, the meaning of the word "danger" has the positive connotation. It is used to mean perfect, brilliant, and talented. Moreover, the word "danger" implies that to be perfect and to be a good speaker is to invite danger. In the Nepali community, we hear people say *nepalma ramro manchhele awasar paudaina* "Good people do not get an opportunity in Nepal" or *sahi-satya bolnele jahile dukkha pauchha* "People who tell the truth face the trouble."

Pejoration

It refers to the change of meaning from positive to negative. Some words which have the positive meaning in BE or AE are used in the negative sense in NE.

Sexy. In Standard English, the word "sexy" means attractive, beautiful, or sexually exciting. It also has the positive connotation. In Nepal, it is used in the restricted and negative sense. T4, in my interview, responded:

> In America, when we say "How sexy?" to a woman, we might get "Thank you" response from her but if we say so to a woman in Nepal, she might slap

us. It has a negative connotation in Nepal which is generally associated with sex.

T1 also agreed with T4 that the Nepali people generally understand "sex" as "sexual intercourse" rather than the word to distinguish male and female. Therefore, people often feel uncomfortable when they hear it. Let us see the examples from Upadhyay (2018):

> 1. "We like your sister, donkey," another mand said. "She's sexy." Jay laughed at him. The three men pummeled Jay, who was trying to protect himself and strike back at the same time.
>
> 2. The three men ran off, laughing, shouting, "Your sister is sexy!"

In these two examples, the meaning of "sexy" has the negative connotation. One of the reasons is that sex is not openly discussed in the Nepali culture. Therefore, the Nepali people do not prefer to be called or addressed by the word "sexy."

Drugs. In Nepal, the word "drugs" is used in the narrow and particularly in the negative sense. T1 explained:

> Drugs generally refer to the medicinal substances but in Nepal, we generally understand them as something taken by the addicted people, not as something used by all patients. If someone says he takes drug, we take it negatively. Actually, we are all having drugs.

What can be inferred from T1's explanation is that the Nepali people generally take drugs as illegal substances that some people smoke or inject but not as medicine. In AE, drugstore means a shop or store that sells medicines and other types of goods, for examples cosmetics (Stevenson, 2010). For Americans, druggist means chemist or

pharmacist, but in Nepal, it refers to someone who takes the illegal substances called drugs. In NE, these words have more negative connotations.

Redundancy

By redundancy, we simply mean something which is not necessary or useful. In information theory, redundancy is used to make the communication possible. Wit and Gillette (1999, p. 2) argued that "In some cases redundant features are repeating bits of information to ensure comprehensibility." At the lexical level, the Nepali writers have used some redundancy words.

1. As soon as they finished the pleasantries by talking about the rising prices of *kerosene oil*, milk and meat, Madam geared her to the serious talk.

2. He *returned back* from Saudi Arabia… [.]

   (Rai, 2016a)

3. Neither the foul of *bindi*-cigarettes, body-odour…. [.]

4. I *entered into* the Cathedral – there are rows of benches inside.

   (Rai, 2016b)

5. I was undertaking a great venture by *entering into* an unknown world (Bhattarai, 2012).

6. …as soon as you *enter into* the premises of the building (Republica, 2020, January, 18).

In the first example, the writer has used the terms "kerosene oil" in which "oil" is redundant because "kerosene" itself is oil which is necessary to burn a lamp. In another example, "back" is redundant since "return" itself gives the meaning of "back." Similarly, *bindi* is a kind of cigarettes, so the word "cigarettes" is redundant and the word "into" is redundant with the verb "enter"since BE or AE does not use "into" with "enter" to mean "come or go into something or a place" As exemplified

above, Rai (2016a) has introduced redundant terms from another language to make the complex message possible, for example, *Shaheed* (Martyr) Express, *buhari* (daughter-in-law), *Jana Yudda* (People's War), *bhola* (innocent), *khaine* (chewing tobacco), which are the result of the bilingual's creativity. In these examples, words within the parentheses do not give the readers new information but the use of such redundant words makes the foreign writers grasp the message. Most importantly, they reflect the multilingual situations.

Many reduplicated words, as I discussed above, show redundancy. Besides them, Wagle (2016) has written "a rhododendron flower" and "stupid *ooloo*," in which "flower" is a redundant word because "rhododendron" itself is a flower and the Nepali word *ooloo* is not only an owl but also a word used to address a stupid person in the Nepali culture. We can say either "He is stupid" or "He is *ooloo*." Both have the same meaning. Therefore, any one word is redundant. Some more redundant words from Bhattarai (2012, 2016):

1. I remember now– the broken pencil needed sharpening, he would bring me a *karda* knife or *chulesi*, Mother would sout: don't use the chulesi, Maila!

2. The male is in loose white *daura surural* with a *khukuri* knife inserted into his *patuka* belt.

3. *Dashain* and *Tihar* festivals were round the corner

In the examples (1) and (2), the word "knife" can be used to refer to both *karda* and *khukuri*; therefore, one of the words is redundant. In the example (3), *Dashain* and *Tihar* are themselves festivals; therefore, the word "festivals" is redundant.

NE speakers generally produce the word "color" with the name of color which is redundant, for example, black color, white color, sky color, and red color. They also

produce "about" after "discuss" and "time" after "how long" which are also redundant.

1. We noticed from the media that political parties, government and parliament are now discussing *about* the ramification of MCC (Ghimire, 2020)

2. How long *time* will you stay here?

In the day-to-day communication, the Nepali people produce the redundant words, for example, lemon tea*ko chiya*, in which the English word "tea" and the Nepali word *chiya* refer to the same thing. Another frequently heard expression is "cap *topi*" in which both refer to the same entity, so one of the words in a set is redundant. Similarly, regarding the redundant expressions, T3 stated:

The English words themselves are already plural in form but the Nepali people extensively add Nepali suffix *–haru* with the plural nouns such as parents*haru*, children*haru*, teachers*haru*.

In the examples given by the T3, the suffix *–haru* is redundant because the English words "parents," "children," and "teachers" are already plural in forms. The Nepali people also add the redundant plural suffix "–s" to some mass nouns such as peoples, furnitures, staffs, and committees. T3 further said that the Nepali students produce words like "return back" in which "back" is redundant. In this way, by introducing the redundant words, NE speakers nativize English to fulfill the communicative needs.

Modification

The bilingual or multilingual speakers and writers create new words by modifying the spelling of English words to show Nepaliness in their writings and their creativity. Bhattarai (2012) has practiced this writing system.

1. *Maldai* knew nothing about the *iskool* culture.

2. *Hyallow* Marshing, How do you?

3. Then Om Nath also obediently bent his head and tried to do haltingly, letter by letter, word by word, after me slowly *the krau was thrusty.*

The above examples show how the Nepali speakers creatively produce the English words. In Nepali, there is no /sk-/ cluster in the word-initial position, so the Nepali learners learning English add [i] in the initial position of "school." Another word *Hyallow* is a Nepali way of producing "hello." Similarly, the Nepali speakers generally produce the English word "thirsty" as 'thrusty." Look at the following advertisements:

Figure 7

Advertisements

In these two advertisements, the two words have been modified in their spelling. In both advertisements, the English words have been nativized or Nepalized. We can see the word "kwality" for "quality" in the advertisement of "Purex" (vegetarian laundry soap). The sense of "kwality" has been conveyed linguistically (words on the advertisement) and visually (images of logo, soap, clean clothes, and a young girl with her smile). In another image, the spelling of "protect" has been modified into "protekt." Both texts (words such as coronavirus and handwash) and images (tap, handwashing, a bottle of liquid to wash hands) convey the sense of "protekt." Similarly, the word "exchange" is modified as "xchange," whose meaning has been conveyed by date, minimum price rate, other words on the advertisement,

and image of a Honda bike (see Appendix-IV). Such modifications in the mass media also show that there exists a distinct variety of English in Nepal.

Similarly, Rai (2016a) has modified the spelling of "litchi/lichee/lychee," the word included in the Oxford dictionary, as *leachy*, which is a small fruit with the thick rough reddish skin, white flesh and a large stone (Stevenson, 2010).

Inconsistent Use of English Words and Spellings

NE is distinct from other varieties of English because it has emerged because of the influence of BE, AE, IE, Nepali, and other local languages. There is the great influence of BE since the colonization of Britain over India, and the establishment of Darbar School where two British people were the first teachers to teach English. Since then, BE was promoted in Nepal through teaching and textbooks. Most of the books to be taught in the schools and universities were those written by the British scholars. Similarly, there is the great influence of AE in Nepal which rapidly entered through science and technology, and business transactions. English in Nepal is also influenced by IE and CE, varieties of English of two largest populated countries in the world as Nepal is in between these two countries. When the Nepali people write in English, they do not seem to care much about whether the words are from BE, AE, CE, or IE.

Pants/Trousers. The word "pants" is very common in Britain and trousers in America. They are the dialectical synonyms. Wagle (2016) has used both words in his novel:

1. Her son also appeared, holding her hand. He'd wet his *pants*.

2. A photojournalist took pictures of the bullet hole in my *trousers*.

In BE, pants refer to underpants or knickers, and trousers in AE refer to two-legged outer garment from waist usually to ankles (Stevenson, 2010). In Nepal, these two words do not denote the same thing and are used in slightly different senses. In

NE, pants refer to two-legged long piece of clothing that covers from the waist to the ankles. They are generally made up of cotton and jeans, and are generally worn by men and young girls. Similarly, trousers in NE do not refer to pants. They are long like the pants but are worn informally while jogging and playing. These words are also used by Upadhyay (2018):

1. …she walked down the street wearing *pants*… [.]

2. "We'll have to make preparation," as she said, as he put on his *trousers*.

In these examples too, "pants" and "trousers" do not have the same meaning. They are two different wearing items in NE.

Truck/ Lorry. Truck is a word often used in Britain which refers to a vehicle for carrying goods, animals, or soldiers, and lorry is a word often used in America to refer to a large motor vehicle for carrying heavy loads by road (Stevenson, 2010). They are interchangeably used. In NE, truck is much more common than lorry. Let us observe some examples from Upadhyay (2018):

1. He drove quickly, passing small *lorries*, even taxies.

2. In front of them was a large field filled with cars and *trucks*… [.]

Queue/Line. In BE, queue is often used and in AE, line is often used. In NE, they are interchangeably used. In my study, the creative writers have used them interchangeably. Let us observe some examples:

1. There was a long *queue* outside it (Wagle, 2016).

2. His wife came on the *line* (Wagle, 2016).

3. I thought you'd get him in *line* (Rai, 2016a).

Forest/Jungle/Woods. Jungle is the word borrowed from IE to English. Generally, these three words refer the same thing. Specifically, forest is bigger than jungle and woods. It is a large area of land that is thickly covered with trees and

jungle is an area of tropical forest where trees and plants grow very thickly

(Stevenson, 2010). In NE, they are interchangeably used. Some examples from Wagle

(2016) include:

1. There were many new faces in our group by the time we entered the

   jungle.

2. I owed my dreams to this solitude, this *forest*, these flowers, these hills

   that… [.]

3. We entered the *woods*, brushing past thorn bushes and low branches … [.]

In these three examples, we do not have different meanings of jungle, forest,

and woods. The Nepali writers use jungle and forest more than woods.

Movie/Film/Cinema. Movie is usually used in AE, and film in BE. Both refer

to a series of moving pictures recorded with sound that tells a story. Similarly, cinema

is a building in which films/movies are shown (Stevenson, 2010). In NE, these three

words are interchangeably used. I have heard several times people saying, "cinema

herna najane?" (Don't you go to watch a cinema?). Let us observe some examples:

1. I would've been better off watching a *movie*, going to a restaurant or

   visiting Nagarkot or Kakani.

2. The walls were decorated with posters of *film* stars (Wagle, 2016).

3. When I am in a foreign land, I am watching *cinema* or a drama (Devkota,

   2017).

In NE, the word "cinema" is also used to mean "film" and "movie." Among

these words, film and cinema are much more commonly used than movie. In the

spoken form, the Nepali people produce "film" as "filim."

Vacation/Holiday. Vacation is more common in AE and holiday in BE.

People use holiday in BE and vacation in AE to describe the regular periods of time

when they are not at work or school, or time that they spend traveling or resting away from home, for example, he is on holiday/vacation this week, or the summer holidays/vacation (Stevenson, 2010). In AE, a holiday is a single day when the government offices, schools, banks, and businesses are closed but in BE, vacation is used mainly to mean one of the periods when universities are officially closed for the students (Stevenson, 2010). But in Nepal, people generally say summer/winter vacation and Dashain/Tihar holiday. Let us observe some examples:

1. I'll come for the *Dashain holidays* (Wagle, 2016).

2. It's not a *holiday* today, is it? (Upadhyay, 2018)

3. On Saturdays and *holidays* he stayed home, sometimes playing with the baby, sometimes listening to the radio (Upadhyay, 2018).

4. … he takes a *vacation* in India – perhaps a pilgrimage (Upadhyay, 2018).

These examples show that in NE, holiday is much more used with the festive and single day break from work or school but vacation is much more used with the long term fixed holiday.

Sick/Ill. "Sick" is usually used in AE and "ill" in BE to refer to suffering from an illness or disease, or not feeling well (Stevenson, 2010). In NE, these two words are interchangeably used. Let us see some examples from Upadhyay (2018):

1. Deepak called her into his office and asked whether she was *sick*.

2. Yes, she's very *ill*.

Spelling is another feature of NE which makes it different from other varieties of English. NE follows the spellings used in both BE and AE. I have found the writers use the spelling of the different words inconsistently. Some examples include:

BE	AE	NE
Maths	Math	Math/Maths
towards	toward	toward/towards
colour	color	color/colour
learnt	learned	learned/learnt
neighbour	neighbor	neighbour/neighbor
jewellery	jewelry	jewellery/jewelry
apologise	apologize	apologize/apolgise

1. Can you help me with this *maths* problem?

2. That fat boy who always failed the *maths* test?

3. But you beat me in many things, in *math* test, in quiz contest… [.]

(Rai, 2016a)

4. He loved solving *math* problems in his head… [.] (Upadhyay, 2018)

The above examples show that more clipped forms are used in NE. Math or maths is the backformed or clipped word of "mathematics." Even the same writer is using both spellings of BE and AE in his writing, which shows that NE is more hybridized in spellings, too. Some examples of other words are as follows:

1. They left the shop and moved *toward* Indrachowk (Upadhyay, 2018).

2. During the 'War', an experience changed his attitude *toward* life (Rai, 2016a).

3. …then stretches his hand *towards* me… [.] (Shah, 2018)

4. He leans forward *toward* Fatteh Jung (Shah, 2018).

The above examples show that the writer used either "toward" or "towards" in their writing. Even the same writer is not following either BE or AE strictly. Let us observe some examples from Shah (2018):

1. Over time I *learned* to play with them… [.]

2. I *learnt* to manipute my fears to my advantage.

In these two examples, both past form verbs "learned" and "learnt" are acceptable but the first one is more common in AE and the second one in BE. In NE, both are interchangeably used. The following examples show how the different writers use different spellings to mean the same thing:

1. A *neighbor* woman came up to Aunt Shakuntala… [.] (Upadhyay, 2018)

2. …let alone have them as distant *neighbours* (Shah, 2018).

3. …she was gone with all her *jewelry* and cash (Rai, 2016a).

4. I do the same with my *jewellery* (Shah, 2018).

5. I *apopogize* again for inconveniencing your royal person… [.] (Shah, 2018)

6. …Giri would *apologize* and say that … [.] (Upadhyay, 2018)

In the above examples, neighbour, jewelry, and apologize are more commonly used in AE, whereas neighbour, jewellery, and apologise are the preferred spelling in BE. In NE, both spellings are used. These are only some examples to show how NE mixes both BE or AE. On the basis of above examples, and following and adapting to Edwards (2019), we can claim that Nepal is multilectal where multiple varieties of English are used and most speakers of English in Nepal are mixed lectal whose English consists of features of multiple varieties of English such as IE, BE, and AE. To find out how much the Nepali people use IE, BE or AE is another area for research. This study only hints that there is some kind of mixture of BE, AE, and IE in NE.

The above analysis shows that there is the influence of globalization in the English language spoken in Nepal. With its unprecedented spread via globalization and other factors, English has come into contact with Nepali and other languages. As

a result, several Nepali morphemes and words have been borrowed into English, and vice versa, which has produced a kind of hybrid English in Nepal. My study shows that English in Nepal has been more diversified, heterogenized, localized, and hybridized because of the globalization, nativization, and bilinguals' creativity. The speakers of NE have consciously nativized English according to the local contexts to give the local flavor and to express national and local identities. They have borrowed words from Nepali and other local languages to fill the lexical or linguistic gaps since those words do not have their equivalent words in English. In addition, they have also borrowed different words from Nepali and other local languages although they have their equivalent words in English. Their motivation for doing so is their solidarity toward the local words, to maintain identities, and to make the texts comprehensible to NE speakers. The different lexicon and lexical features described above also show the bilinguals' creativity and hybridity. Furthermore, my study indicates different strategies used by the NE speakers to nativize English appropriate to the Nepali contexts. In this way, there is the influence of bilinguals' creativity, globalization, and nativization to make NE different from other Englishes at the lexical level.

Summary

This chapter described NE lexical items and lexical features by presenting examples from various sources, which shows the Nepalization of English lexis. The earliest traces of English being influenced by indigenous languages are to be found in the lexicon since words travel easily (Schneider, 2010). The study on different NE lexicon and lexical features shows hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, nativization, and Englishization. Scholars (e.g. Kachru, 2011; Schneider, 2003) argue that heavy lexical borrowings take place during the process of nativization and Englishization. Following Kachru (2011), one of the main reasons for heavy lexical borrowings is

linguistic gaps in the language. In my study, the writers have borrowed words from Nepali and other languages to remedy such linguistic deficit, which Kachru called "deficit hypothesis" (p. 103). Another reason is borrowing the words from the dominant language to subordinate one. In Nepal, Nepali is more dominant functionally or communicatively than other languages. Therefore, many words have been borrowed from Nepali to English, which Kachru called "dominance hypothesis" (p. 103). Some other reasons might be maintaining an identity, establishing distance in a linguistic interaction, and showing flexibility and innovations in language use. These reasons are more or less connected to the perspectives or attitudes of the Nepali people toward NE, which are discussed in the chapter six.

CHAPTER VI

TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES ON NE

"Why shouldn't there be a Nigerian or West African English which we can

use to express our own ideas, thinking and philosophy in our own way?"

(Okara, 1963, as cited in Kachru, 2011, p. 148)

The above statement made by Okara clearly shows his positive attitude toward the

Nigerian or West African English and its significance. We certainly need our own

English to express our own ideas, feelings, experiences, thoughts, and philosophy,

which are not possible in others' English. My study also aimed to find out the

teachers' perspectives on NE because they are directly involved within the context of

English language teaching classroom and their voices and experiences matter for the

promotion and future of NE. This chapter deals with English teachers' perspectives on

NE. There are already some kinds of perspectives expressed positively and negatively

on NE. It was Duwadi (2010) who advocated for BE or AE with the motto "Lets'

leave English as English" (p. 52) and claimed the campaign of NE to be impractical.

Furthermore, he stated:

> Some scholars have been arguing for either Hinglish or Nenglish recently.
>
> Their claim is that English being (the) world language allows them to deviate
>
> from the standard variety. Doing so I think only brings chaos in our
>
> community. (p. 51)

Unlike Duwadi, Kamali (2010) highlighted NE through his research on the attitudes

of secondary-level English teachers and students toward NE, BE, AE, and IE. In his

research, most of the teachers and students expressed their positive attitude toward

NE, and he recommended that the government of Nepal pay attention to developing

NE. Similarly, Karn (2011) favored NE and saw its campaign as sensible and visionary. He recommended building the corpora of NE for its legitimacy. Giri (2015) advocated for NE for two reasons: one is to show how people negotiate their identities and their communication with the users of other Englishes in particular situations, and another is to find traces of the most established Englishes brewed and blended locally into a single variety, NE. In a similar vein, Subedi (2019) also called for the use of NE in education.

The present study is a qualitative study carried out on NE, taking into account the perspectives of experienced English teachers teaching in different colleges. In my interview with English teachers, they expressed different perspectives on NE, which are discussed in the following subheadings:

NE and its Existence

All the English teachers in my study responded that they are familiar with NE and that they came to know it from NELTA Journals, websites, and conferences. They agreed that a distinct variety of English exists in Nepal. Their perspectives are analyzed in the following themes:

Influence of Mother Tongue

The English teachers expressed that a distinct variety of English has emerged in Nepal because of the influence of the mother tongue. In this regard, T2 said:

> English is a second language in Nepal. Our first language sometimes facilitates and sometimes obstructs in learning the second language. The influence of Nepali or the mixing of Nepali with English makes Nepali English. The influence can be felt in tone, stress, and words.

This remark shows that NE is the mixing or the hybridization of English and Nepali, which can be noticed in the phonological and morphological/lexical level. Such

hybridization happens naturally when a second language learner learns a new language since the influence of first language cannot be completely ignored in that process. T2 explained that English is not a foreign but a second language. The status of English is gradually changing from EFL to ESL (Duwadi, 2010; Giri, 2015; Karn, 2012; Sharma, 2006). Its use is increasing in education, media, and communication. Because of the influence of mother tongue, the acquisition of English as a second language by a whole community of users gives birth to a new variety (Ferguson, 2006). There are native speaker, second language, and foreign language varieties of English in the world. There are again different varieties of English within a variety. English is pluricentric in the world, and Nepal is not an exception. Similarly, T3 explained:

> I came to know that Nepal has its own variety of English only when I took part in the International NELTA conference and heard the presentation by Vishnu Singh Rai on "English, Hinglish, and Nenglish" …[.] I think it is not practical to use English exactly like the foreigners because of the influence of our mother tongue. Almost all of us are using our variety of English appropriate to our context.

T3 also argued that a distinct variety of English exists in Nepal, and the discourse on it is going on nationally and internationally. NE is a kind of hybrid English which is different from other varieties because of the influence of the mother tongues spoken in Nepal. The bilingual speakers blend the two or more linguistic features while speaking and writing. T3 accepted that the Nepali people speak NE, which is appropriate to the Nepali context. It is not practical to speak and use English just like BE or AE speakers.

Nepali Version or Hybrid English

Localization, nativization, hybridization, and diversification of English are the common phenomena in this globalized world. The hybridity of languages has resulted from contact among the languages. In this regard, T1 explained:

English spoken by the Nepali people is distinct from British or American English in terms of vocabulary usage, pronunciation [ah], and grammatical structures. A Nepali way of speaking English is called Nepali English… [.] It is blended or hybridized after the name of the country, such as Chinglish and Nenglish.

Here, the teacher's perspective reflects that the Nepali people speak English in a Nepali way. Their English is hybridized in nature which is the result of the influence of local languages, nativization, and bilinguals' creativity. Along with the contact of English with other national and local languages, English has been hybridized. The names of different WEs show that they are hybridized in nature such as Nenglish, Hinglish, Chinglish, Japlish, and Singlish. They are hybrid Englishes. As Kachru et al. (2006, p. 4) claimed, "The varieties of English in the Outer and Expanding Circles are essentially 'contact varieties,' with their distinct characteristics of nativization and hybridity, in their linguistic terms, and in their sociocultural features... [.]" Such hybridity can be noticed in sounds, collocations, lexical sets, affixation, reduplication, compounding, grammatical structures, and discourses. As mentioned earlier, "linguistic and cultural hybridity is our identity and destiny" (Kachru, 2011, p. 28). Only hybridized English can best serve the multilingual speakers and fulfill their communicative needs. It also exhibits linguistic co-existence and maximizes the linguistic economy. T6's view on NE also echoes T1's view:

In fact I have advocated Nepali English multiple times while teaching Second Language Acquisition. Regarding definition, we might not be able to define it in a clear cut way. However, we can simplify it by saying it is a Nepali version of English or I explain it in my classroom as a Nepali dialect of English.

T6 opined that it is difficult to define NE in a clear cut way. The reason might be the lack of sufficient data or research evidence to justify NE properly. However, there exists a Nepali version or Nepali dialect of English, which is distinct from other varieties of English. Varieties of English or WEs are the common topics which are much discussed in SLA and Applied Linguistics. New Englishes like NE and IE are the products of social SLA in specific socio-historical circumstances (Ferguson, 2006). Following Ferguson's view, we can conclude that the acquisition of English by the speakers of a different speech community causes the emergence of a different Nepali version of English, which also reflects their linguistic creativity.

Impossible to Speak English Native Speaker-like

Accent is the main feature that distinguishes the speakers of one variety of English from other varieties of English. The accent of native speakers is not easily imitated. Therefore, the way the Nepali people speak English is different from others. In this regard, T1 explained:

I don't think that we can be just like English native speakers in our accent. We have our own Nepali way of English. If we try to make it English-like, we can't be successful. Therefore, we should establish our variety of English.

This view endorses the opinion given by Achebe (1965, p. 28), who opined that "it is impossible for anyone ever to use a second language as effectively as his first." The Nepali people cannot be successful if they attempt to speak just like the native speakers. T1's view answers why teaching RP or Standard AE is a failure practice in

many countries, why many countries have left teaching it and started teaching their own variety, and why the goal of English language teaching has shifted from developing native-like pronunciation or competence to communicative competence, or more advanced in term "intercultural communicative competence." As Baratta (2019, p. 136) stated, "Importantly, the students' success is not dependent on mimicking American pronunciation (and perhaps by extension, the relevant standard grammar); instead, the goal is for effective communication in a global context." Rather than following BE or AE, T1 stressed that Nepal has its own Nepali way of English or a kind of hybrid English which should be promoted as an established variety.

Nativization/Appropriation

One of the reasons for the emergence of NE is the nativization or appropriation of English according to the local context. English has been Indianized in India, Ghanainized in Ghana, and Lankanized in Sri Lanka. In this regard, T4 explained:

> English has several varieties which are used according to the country. I think the English language used in Nepal is called Nenglish. We are formally using Nepali words in our courses and making English Nenglish… [.] A text "Marytr" in B.Ed. first year mixes words like *bhustighre* and *juade*… [.] The review of the film "Jhola" in the textbook of grade nine comprises *sati* tradition … [.] The text "A Memorable Journey from Terai to the Hill" of grade eight includes *ghantu* dance and *jhakri* dance.

T4 viewed that English spoken in one country varies from other countries. NE is one of the varieties of English spoken in Nepal. English in Nepal has been nativized or appropriated according to the Nepali context. By borrowing words from Nepali, the

Nepali writers of English have hybridized and nativized their texts and given them the Nepali flavor, which is also the output of bilinguals' creativity. The Nepali words like *sati*, *ghantu* and *jhakri* are cultural words which do not have their exact equivalent words in English. The other Nepali words *bhustighre* and *juade* have their own cultural meanings (see chapter five). T4's view of making English as Nenglish is akin to Raslan's (2000, as cited in Kachru & Nelson, 2011, p. 181) view "We appropriate and reinvent the language to our own ends." Similarly, T5 also expressed the similar opinion on English spoken in Nepal:

> Let's see the English language which is spoken in our context by Nepali speakers in the Nepali context. All the English features are not there. They have changed somehow so that changed vocabulary, changed pronunciation, changed language structures is called Nenglish I think… [.] We can't pronounce the words like English people or we can't use the structures very strict as the native speakers. We change some features in our context and then become Nenglish, I think so sir.

T5 opined that NE is the localized English which has been appropriated according to the local context. It is different from other varieties because of some changes in pronunciation, vocabulary, and language structures. The Nepali speakers of English speak English but their English does not incorporate all the features of English, which implies that NE incorporates some hybrid features or new and unique features created by bi/mulilingul Nepali people. Therefore, they cannot speak English just like English native speakers. They cannot follow English native speakers' pronunciation and grammar strictly. They are not merely imitators but creative users of English who adopt and adapt the language to fulfill their communicative needs. They own it, shape it as they desire, and assert themselves through it (Patil, 2006). By changing

pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammatical features, the Nepali people appropriate English in their contexts. Following and slightly adapting to Achebe (1965), the reason for nativization is that only the new or changed English according to the new Nepali surroundings can bring out the message best.

No Homogeneity in NE

There are varieties within a variety. Within BE and IE, there are different varieties. In Singapore, colloquial SE and standard SE are different. Within each variety, there can be the acrolect, the mesolect, and the basilect varieties of English. In Nepal too, English is not spoken in the same way:

T1:   There is no uniformity in English in the world. It is spoken in a slightly

         varying way because of the influence of local languages and

         geographical reasons.

T6:   I can't tell it with evidence that the Nepali variety of English exists in Nepal

         because even the use of English here in Nepal is influenced by the dialects

         of Nepali. For example, people in theTerai region speak English in a different

         way. It is completely different in the west and the east. In my opinion, the

         way Hinglish visibly being used in India, Nenglish is not visible.

As T1 and T6 said, English is not spoken homogeneously even in Nepal because it is influenced not only by the dialects of Nepali but also by various local languages such as Maithili, Newari, Yakkha, Limbu, and different Rai languages. Therefore, people in the plain or the lowland region speak English in a slightly varying way than that of people from the eastern and western parts of Nepal. Such difference can easily be noticed it in their accent. Their views indicate that different kinds of hybridity and bilinguals' creativity can be noticed when different regional Englishes are studied. Although NE exists, T6 claimed that it is not very much visible as IE is visible in

India. The reason is that there are a lot of research on IE and literature on it in India. IE is much codified and documented. It incorporates many varieties such as Babu English, Butler English, Punjabi English, Tamil English, and Anglo-Indian English (Gargesh, 2006). The cold reality of NE is that it lacks the research evidence to show the geographical and ethnic differences in NE. Therefore, it is difficult to claim the varieties within NE because of the lack of sufficient linguistic evidence. It can be another area for research. The present study provides visible evidence of lexical items and lexical features of NE which further justifies that NE really exists.

Reasons for Speaking NE

All the English teachers in the study claimed that they speak NE rather than BE, AE, and IE. Although they are the English teachers, they accepted that their English is not British-like or American-like; rather it is surely Nepali-like. In my question "Do you speak English or Nepali English? Why?" they favored NE with some reasons:

NE as both Teachers' and Students' English

As already mentioned in chapter one that once linguistic forms, features, and rules are fossilized, they continue to appear in performance regardless of further exposure to the target language (Gass, 2015). Because of fossilization, hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization or appropriation, English spoken by NE teachers and students differs from the English native speakers. In this regard, T1 explained:

> Even our teachers and those with the PhD degree, whether they studied in
> America, Finland, or any other countries, speak English in a Nepali way. Their
> English is also Nepali English. Even if we produce English words, our way of

producing them [accent] is Nepali-like. The accent distinguishes whether it is

Nepali English, British English, or American English.

T1's statement reflects that even the educated NE teachers/professors speak English

differently. Even their English is not BE- or AE-like, but Nepali-like, which indexes

their identity. Because of the influence of their mother tongue, the accent of NE

teachers is different from the English native speakers. T1's view is that even the

highly qualified teachers in Nepal speak NE. It shows the local realities of English in

Nepal. Therefore, teachers of English need to act locally and adapt what they learn to

their own local realities (Brigg, 2008). T1 further explained:

Whatever attempts we make, our accent can't be the same as the native

speakers. It's because of our mother tongue. Our speech organs are already set

in a Nepali way so that whatever attempts we make, we can't have English-

like accent. Although we're speaking and teaching English, we have the

Nepali type of tone, Nepali type of English. Therefore, I proudly say that I

speak and teach Nepali English and so do my students.

The above excerpt indicates that NE teachers cannot speak English just like the native

speakers; rather they speak English Nepali-like. Their speech organs are already set

according to their mother tongue so that they cannot make their accent just like the

English native speakers. Both English teachers and students have the Nepali type of

tone and the Nepali type of English. T1's perspective endorses that transfer of the first

language has its greatest influence on pronunciation and any efforts made by the L2

learners to imitate the native speaker model have invariably failed (Jenkins, 2009). To

resist such attempts, "they may wish to preserve their mother tongue accent in their

L2 English" (p. 42). Considering the local realities of English usage, Bhattarai and

Gautam (2008, p. 14) stated, "Since our students are most likely the consumers as

well as the producers of local English, they need support and positive attitude from the teachers in order to flourish and nurture their linguistic insights." Therefore, the teachers should not only offer the students the appropriate English that fulfill their needs of the time (Harmer, 2007) but also acknowledge and give space to local varieties of English in curricula and classroom teaching (Sharma, 2008).

Practicality and Appropriateness

Many scholars in the Outer Circle and Expanding Circle countries are advocating and making campaigns for promoting, codifying, and standardizing their varieties of English in their countries with some reasons. In Nepal, few scholars (e.g. Duwadi, 2010) claimed that NE campaign is impracticable. Many other scholars (e.g. Giri, 2015; Kamali, 2010; Karn, 2011, 2012; Rai, 2006) see the practicality of using NE in Nepal. In my research, T3 stated:

> As there is the influence of the mother tongue in English, I think it is not practicable to use English just like the English native speakers on the one hand and [um] we all are using our context-appropriate variety on the other hand.

The teacher, from the above statement, seems to be against BE or AE but favors NE which is practicable to the Nepali context. This view has opened the door for nativizing English according to the context of situation. It is necessary to promote and establish NE as a variety because it is a contextually appropriate variety of English. As Baratta (2019, p. 33) stated, "…it is the immediate context in which we find ourselves communicating that determines what the appropriate form of language is." It means practicality and appropriateness of any variety of English depend on the context. T3's view endorsed the findings of two researchers. Kamali (2010) found that majority of students liked their teachers' pronunciation of English. The finding implies that they like the Nepali model of pronunciation of English and it is

practicable in their local contexts. Similarly, in his quantitative survey research, Dewan (2018) found that 84% of respondents reported that NE is practicable, whereas 46% of them supported BE/AE. In my research, T1 explained with examples that the Nepali way of speaking English is practicable and appropriate in the Nepali context:

> We produce English words in the Nepali-way. For example, we teachers and English native speakers say /bʊks/ for "books" but the Nepali students don't say / dɒgs/ for "dogs" as we say. We don't know voiceless and voiced. We only know plurals… [.] The English native speakers say /təmɒrəʊ/ for "tomorrow" but our students and we teachers say /tʊmaːrɒ/. If we pronounce it differently, our students laugh and teachers feel ashamed.

The above perspective of T1 implies that following BE or AE is not practicable in the Nepali context because the students do not follow it. Even if the teachers know the pronunciation of Standard BE or AE, they do not follow it in the classroom. The reason is that the students do not feel comfortable to such pronunciation because they have not received exposure in it. They have developed the Nepali way of pronunciation and way of speaking so that it becomes difficult for them to understand such pronunciation. Even the teachers seem to feel easy to produce the English words in their own way. The crucial reason for not following the BE or AE pronunciation is concerned with the teacher's face or identity. The teachers adapt their pronunciation so that the students do not ridicule them and they do not have to feel ashamed in front of the students. The views given by T1 and T3 endorse what Fairclough (1992, p. 36) stated, "Different varieties of English, and different languages, are appropriate for different contexts and purposes, and all varieties have the legitimacy of being appropriate for some contexts and purposes." This view implies that practicality or appropriateness has to do with the context and the purpose. The Nepali people learn

and use English in different contexts and for different purposes. Therefore, BE or AE cannot be practically appropriate to follow in Nepal. Therefore, nativization of English in the Nepali context is necessary. As Larsen-Freeman (2007, p. 70) stated, "…what is important is intelligibility, not in perfection in pronunciation, or even in grammar." Therefore, the teachers need to use the kind of English that their students need and understand.

Exposure and Environment

In the context of Nepal, English is learned in the formal classrooms where students receive limited exposure from the non-native English teachers. In such a context, learning English is very largely based on the localized input received from the non-native speakers of English. In my study, some teachers gave exposure as a factor for the emergence of NE.

T2: First, we can't receive sufficient exposure in the second language. We don't have such environment. Second, our socio- cultural factors also influence in learning English.

T4: I speak Nepali English because I have got exposure in it. When I was a student, I did not receive exposure from the British and American English speakers. We did not have email, internet, technological facilities, and authentic materials written by the native speakers. We had to learn English on the basis of what our teachers taught us… [.] Exposure plays a vital role in learning.

Both teachers accepted that they are NE speakers. They have a distinct kind of English due to the influence of their mother tongue, limited exposure in English, and some environmental and cultural factors. While learning English, they received exposure from the non-native English teachers which shaped their English to be

Nepali-like. Both teachers are true in the sense that in Outer and Expanding Circles, English is learned through instruction in the formal situations without receiving any exposure from the speakers of Inner-Circle countries, or sometimes even without the materials from the Inner Circle (Kachru & Nelson, 2011). Both of them are trying to say that as they learned English, so are they speaking English. Their views support the proverb "As you sow, so you reap." The Nepali people speak NE because they have received exposure in NE from the non-native NE speakers. When they were learning English, they had neither any digital device to listen to the English native speakers' voices, nor did they receive any opportunities to listen to English outside the formal classrooms. T4's view endorses Sridhar and Sridhar (1986) that most learners of indigenized varieties of English never get opportunities to interact with a native-variety speaker during their acquisition period. In many community schools, "the learners' only exposure to English takes place in the English class at school" (p. 6). Even the English teacher does not speak English much in the classroom. T5 gave the following reasons for it:

> First one is we have taught or we have learned English. We never acquired English. We did not learn English in [ah] native-like situations. We were taught by the Nepali English teachers and so were our teachers. I don't say that our teachers could speak English in the English flavor. They already [ah], I mean, made it Nenglish, so we learned from them… [.] Number two reason [ah] is the community where we work here I mean our students. We can feel the interference of their first language… [.] Third reason we can say is that we [ah] mix the languages while teaching during the classroom. We teachers as well as students speak mixed-type of language, code-switching.

T5 gave three main reasons for being English different in Nepal. First one is concerned with exposure. The Nepali people generally learn English in the formal classroom where the English teachers speak NE. They neither receive exposure from the native speakers, nor do they have native-like situations in Nepal. Even the teachers who are teaching English do not speak English native speaker-like. The students learn English from the limited exposure they receive from the teachers. T5's view endorses Sridhar and Shridhar (1986) that indigenized varieties of English are learned from non-native speaker teachers and, perhaps, whose teachers were also non-native speakers. The second reason relates to the cross-linguistic influence of one language over another. One's first language influences in learning the second language, which causes hybridity. Such hybridity can be easily noticed in the second or foreign language learners' speech and writing. This is a natural phenomenon in the bilingual or multilingual learners learning English. The third reason relates to bilinguals' creativity such as code-mixing and code-switching, which is a natural and a common phenomenon in the bilingual or multilingual environments. NE speakers mix words from Nepali and other local languages while speaking and writing in English and produce the hybridized forms or expressions. Sometimes they switch from English to Nepali while speaking and writing in English. These reasons make their English different from others.

All the teachers highlight that exposure plays a key role in shaping one's English. The Nepali people learn English on the basis of the exposure they receive from the non-native English teachers in the formal classrooms. They do not get opportunities to get exposure from the native speakers.

Intelligibility and Comprehensibility

Intelligibility has to do with sounds, accent, or pronunciation, and comprehensibility with meaning, content or the conventional basic sense of understanding (Kachru & Nelson, 2011). Speakers of English in Outer and Expanding Circles prefer their local or national variety of English because it is intelligible or comprehensible than other varieties of English. In this regard, T4 explained:

> I don't understand the typical English spoken by others. I don't understand English spoken by British speakers much, nor do I understand English spoken by Americans according to their level of speaking. If so, which English do I speak?

To T4, the English spoken by British and American speakers is not easily intelligible or comprehensible. This generally happens in the learners of Expanding Circles where they do not receive exposure from the English native speakers. Therefore, even the English teachers in Nepal do not easily understand BE or AE. In their research, Smith and Rafiqzad (1979, p. 375) observed that "the native speaker was always found to be among the least intelligible speakers, scoring so low (average of 55%)." The speakers who share the similar linguistic and socio-cultural backgrounds might be more intelligible or comprehensible than others. Smith and Rafiqzad reported that the Korean, Malaysian, and Japanese listeners correctly identified their respective countries' speakers 87 percent of the time, while Hong Kong listeners correctly identified the Hong Kong speakers with only 57 percent accuracy, and the Indian and Philippines listeners scored only in the forties (p. 71). They hypothesized that the reason for the lowest percent for Indian and Philippines listeners was that they have more subvarieties within the Indian and Philippines English. Therefore, all kinds of nativization (linguistic, pragmatic, creative, and cultural) are necessary to make

English intelligible and comprensible to the Nepali people. Regarding the use of NE, T6 gave a slightly different opinion:

> It depends on the platform I am right on. For example, in my classroom here in Nepal I try my best to simplify my version, so I use Nepali English. The core reason for doing this is that my students do not understand what I say. But when I am exposed to the international programs such as NELTA, IATEFL and other conferences, I try to speak English. Beside this we can't abandon the fact that my mother tongue influences multiple times and discourages me from speaking "the English."

The above view by T6 supports Bhattarai and Gautam (2008, p. 13), who maintained that teachers should "adopt more flexible approach in the selection and use of English in an eclective manner rather than being prescriptive." While teaching the students, the teachers can appropriate or nativize their English according to the needs and levels of the students because the Nepali students understand NE better than BE or AE. In this sense, NE is practicable in the Nepali EFL classrooms. As for facilitating intelligibility and comprehension, T6 appropriates English while teaching and talking to the students. While taking parts in the international programs such as NELTA and IATEFL, T6 tries to speak English rather than NE. This shows that which variety of English to speak depends on the contexts. This view endorses what Baratta (2019, p. 45) stated, "…one variety is simply more appropriate than the other, not based on any inherent 'betterness' but simply based on the immediate context of communication, largely involving one's audience." In other words, intelligibility has to do with context. The teachers need to "be able to adjust their speech in order to be intelligible to interlocutors from a wide range of L1 backgrounds" (p. 88). They can use the type of English that their students understand. In addition, they need to expose different

varieties of English because exposing students "to as many varieties of English as possible would do more to ensure intelligibility than trying to impose a single standard on everyone" (D'Souza, 1999, p. 273). In this sense, speaking BE or AE is not always intelligible for everyone in every place.

Natural Process

Everyone speaks a dialect or a variety of English rather than English itself because there is no English but only Englishes. In Nepal, the Nepali people learn and speak NE. Their English is NE. This view is expressed by two teachers below:

T2:   Certainly I speak Nepali English even if I say I speak English. We can't completely follow the second language in the case of pronunciation, or stress and intonation. Our English is influenced by our first language.

T5:   We do not fully use English… [.] We never speak proper or complete English, so it becomes Nenglish when we speak. Even if we think that we are speaking English in the class, it naturally becomes Nenglish… [.] Sometimes I try my best to make it English but it naturally becomes Nenglish. I don't claim that I speak English.

Both teachers accepted that the Nepali people do not speak English just like English native speakers do. When they speak English, it naturally becomes NE. Therefore, they do not claim that they speak English because their English is different from BE or AE because of hybridity caused by their mother tongue, their creativity, and nativization. This is true in the case of WEs since English spoken by Indian people naturally becomes IE and by Chinese people naturally becomes CE. The speakers who are from different linguistic and sociocultural backgrounds and who learn English in different settings learn and speak English differently.

Positioning of NE in Nepal

The position of NE largely depends on how we perceive its use. Linguistically, we are not in the position to call NE since we still lack proper research, codification, and reference grammar on it (Poudel, 2018). In a spoken practice, we clearly see the lack of normative uniformity in the use of English (Phyak, 2018). Regarding the position of NE, T3, in my study, explained:

> Most of us are following our variety of English. Earlier I thought that what words we are using are the same in the foreign countries, too. Later I noticed that some words and expressions are only used in our country. We cannot claim that they are wrong since they are already established. I found some typical examples while reading books and articles, and I also heard other examples from students' speech. We never said they were wrong because the teachers who taught us also used them in the same way, to which we used as models. We used such words and expressions both in speech and writing.

In the perspective of T3, there is the position of NE because there are typical spoken and written practices on it. Some words and expressions of NE are well-established since they are commonly used by the teachers as well. Even the creative writers have used typical words and expressions in their books and articles. This shows some kind of linguistic and societal codification of NE and nativization of English in speech and writing. In addition, the students also speak a different kind of English and follow teachers' English as a model in their writing and speech. The teachers are gradually coming out of traditional normative ideologies and have become more flexible to students' utterances. They have become more positive toward many innovative expressions made by the students. Rather than labeling NE as an error, it is viewed as

systematic within a variety which is the result of the creative process that marks the typical variety-specific features (Kachru, 1992). Furthermore, T4 said:

> Distinct variety of English is found in the formally and officially written texts or textbooks. For example, the texts like "Jhola" in grade nine, "Memoir of Journey" in grade eight and "Martyr" in B.Ed. first year are in Nepali English. Of course, Nepali English posits but I'm confused how much of its use determines its position.

The opinion of T4 implies that many school level English texts have been nativized which incorporate the features of NE. Even English texts written by the Nepali writers which have been incorporated in the textbooks of higher levels include the local variety of English. Although NE has not yet been officially declared as a norm, a distinct way of writing English has formally started. The texts in NE have been incorporated in the English textbooks of schools and universities to justify the positioning of NE. However, there are some objections for its positioning. In this regard, T5 had a different position:

> Personally I can't say that we are able to make a separate variety of English over here in Nepal because we have a very small population in Nepal who speak English. Few people use English in the classroom, in the tourism sectors, in hotels, and on trekking routes. This is a very small population. A very small population can't claim [laughing] that they are going to give a separate variety "Nenglish." But we can feel somehow that different types of English are spoken in the classroom and even in the English speaking situations like tourism, hotels, or other sectors. I am not right now in the place of claiming that we have developed a separate variety of English as Nenglish here but it is on the way.

T5 claimed that the Nepali poeple are not right now in the position to call NE and they cannot make it a separate variety easily because of the very small users and speakers of English in Nepal. The reason is that English is used only in the specific situations such as classroom and tourism sectors, particularly in the hotels, and in the trekking routes. In reality, the situation is not as T5 expressed. A large number of young generation people studying in the private schools and colleges speak better English. Even the government schools are deliberately changing their medium of instruction from Nepali to English because of which a large number of students are getting exposure in English. The Nepali people can learn English through the use of ICT and web tools. English is extensively used in the advertisements, billboards, banners, brochures, prospectuses, and menu. The craze and position of English is rapidly increasing in Nepal. T5 further explained:

> [Laughing] actually I don't know whether we intentionally make or develop a separate variety or not. I don't think that it should be developed as a different variety of English in Nepal. It itself becomes when the large number of population speak and then the influence of that kind of use of English can be felt by the Nepali speakers in our context. It will be recognized by other communities, I mean in other countries by other language speakers.

T5 focused on the natural nativization and argued that NE develops itself when a large number of Nepali people speak NE and feel the influence of it in their context. In addition, for its development, speakers of other communities from other countries need to recognize that Nepal has developed its own English different from other varieties of English. T5 questioned whether nativization can be done intentionally or not. Literatue indicates that the creative writers and users of English in many countries have intentionally nativized English to meet their needs and interests.

D'Souza (2001) reported how India borrowed English, transcreated, recreated, stretched, extended, and contorted it. Therefore, the development of a separate variety of English is not only a natural process but it also happens intentionally. T5 suggested some ways for making the position of NE:

> While speaking, [ah] what we have to do is that, to make it a separate variety of English here in Nepal, you know we need to use it in our way in a number of occasions, in a number of situations, contexts, and by the number of populations. The speakers of English should be increased. In written and spoken forms, we need to [um] make it special by using different vocabulary, different structures, and different tone. If we do so, then slowly it will get some recognition in the international communities or it will be recognized by other speakers.

In this excerpt, T5 talked about owning English and linguistic nativization. What the teacher meant by the expression "use it in our way" is that Nepali people should own English by speaking it in a special way rather than modeling the native speakers or twisting their tongues unnecessarily to make their accent English native speaker-like. They can nativize English linguistically at the phonological, lexical, and grammatical levels. Only when a large number of Nepali people nativize English in Nepal both in spoken and written forms and use NE in various situations, it will get recognition in the international communities. Without making it known to others through codification, that is writing dictionaries, grammars, and other reference materials, it is difficult to claim the positioning of NE in Nepal. In this issue, T6 explained:

> Unless we advocate about it with our strength, we won't be able to say that this is Nenglish. We do have all characteristics of Nenglish (such as code switching and blending) but it has not been officially declared here. As a

result, we might not be able to nenglicize (let me use this term) English. However, we cannot deny the fact that if we start less advocating English as a Queen's language, we will surely be able to promote Nenglish.

T6, like other teachers, accepted that NE has some typical characteristics which justify that it is different from other varieties of English. However, it is not enough to make the position of NE in Nepal. Besides its use, the Nepali people need to advocate NE strongly as Raja Rao and Chinua Achebe advocated Indian English and African English, respectively (Kachru, 2011). Some scholars from home and abroad are advocating NE (See chapter three). Karn (2011) advocated a need of corpus compilation of NE for its authentication that paves the way for owning it. Such individual attempts may not be sufficient. The role of the government is also very important to promote and standardize NE. The government can declare NE as an official language of Nepal and further neglicize it according to the Nepali contexts. Although the attitudes of scholars are gradually changing, Nepal is not in the position to do it right now. It certainly takes time to make the visible position of NE in the education system of Nepal.

Students' English in the Classroom

Classroom is the site where various kinds of research on WEs can be conducted. It is a significant local site where everyday processes of linguistic appropriation and resistance can take place (Canagarajah, 1999). In SLA and critical discourse analysis, classroom language is one of the interesting fields of study. In the English classrooms in Nepal, the students' utterances provide invaluable information about the Nepali variety of English. The students produce hybrid and novel utterances typical in NE, which reflects their creativity and the nativization strategies they adopted. Regarding students' English:

T1:   Students attach "–ing" with the Nepali words, for example, *khaing*, *kuding*…
        [.] They say "line" when they ask about electric power… [.] They have the
        Nepali way of producing English words… [.] They code mix Nepali words
        when they are compelled to speak in English.

T4:   My students produce incomplete sentences, short words, unusual
        words, and sometimes repeated words. For example, *miss come come*,
        proudy, *talency*, *my come in* (to mean May I come in?).

T6:   I have heard the use of unnecessary "-ing" suffix in multiple cases. *He was*
        khaing (instead of eating), and *why are you scolding and scolding all the*
        time.

All the three teachers agreed that the students speak different kinds of English. They

produce English words in a Nepali way. Furthermore, they produce incomplete

sentences, short words, unusual words (e.g. proudy and talency), reduplicated words

(e.g. come come), and code-mixed or hybrid expressions. They use the word "line" to

mean electric supply. The typical words with the typical meanings produced by the

bi/mulilingual students show their creativity. Similarly, one of the typical features of

NE is the addition of progressive suffix "-ing" with the English and Nepali words,

which is very common in the bi/multilingual learners. Similarly, T5 explained:

        They speak English very less in the classroom… [.] If we [ah] compel them to
        speak, then they speak somehow… [.] They speak very limited words or
        vocabulary… [.] Sometimes while pronouncing or speaking, words are
        mispronounced but they do not use a new type or extra new words. They use
        the common English words but pronounce them wrong [pause] or
        mistakenly… [.] We have not made the students speak you know [pause]
        much in the classroom. The reason might be we are guided by the traditional

approach. We speak much and students speak less. Even if we let the students speak, they speak in the structure or pattern.

In Nepal, teaching English is limited within the formal classroom and English is taught much more traditionally, that is, the teacher's role is to transmit the knowledge to the students. In such a traditional class, the teachers speak a lot but the students speak less in the classrooms. When they speak English, their English is different from the teachers and the English native speakers. They do not produce English words correctly. Even the teachers do not give the students much opportunity to speak English in the classroom. When the students speak, their speech does not sound much natural. They generally remember the grammatical structures or patterns and speak following those structures or patterns. Despite the limited exposure and opportunity to speak English, the bi/multilingual students produce a different kind of English in the classroom, which reflects the influence of their mother tongue and their creativity. Likewise, T2 explained:

> …students speak grammatically erroneous expressions, for example, "welly" for "well," "Hi! Quickly go," "Easily pass sir, don't worry." They also make statement questions like "You go home sir?" Differences can be seen because of the translation, too.

T2 explained that students produce erroneous expressions because of the overgeneralization (e.g. welly) and the translation from mother tongue to English (e.g. Quickly go/You go home sir?). The examples presented by T2 reflect the structural nativization. The advocates of WEs label learners' utterances as innovations, rather than errors. Kachru (2011) criticized the attempts to label Outer Circle and Expanding Circle Englishes as deviant or deficient or fossilized because these views are not considering the local Englishes and the sociolinguistic realities. He arged that

utterances considered as errors may not apply to the local Englishes as they may be perfectly acceptable.

All these remarks made by the teachers show that language is not learned according to the physical response theory (Essossomo, 2015) because students are creative or innovative who use different strategies to learn language rather than following the stimulus or exposure. Scholars call it the "poverty of the stimulus" (p. 98). This is also applicable to teaching the so-called Standard BE or AE since researches in different countries have shown that the students develop different accents and learn differently although attempts were made to teach BE or AE. From the teachers' responses, we can infer that students do not merely imitate or model what they have heard from their teachers and others, rather they appropriate the language and produce hybrid and novel utterances because of their creativity.

Promoting NE

All the teachers were found positive toward NE and highlighted the need to promote it. They gave different reasons for promoting NE:

Impossible to Follow BE/AE

Different scholars (e.g. Achebe, 1965; Rao, 1938) claim that it is not possible for non-native speakers to speak English as British and American people. It is one of the reasons why speakers of new Englishes nativize English and make campaign for promoting their own variety of English. This view was expressed by both T1 and T4:

T1:   I guarantee that we can't make our accent akin to the British and the American whatever attempts we make. The children of today's generation are obliged to learn English because of globalization but it doesn't mean that they have to speak English exactly like British or American people.

T4:   In Nepal, we use neither British English nor American English

completely. It can't be appropriate in our context… [.] The English we

speak doesn't sound English-like.

Their perspective indicates that we cannot speak English British- or American-like. This view was also expressed by Rao (1938) and Achebe (1965). Both teachers agreed that they speak a hybrid English. Their English is influenced by BE, AE, IE, and local languages. Their English accent is influenced by their mother tongues. They opined that it is almost impossible for the Nepali people to develop native-like competence in English. In addition, in the globalized world, learning BE or AE only is not enough. It cannot be appropriate to use everywhere. Today's need is to expose different WEs to the students to be the global citizens. Only the local variety can best serve in the local settings.

Nepali Taste

One of the main strategies for nativization is borrowing extensive number of words from the local languages in English. For example, if the Nepali words are borrowed in English, they express Nepaliness or Nepali sensibility. In this regard, T1 explained:

The use of Nepali words gives us Nepali taste in our English. If they are

translated into or defined in English, they lose sense. Therefore, we use such

Nepali words while speaking English.

Words are the carriers of cultural meanings. The Nepali words express the Nepali cultures which cannot be easily expressed by the English words. If they are expressed in English, they lose their sense. This is the reason why translation is not as faithful as the original and why the Nepali words are borrowed in English.

Comprehensibility

Comprehensibility has to do with the word or utterance meaning (Patil, 2018).

If the text incorporates the content words which the students are familiar with, they

can understand the text. This view was expressed by T1 as:

> In my experience, when I asked my B.Ed. first-year students to read the story
>
> "Martyr" written by Vishnu Singh Rai, I found them more interested in
>
> reading the text rather than the texts written by the English writers because of
>
> the use of Nepali words like *ghusyaha*, *kanchhi*, *tika*, and *doko*. Their response
>
> was that they could better understand the content because of the use of some
>
> important words from Nepali.

T1 argued that students are motivated in reading the texts written by the Nepali

writers. Therefore, the English texts written by the Nepali writers need to be

incorporated in the English textbooks from the school to the university levels. The

students can better understand the texts produced in NE because they already have the

schema of the Nepali culture, geography, and other domains. Schema theory asserts

that comprehension depends upon the readers' activation of their prior knowledge to

create meaning (Alptekin, 2006). Studies on L2 reading based on schema theory have

indicated that "the more the content and/or formal data of a text interact with the

reader's culture-specific background knowledge, the better the quality of

comprehension" (p. 496). The researchers like Alptekin have justified it from their

research**.** Similarly, T4 explained:

> If we speak English as the foreigners in the classroom, our students can't
>
> understand. I think Nepali English should be promoted to make our students
>
> understand it.

Students in Nepal do not get exposure from the English native speakers. Therefore, they can better understand NE speakers' accent than that of the foreigners. The reason might be they are used to listening to the accent of their teachers. Even if the teachers know how foreigners produce the words, they are compelled to adapt the accent according to the context to make their students understand what they are speaking. From the perspective of comprehensibility as well, it is necessary to promote NE.

Easy to Learn and Teach

From the perspective of learnability and teachability, it is easier to learn and teach those things which the learners and the teachers are more familiar with. This view was expressed by T1:

> If we develop Nepali English, our children, our students, and future generation will not take English as a burden or a difficult subject. There will be originality as well as ownership in English. And it will reduce their fear toward English.

T1 claimed that the students will not take English as a burden or a difficult subject if NE is promoted and used as a norm or a model of teaching and learning. They will feel the ownership of English. They like it or love it. They come out of the custody of BE or AE and design their own window to look into the world. They design their own world. They appropriate the language that can fulfill their needs and specific purposes (Widdowson, 1994). Similarly, Widdowson claimed that "Real proficiency is when you are able to take possession of the language, turn it to you advantage, and make it real for you" (p. 384). His view justifies why students can better perform in the nativized texts. Finally, the use of NE will reduce the fear of students toward learning English. An effective learning can take place when the students have the feeling of

ownership toward English and they are anxiety-free. Similarly, regarding the question whether we should promote NE or not, T4 responded:

> If Nepali English is promoted, it makes us easy to teach. Our students can also understand it and become ready to communicate with us. When we use it, students feel relax and nearness.

T4 explained the reasons for promoting NE from two points of view. From the teacher's perspective, promoting NE will make the job of a teacher easy because it is easy to teach this variety rather than BE or AE. From the learners' perspective, NE is intelligible or comprehensible for them. They feel relax and want to communicate in it with others, which enhance their learning.

Identity

Language, culture, and identity are closely related. People want to either promote their identity through language or see their identity in the language they use. The Nepali people express their Nepali identity through NE. To put it differently, NE has become the marker of the Nepali identity. In this regard, two teachers explained:

T3:   Nepali English should be promoted. It is our identity. In this globalized world, it also has two advantages: the world will recognize it; English language learning will be easier. Nepali students do not have to follow British or American English and get frustration from learning it.

T4:   Nepali English should be promoted for identity. English spoken in Nepal is Nenglish, in India Hinglish, and in China Chinglish.

One of the main reasons for promoting WEs is concerned with identity. The speakers of WEs want to show a distinct identity in, and through, their local variety (Ferguson, 2006). T3 maintained that NE should be promoted to express the personal, ethnic, or national identity, to recognize it worldwide as a distinct variety, to make English

language learning easier for students, and to reduce frustration from learning BE or AE. Their perspective endorses the research finding of Dewan (2018), who found that most of his respondents reported that NE expresses their identities. Similarly, T4 agreed with T3 for promoting NE for identity. For T4, NE expresses the Nepali identity, Hinglish projects Indian identity, and Chinglish indexes Chinese identity. It means, each variety of English projects a distinct identity. This identity issue is one of the powerful reasons for nativization of English in different countries.

Automatic Process

Language promotion and change is a dynamic and natural process. When the speakers of any language or a variety of language continue using it, it is automatically promoted. This view was expressed by the following teachers:

T2:   Promotion of NE is an automatic process. If we recognize our variety, it will develop our confidence level. We will not have any doubts whether we are speaking it correctly or not.

T5:   I do not say we should promote Nepali English in Nepal. It happens all of a sudden [ah] itself if we continuously keep using English in the Nepali manner, in the Nepali way, and in the Nepali style. It naturally becomes Nepali English… [.] We have not developed the textbooks even in Nepal. We are using textbooks produced in Indian or English context I mean Cambridge or Oxford kind of English books. We do not have our own publications. We do not have our own resources. Then how can we promote Nepali English here in Nepal?

Both teachers explained that promotion of NE is a natural or automatic process. T2 opined that NE needs to be promoted and recognized as a variety to develop the confidence level of our students. In this regard, Rubdy (2001, p. 345) appropriately

observed that "Singlish is increasingly being foregrounded in the consciousness of English speakers in Singapore with some show of pride and "a new confidence" in its value." The students feel proud of using or speaking their variety. Such proud or relaxed feeling reduces their anxiety and consequently, they commit less or no errors. T5 was a bit sceptic and found promoting NE as a challenging job. It is because English in Nepal is spoken by a very small population in the limited sectors and there are fewer textbooks, other resources, and publications in NE. Although speaking English in the Nepali manner, way or style is necessary for promoting NE but it is not sufficient. In addition, the Nepali people should produce more textbooks and other resources in NE and publish them in Nepal to promote NE. T5 further explained:

> You can see [ah] in India. It was colonized once and English has the influence there. Indian people have their resources and heritage in English and then again a big number of populations. And they have already got the recognition in the international arena or English speaking communities. They can surely promote, you know, their variety, Indian variety, or let's say Hinglish there. But in Nepal, you see the context of speaking English or using English. Except using English in the tourism or in the classroom, where can you see the use of English in Nepal? Nepali students or Nepali people learn English just to work in other countries. They learn English and go to study in the foreign countries or go for work, so what is the special, I mean, utility or the particular use of English here in our context?

T5 compared the situation of India and Nepal. India was once colonized by Britain. As a result, English flourished there easily. India made English as an official language which extended the widespread use of English there. It has a big number of populations who use English and different local varieties of English. They have

resources and heritages. They have nativized, codified, and standardized English there. Nepal has never been colonized by Britain and English is not an official language here. Therefore, its use is very limited in comparison to India. T5 claimed that English is learned in Nepal to go to the foreign countries for study and employment opportunities. Because of the small number of speakers who speak English in Nepal and its limited use, promoting NE is challenging. T5 also raised the questions on the utility of English in the Nepali context and further added:

> We can accept the Nepali variety of English in our context but whether the international communities accept it or not. If it is intelligible, then they will understand and accept it. It will be fine. But we ourselves willingly or unwillingly cannot promote or stop. We are not decisive in this case *ke*.

In the above statement, T5 raised the issue of intelligibility. Whether something is intelligible or not lies on the shoulders of not only the non-native speakers but equally of the native speakers of English (Patil, 2018). Similarly, English in Nepal is used much more intranationally than internationally. Therefore, the national or local intelligibility should be focused more than the international intelligibility. As for the decision, it is not "Them" but "we" who will decide whether to promote our variety of English or not, and whether to codify and standardize it or not because we are not their slaves but agents who use English creatively and critically by appropriating it to meet our local demands (Canagarajah, 1999). Similarly, promotion of NE does not take place naturally as T2 and T5 said. The Nepali people must make clear language policies for it and implement the policies effectively.

Reducing Anxiety and Linguistic Imperialism

Some scholars (Achebe, 1965; Canagarajah, 1999; Omoniyi, 2010) focused on WEs to resist the hegemony of BE or AE. Compared to other teachers, T6 expressed quite a different opinion for promoting NE:

> If we want to lessen the linguistic imperialism, we should openly accept to promote the Nepali English in Nepal. In these days, people are more interested in learning how English has been modified and re-modified in their own way to make it user- friendly than knowing the strict use of English. Promotion of Nepali English would help in some ways. Firstly, it will help reduce the anxiety students have in using English. Secondly, it also helps us in fighting against the linguistic imperialism.

"Linguistic imperialism" is the term used by Robert Phillipson, who defined English linguistic imperialism as "the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages" (Phillipson, 2007, p. 47). English, particularly BE or AE, has created the linguistic and cultural hegemony in the world. As a result, the English speaking worlds have been divided into two groups such as native vs non-native speakers, and standard vs non-standard languages, in which dichotomies, one has privilege over another. BE or AE is a killer language which has disrupted the local linguistic ecologies, so it is taken as a linguistic genocide. To lesson or fight against the linguistic imperialism of BE or AE, T6 focused on the nativization and the promotion of NE. T6 agreed with Canagarajah (1999) that periphery students have resisted English hegemony through nativized versions of English, novel English discourses in post-colonial literature, and the hybrid mixing of languages. I also hold the resistance perspective and agree with Baratta (2019) that if we do not accept WEs

(e.g. NE), we are still promoting the white supremacy model in the world. When NE is nativized and promoted, it also becomes user-friendly and the Nepali students will learn their own variety rather than BE or AE. This will also help reduce their anxiety since English, for many students, might be an anxiety-provoking factor because of which they may have poor performance on English.

Prospects of NE

As Ferguson (1981) argued, "We cannot know what the future will bring. At some point the spread of English may be halted, and some other language may spread to take its place" (p. xvi). The prospect of any variety of English depends on its status across the globe, people's attitude toward it, and how the state perceives it. The attitude is then reflected in the language policies of the country and their effective implementation. In my study, the teachers expressed different opinions toward NE. In the words of T1:

> I guarantee that there is no alternative to Nepali English. If we mix words from Nepali and other languages in English, we realize that it is our own language and we can easily teach and learn it. Without it, our education can be incomplete. To make English as an easy means of communication, the Nepali type of English is necessary.

I agree with T1 that NE can be a better alternative in comparison to other varieties of English. It is the appropriate alternative to teach and learn. If English is hybridized or nativized by mixing words from Nepali and other languages, the Nepali people will feel the ownership on it. Such hybridized or nativized English can be easily taught and learned. The use of NE makes education and communication effective. T1 sees the future of NE in Nepal. The similar views were expressed by two more teachers:

T2:   It will be established in the future sooner or later. Because of the available

sources, teachers, exposure, and first language influence, the English

language that the students learn will be Nepali English. Its usage is

increasing in the schools and colleges as a subject and medium of instruction.

The population to speak English has dramatically increased. The number of

educated people is increasing who will be able to use English. They will

learn Nepali English. As we have a huge number of educated human

resources, NE will remain as an established dialect in the future.

T3:   I have seen the prospect of Nepali English. It will attract the people.

Students will think that English will not be a burden to them.

Both teachers are optimistic toward the future of NE. T2 opined that NE will be an

established variety in the future. It will be used extensively by the teachers and the

students because it is being taught as a subject and used as a medium of instruction. It

will be creolized and the students will learn it as a variety. As the number of the

educated people to use NE is increasing, its acrolect variety will also develop.

Crystal (2003) estimated that 27.6% people in Nepal speak English as a

second language. Current estimates indicate that 30% people speak English as a

second language which counts to 8.7 million (Bolton & Bacon-Shone, 2020).

Anecdotally, some linguists have estimated that around 40-50% of urban Nepalese are

functionally literate in English (p. 56). This statistic indicates the increasing number

of NE speakers in Nepal. Similarly, I agree with Canagarajah (1999) that English is

getting pluralized in the hands of the students and only the pluralized English can

accommodate their needs, desires, and values. Therefore, the nativized variety will

not be a burden for them to learn. Regarding the future of NE, T4 explained:

NE has the future. We teachers are also using it and the next generation students will also speak it as a variety. It will be codified and standardized in the future. It will be accepted and used in the formal class.

Like other teachers, T4 was optimistic toward the future of NE which will be established as a variety and the students in the future will accept and use it as a norm or model in the formal classroom. For it, the linguistic codification and standardization of NE is necessary. Without corpora as evidence, the authenticity of NE is questioned. Therefore, sufficient amount of corpora on NE need to be collected to codify and to standardize it. Similarly, T5 explained:

There are very few scholars who are trying to promote Nepali English or Nepali variety of English. I don't think they can make a big difference but in the future, in the time of globalization, there is no doubt we can develop a separate variety in Nepal since we have been promoting our tourism sector and then we have made, you know, our medium of instruction English in many cases. So if we keep on doing such things, the future of English being like Nenglish [ah] is possible.

T5 opined that the future of NE is not only in the hands of the students but also in the hands of scholars who can carry out more research on it and produce grammars, dictionaries, textbooks, and other materials. If fewer scholars are only involved in the promotion of NE, they cannot bring a big change. Whatever attempts they are making for promoting NE is not sufficient. However, T5 is optimistic for the development of NE as a separate variety in the future. They pointed out that the promotion of tourism and the change of medium of instruction in schools and colleges from Nepali to English are some indications that NE will flourish much in the future. Raising the question on its context of use, T5 further explained:

However, my opinion is that it takes time to get its recognition as a separate variety or Nepali variety. We can claim but its market is very small. Even if we are applying it as a medium of instruction in our schools, its implication or influence is not very good. Few people speak it but where to speak it? In our context, they speak English; they learn English, just for foreign employment, just for abroad study, just for teaching.

The teacher claimed that it takes time to recognize NE because of its limited market. It is mainly learned for getting employment opportunities in the foreign countries, abroad studies, and teaching and learning purposes. Although T5 saw the limited market of NE, its market will certainly increase in the future since the number of NE speakers is not decreasing but increasing in Nepal. Besides abundant number of English medium schools and colleges, even the government-aided schools and colleges have changed their medium of instructions from Nepali to English, which have obviously increased the uses and markets of English in Nepal. Similarly, there is a great possibility of tourism in Nepal which will enhance the use of English in Nepal. Most importantly, the rapid growth of technological use in Nepal accelerates the future of English in Nepal. Just like Dasgupta (2000, as cited in Kachru, 2011, p. 254) stated, "The familiarity with English has become India's great selling point in the international market, its great advantage over China," Nepal will also increase its market internationally through NE. For it, the government, policies on NE, effective implementation of the policies, and speakers of NE are all responsible. Individually, collaboratively, and organizationally, it is necessary to carry out research on NE, organize discourses on it, present papers nationally and internationally, and codify it.

Bringing NE in Concrete Form

Discourse is necessary but not sufficient to concretize NE. Furthermore, language policy of the nation, research on NE, its codification, and its standardization are other necessary steps. In my interview, all the teachers accepted that there exists a distinct variety of English that needs to be promoted and concretized. They gave different suggestions for bringing NE in concrete form. T1's suggestion was:

> To authenticate the English language we speak, we should carry out research on where and how we speak English and what kinds of grammar we follow. Next, the researchers and the teachers should write articles in Nepali English, which will be the foundation for the future generation students. The students will know what kinds of words they can write in English and start using them in their writings. The system of using such words will pass from generation to generation, which will help to establish Nepali English. Such words will get validity in the future.

One of the most important things to bring NE in a concrete form is to carry out research on NE and write articles on it so that even the international audience or readers will be familiar with this variety and it will get validity in the future. The more NE is used in everyday conversations, literary writings, and formal writings, the faster it is established as a variety. Then, the new generation students follow NE, which will later become a norm or a model. Some established varieties such as BE or AE have been codified after extensive and intensive research (Kachru & Nelson, 2011). Some words of Indian languages are already assimilated in English (e.g. guru, jungle, loot). Similarly, in the words of T2:

> Our variety of English should be valued or recognized. We should conduct further discourse on it for its authentication or legalization of it. We should

conduct workshops and conferences on it. We should carry out further

research on it.

T2 agreed with T1 in the case of research. Besides it, discourse plays an important

role to authenticate it. For it, it is necessary to conduct workshops and conferences

where the typical features of NE can be shared. Discourses can justify that different

kind of English exists in Nepal (Karn, 2011). Discourses on NE need to be conducted

nationally and internationally to authenticate and legalize NE. Likewise, T3

explained:

> First, we should hire or employ local teachers, not foreign teachers. Second,
>
> we should not discourage the new words spoken by students. We should
>
> accept when our cultural words are mixed up, since it is a natural process.
>
> Furthermore, we need more discourse and research on it.

As other teachers, T3 also focused on discourse and research for bringing NE in the

concrete form. Besides these, the local teachers need to be hired or employed since

they speak the localized variety of English and are positive toward the new variety.

Like localizing pedagogy, localizing English is easy for the local teachers because

such teachers can "recognize the contextual appropriacy of different Englishes and

teach students as many variants as possible" (Canagarajah, 1999, p. 181). Similarly,

the teachers need to accept the hybrid expressions or words produced by the students

as innovations rather than deviations or errors since to label creative innovation in the

indigenized varieties of English as deviations, errors, mistakes, fossilization, and

pragmatic failure is to ignore the linguistic and cultural experiences that motivate such

innovations (Kachru & Nelson, 2011). In the similar vein, T4 pointed out:

> We should conduct a lot of research on Nepali English, write and publish books and articles, produce a comparative dictionary, and write grammars on it.

In the above excerpt, T4 gave two main suggestions for bringing NE in a concrete form. The first one is research on NE, and the second one is codification, that is, writing articles, books, grammars, and dictionaries. D'Souza (1999) reported that Australian English gained acceptability in the minds of its speakers only after it was codified, that is, its dictionaries, usage handbooks, and mother materials were produced. The Australian context clarifies how important codification is in the standardizing process. T4 focused on producing the comparative dictionaries to show explicitly how NE is different from BE, AE, or IE. In the same way, T5 pointed out:

> First, it has to be the subject of discourse in academia. I mean academicians have to carry out the research on the use of Nepali English...publish it in the international magazines and journals, and receive supports from the international readers because you know other people will give the recognition… [.] Second, we can develop the materials in English including some of the special vocabularies which can represent Nepal or our culture, our ways, our style… [.] Third, we should accept their pronunciation. We should not discourage the people speaking English in the Nepali style *ke*. We need to value English spoken in the Nepali style. I just want to add the matter of power or power relationship - how powerful our nation is in the international arena that matters for the development of the variety of English here in Nepal. If we are powerful, if our voice or our academicians' voice is heard in the international forum well, then it will get its recognition very quickly ke… [.]

> No power, no impact. And if there is no impact, we cannot claim ourselves
>
> that it is a separate variety of English.

Like other teachers, T5 also highlighted the need for carrying out research on NE, conducting discourse on it, publishing articles in the international journals, magazines and newspapers, and developing materials in it. What has made T5 different from other teachers include two things: The first one is related to the acceptance and value on English spoken in the Nepali style. This opinion is similar to Farrell and Martin (2009), who maintained that the learners' own English is valuable even though it may differ significantly from what is presented in the class. Therefore, the teachers should value their current English usage, i.e. NE in the context of Nepal. The second one is concerned with power that matters a lot to bring NE in the concrete form. T5 is right in the sense that everywhere the voices of the powerful are heard but the voices of the powerless go unheard or unnoticed. Some powerful countries like India and Singapore have institutionalized their variety of English and they are being accepted in the world. It is the power that determines what is accepted or rejected, what is right or wrong. In the similar vein, T5's "power" concept supports Kachru's view (2011, p. 232) as "A language acquires its value from what it can do for its users, and its spread is accelerated by the power that is beyond it: political, economic, ideological, religious and so on." All such powers are necessary to boast up NE. Following and slightly adapting to Yano (2001), both military and economic powers are necessary to establish, maintain, and expand NE. Unless Nepal becomes interdependent or independent and gains all such powers, concretizing NE is really a hard nut to crack. Likewise, T6 suggested:

As we all discuss, language is all about use. The more we use the language the

more it gets popularized. Therefore, concretizing Nepali English is possible

when it is openly accepted and used around by the mass of people.

I agree with T6 that the life of any language and variety of language depends on who

uses it and how many people use it. The more NE is used in speech and writing, the

faster it is popularized and recognized. T6's suggestion was to use NE by all levels of

people in different sectors and domains of life since English has better future in India

and Singapore because of the large number of its users. If NE is continuously used, it

will be accepted and developed as a norm. In Nepal, the problem is that English has

not yet been officially declared as an official language.

The above discussion indicates that globalization and the global spread of

English have brought the local issues on the forefront and made the local teachers

aware of the influence of globalization. Blommaert (2010) connotated globalization as

"local functionality" and argued that "When another language is introduced in a

particular environment, it may as well be dysfunctional for it does not articulate the

particular local meanings required for the substance of this environment" (p. 45). The

English teachers in my study expressed the similar perspectives. They argued that BE

or AE cannot be appropriate in the Nepali local contexts and it is not possible to

follow it. They expressed their positive attitude toward local English, that is, NE and

highlighted the need for promoting and standardizing it. They claimed that only NE

can function appropriately in the local contexts and express Nepali identities. They

agreed with Xu (2013) for developing ELT materials to provide sufficiently localized

English input to enable English learners to function locally. Some teachers claimed

that speakers of English in Nepal have appropriated or nativized English according to

local contexts, which is the need in the present Nepali context. They gave some

examples to justify how English in Nepal is being hybridized and nativized or appropriated. To sum up, globalization has changed the perspectives of the English teachers in Nepal. They are positive toward the hybrid English, highlight the need of nativization to make English appropriate to the local contexts, and consider NE as an innovation or the output of bi/multilinguals' creativity.

Summary

This chapter has analyzed the contents obtained from the interview with the English teachers, which are concerned with their perspectives on NE. All the teachers accepted that there exists the Nepali version or hybrid English in Nepal which might be the result of the natural influence of their mother tongue, deliberate appropriation or nativization of English to fit the context, and bi/multilinguals' creativity. They responded that they speak NE because their teachers who taught them speak it, their students speak it, they received exposure in it, their students understand it, and it is practically appropriate in their classroom. As BE or AE is neither possible nor appropriate to follow in the Nepali context, the teachers expressed their opinions that NE should be promoted for intelligibility or comprehensibility, identity, resisting linguistic hegemony, and teachability and learnability. Although English is claimed to be a foreign language in Nepal, its use is gradually increasing because of globalization, tourism, media, technology, and education. It is taught as a subject and is used as one of the chief mediums of instruction not only in private schools and colleges but also in community schools, colleges, and universities. Therefore, most of the teachers see the future of NE. As a number of educated people are increasing in Nepal, the use of NE is also increasing. To bring NE into a concrete form, they focused on research, writing articles, publications of journals, books, dictionaries, and grammars, workshops, seminars, conferences, discourses, acceptance and value on

students' English, and government's power. In a nutshell, my content analysis in this chapter has been limited to the English teachers' understanding about NE and its existence, reasons for speaking NE, its positioning, students' English in the classroom, reasons for its promotion, its future, and suggestions for concretizing it in Nepal. In the following chapter, I will summarize the findings of the analysis done in the chapter five and six, make some conclusions, and recommend some pedagogical implications at the policy, practice, and future research levels.

CHAPTER VII

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter presents a summary of findings from my study. The findings are drawn on the basis of the analysis and interpretation of data in the chapter five and six which precisely address two major research questions that I have raised in this study. The first question is related to the lexical items and the lexical features of NE, particularly the linguistic strategies used by NE speakers to hybridize, create, and nativize English at the lexical level and the second one to English teachers' perspectives on NE. The chapter reviews the answer of both questions here. Then, it draws the conclusions of my study based on the key findings. Finally, I recommend implications at the policy, practice, and further research levels.

Findings Related to Lexical Features of NE and Nativization Strategies

The first finding of my study is related to lexical features of NE which justify that NE is different from other varieties of English. The typical lexical features of NE are mainly the result of linguistic, pragmatic, creative, and cultural nativization, hybridity, and the bilinguals' creativity. They are summarized in the following points:

Heavy Lexical Borrowing from Nepali to English

NE varies from other varieties of English because of the extensive borrowing of words from Nepali and some other languages of Nepal. All the writers extensively borrowed the Nepali kinship terms referring to consanguineal, affinal, adoptive, and ritual or fictive relations, despite the fact that some of the kinship terms have their equivalent words in English.

I found three conditions in the use of Nepali kinship terms. First, some Nepali kinship terms have their equivalent words in English, for example, *chora* "son," *chori*

"daughter," *buhari* "daughter-in-law," *ba/bua* "father," *ma/aama/mua* "mother," and *hajur aama* "grandmother." However, the writers used Nepali kinship items to show Nepaliness in their writings. Mixing words from another language also shows bilinguals' creativity. Second, some English kinship terms are only partially equivalent to Nepali kinship terms; therefore, the writers used *dai/daju* and *bhai* rather the English word "brother," *didi* and *bahini/bainee* rather than the English word "sister," *kaka*, *mama*, and *phupa/phupaju* rather than "uncle," *bhanja* rather than "nephew." The English kinship terms do not explicitly convey the message of Nepali kinship relations. Third, English does not have equivalent words to show Nepali kinship relations, for example, Nepali kinship terms like *miit* "ritual friend of a male," *miitini* "ritual friend of a female or wife of a ritual friend," *miit ba* "ritual father," *miit aama* "ritual mother," *miit kaakaa* "ritual uncle," *miit chhora* "ritual son," have typical cultural meanings in the Nepali society, which cannot be easily expressed by English words. They all show ritual relations. Similarly, some Nepali kinship terms have deep cultural meanings, for example, *pati parmeshwar* "husband," *buasahebjiu/buahajur* "father," *muajiu/ muahajur* "mother," which cannot be explicitly expressed by English words. Therefore, the writers have borrowed Nepali words to fill the lexical gaps. Among the Nepali kinship terms, the most common ones borrowed by the Nepali writers include *bahini/baini/bainee*, *bhai*, *daju/dai*, *didi*, *kaka/kaakaa*, *chora*, *mama*, *bua/ba*, *mua/ma/ama*. These kinship terms are now common in NE. Some kinship terms which are generally used to show the consanguineal relations also express social relations.

NE writers also borrowed several Nepali words to address different people, which are commonly used in the Nepali society. Some words of address do not have their equivalent words in English, for example, *babu*, *nani*, *sab/saheb*, *kanchha*,

kaanchhi, *thule*, *saila*, *maldai*, and *sane*. Therefore, they have been borrowed to fill the lexical gaps. The most common NE lexical items used to address different people include *babu*, *sab/sahib/sa'b/saheb*, *nani*, *hajur/hajoor/hujoor*, *shreeman/shriman*, *bahun*, *kazi/kaji*, *dhami*, *lahure/lahurey*, *damai*, *Newar*, *gaine*, *raja*, *maharaja*, *mahakavi*, and *guruji*. The writers also borrowed Nepali slang and swear words which have deep cultural meanings. The most common NE lexical items referring to clothes and wearing items include *daura-suruwal*, *topi*, *salwar*, *kurta*, *sindur/sindoor*, *fariya/pharia*, and *janai*. The most common words referring to foods and drinks used by the writers include *dal-bhat*, *chiura*, *raksi*, *chiken-tanduri/tandoori-chicken*, *sag*, *tarkari*, *achar*, *kafal*, *dhido/dhindo*, *bhatmas*, and *chhoila/choila*. *Chi-chi/chee-chee* is the common interjection used by the writers. The most common NE lexical items referring to household items and weapons include *khukuri/khukri*, *doko*, and *pira/pirka*. Other common NE words referring to locations, buildings, and countries include *Belayat*, *chowk*, *ghat*, *darbar/durbar*. Common NE lexical items related to festivals and rituals include *tika*, *puja/pooja*, *Dashain*, *Tihar*, *bratabanda*, *jatra*, *aksheta/achchheta*, and *mantra*. Similarly, *namaste/namaskar* is the most common greeting words in NE. *Bund/band* is another commonly used NE lexical item. Other borrowed words from Nepali and other languages as the lexical features of NE include words referring to music and (ritual) musical instruments numbers, months, games, and many other areas. The writers borrowed extensive number of words from Nepali and other languages of Nepal, particularly from the Newari language due to the influence of globalization because they do not have their equivalent words in English and because some of them have deep Nepali cultural meanings. Despite being their equivalent words in English, the writers preferred to use Nepali words to express

local or national identities and to bring Nepaliness in their writings. They have linguistically and culturally or pragmatically nativized the words to show Nepaliness.

Attachment of Nepali Suffixes to English Words

Another feature of NE is the attachment of Nepali suffixes with the English words to form hybrid words. NE speakers hybridize and nativize English words by attaching Nepali suffixes such as "*–ji*" to show closeness and respect (e.g. poetji), and "*-jiu*", "*-hajur*", and "*-saheb*" to show much respect. They are generally attached with someone's names, kinship terms, and professions. Other Nepali suffixes "*-e*" and "*-ey*" are attached after the nouns and adjectives to underestimate someone or to show anger or affection toward them. Similarly, the suffix "*-wala*" is attached to English words to show possession. Among these suffixes, "*-ji*" is the most common suffix used by the writers in my study. Such hybridity reflects the bilinguals' creativity.

Attachment of English Affixes to Nepali Words

In NE, English suffixes are attached to Nepali words and hybrid words are formed, which reflects the bilinguals' creativity. NE speakers hybridize and nativize Nepali words by adding the plural marker "*-s/es*", the possessive marker (*-'s*), "*-fication*," "*-ization/-isation*," "*-ized*," "*-ese*," "*-lity*," "-less," "*-ing*," "*-ic*," and "*-ed*" to Nepali words. Similarly, some English prefixes "*non-*" and "*anti-*" are attached to Nepali words. This process is known as Englicization.

Unusual Plural Forms

Double pluralization is a common feature in NE. Speakers of NE linguistically nativize the English uncountable and mass nouns by adding the English suffix "*-s*" (e.g. staffs, evidences, luggages) and Nepali suffix "*-haru*" to English plural words (e.g. children*haru*). Such words show both hybridity and bilinguals' creativity.

Coining New Lexical Items

NE speakers coined or invented some words through creative nativization. Some coined words include "maskmandu," "foodmandu," "clickmandu," "woodmandu," "kaliwood/kolleywood," "cousin brother," "cousin sister," "freeship," "sendu," "half-pants," and "Neltians."

Extensive Unique and Hybridized Compounding

NE has two main structures of compounding, that is, noun + noun, and adjective + noun. Majority of compounds have noun + noun structures. NE has two main types of compounding- intralingual compounds (e.g. Head sir, goat meat, blue films, fresh house) and interlingual or hybridized compounds (e.g. *puja* ceremony, *patuka* belt). The compound forms and collocations are unique in NE.

Blended Words

NE has few blended words. The blending was made from Nepali and English words, from English words only, and from Nepali words. These intralingual (e.g. windoor, shoppertunity) and interlingual/hybrid (e.g. Ranarchy, Nenglish) blendings are unique in NE.

Extensive Reduplicated Words

In BE or AE, total reduplication is very few but in NE, extensive reduplicated words are found. A large number of reduplicated words are intralingual (e.g. hot hot momos, longest longest time), and some are interlingual or hybrid (e.g. *buhari*, daughter-in law; *bussa*, sit) in nature. The study also showed echo reduplication (e.g. but-shut). The creative writers reduplicated words to show emphasis, to strongly agree or disagree something, to intensify the meaning, to show continuation of something, to draw the attention, and to make the meaning of words comprehensible to the readers.

Use of Unusual Words

The typical feature of NE is the use of unusual words which are not used in BE or AE. Such words include "talency," "proudy," "heighty," "hancy," "cookman," "scooty," "heartly," "besty," "wel come," "well-come," "unequality," and "unwritibale" which show the bilinguals' creativity.

Approximate Quantification

In NE, two numbers are used together to mean "about" or "or" (e.g. five-seven hours, 20-22 days).

Semantic Broadening and Narrowing

The meaning of words used in BE or AE is extended or restricted in NE. English words like "eat," "master," "guru," "line," "manpower," "tiffin," "boarding," "tower," "family," "read," "give," "campus," "tall/high," "romantic," and "straight" are used in much broader sense in NE than in BE or AE. Some of them have very unique meaning in NE. Similarly, English words like "degree," "don," "knife," "bike/cycle," "safari," "woods," "hero/heroine," and "basket" are used in the narrow sense in NE.

Amelioration and Pejoration

Some English words have more positive (amelioration) or negative (pejoration) meaning in NE than in BE or AE. Words like "silly" and "danger" have more positive meaning in NE, and words like "sexy" and "drugs" are used more negatively in NE than in BE or AE. These are the natural features of any language or a variety of language.

Use of Redundant Words

The creative writers used many redundant words in their writings. Some words in the reduplication are redundant. The redundant words (e.g. kerosene *oil*, returned

back, discuss *about,* enter *into*) in NE are different from other varieties of English. Although they do not add any new information, they play a vital role in communication or information theory to convey the message or information more precisely.

Modification of Spellings

The creative writers deliberately nativized English words by modifying their spellings. Some modified words in NE include "Maldai," "iskool," "hyallow," "krau," "thrusty," "kwality," "xtra," "xchange," "and "protekt," which show the bilinguals' creativity.

Inconsistent use of English Words and Spellings

In Nepal, English words and spellings are not consistently used. In most writings, BE is generally followed. However, other varieties of English such as AE and IE have great influence in NE. The teachers, the students, and the creative writers follow BE, AE, and IE simultaneously. Words like "pants/trousers" are commonly used but they have different meanings in NE. Other words like "truck/lorry," "line/queue," "forest/jungle/woods," "holiday/vacation," and "movie/film/cinema" are inconsistently used. In NE, cinema also means film or movie, not only the building where movies/films are shown. Both spellings of AE and BE are followed, for example, "Math/Maths," "color/colour," "program/programme," "centre/center," "traveling/travelling," and "metre/meter."

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Findings Related to English Teachers' Perspectives on NE

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All the teacher participants involved in my study were experienced English teachers teaching in the schools and colleges. They were more positive toward NE. Their perspectives on this variety are summarized in the following points:

NE as a Distinct Variety of English

All the English teacehrs agreed that there exists a distinct variety of English. They all claimed that NE has its unique phonological, lexical, grammatical, and discourse features. They particularly focused on pronunciation or accent and claimed that the Nepali people cannot speak English native speakers-like. They believed that the influence of their mother tongue also made English hybrid or different in Nepal.

Exposure in NE

The English teachers expressed their opinions that they speak NE because they received exposure in it. They claimed that even their teachers would also speak NE. They did not learn English in the native-like situations but in the classrooms from the non-native speakers who spoke NE. Therefore, the exposure in English was limited. The teacher participants also claimed that although they are teaching English, it naturally becomes NE.

Appropriation or Nativization

The teachers responded that they nativize or appropriate English because they cannot produce English words just like English native speakers. They change their pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammatical structures to make them appropriate to their local contexts.

NE for Practicality

The responses from the teachers show that NE is an appropriate variety of English to follow in Nepal. The Nepali people speak NE and understand it better than other varieties of English. It is practicable in terms of ease of use, teaching, and learning.

Mixed Opinions on NE Positions

The English teachers in my study expressed different opinions on the positions of NE in Nepal. Some of them believed that there are spoken and written practices of NE. The formal texts and textbooks also make use of a distinct variety of English. Therefore, they claimed the position of NE. One of the teachers highlighted the number of population and the context for using NE to give its recognition. Because of the small number of population and the limited context to use NE, its positioning cannot be easily declared.

Some Reasons for Promoting NE

The study indicated that NE should be promoted because of several reasons: (i) it is impossible to follow BE or AE, (ii) use of NE gives the Nepali taste or shows Nepaliness, (iii) the students are interested or motivated to read the texts written in NE, (iv) they feel easy to understand NE, that is, NE is more intelligible or comprehensible than other varieties of English, (v) they can feel easy to learn it; they do not take learning English as a burden or a difficult subject, rather they feel relax with it and want to communicate in it, (vi) use of NE develops their confidence and reduces their anxiety; students are less frustrated from learning English, (vii) promoting NE will make the job of a teacher easy because it is easy to teach this variety rather than BE or AE, (viii) NE promotes or expresses their identity, and (ix) NE should be promoted to resist linguistic imperialism or hegemony of BE or AE. Regarding its promotion, some teachers professed that we cannot promote it intentionally but it happens naturally or automatically as we go on using it.

NE as an Alternative Variety, Accepted Model

The study showed that the teacher participants are positive toward NE and optimistic toward the future of it. As the tourism sector, private schools, English

medium classes, and educated people are increasing in Nepal, the teachers claimed that NE will be developed and accepted by its users and it will be an appropriate variety to follow in Nepal. They further opined that it will be more nativized and creolized. It will be a model or norm to be followed by both teachers and students. It will be an established variety in the field of academia. The fact is that whatever attempts we are making for promoting it are not sufficient.

Need for Research, Discourse, Codification, and Standardization

The interviews with the teachers indicated that to bring NE in the concrete form, (a) more research should be carried out on various aspects of NE and more corpora on it should be built up, (b) local English teachers should be employed and students' English should be valued, (c) it is necessary to write more articles, conduct workshops, seminars, and conferences, and have more discourses on it, (d) NE needs to be codified - writing textbooks, dictionaries, and grammars on it, and (e) most importantly, clear-cut policies should be formulated to standardize it. To materialize all these things, one of the teachers highlighted the role of power that matters a lot since the voices of the powerful are heard. Therefore, power of the country or the government in the international arena plays a vital role to concretize NE.

My present study was framed with the theory of globalization, hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization. Globalization accelerated the spread of English as a global language which came into contact with the local languages. As a result, English in Nepal has both heterogenized and hybridized, which can be observed at the lexical level. NE speakers create new lexical items with new meanings because of their bilingual or multilingual competence. The heterogeneity and diversity can also be found in spellings and word choices because of their creativity. The same writers have spelled some borrowed and English words differently such as

bahini/baini/bainee "sister," *kaakaa/kaka* "uncle," "toward/towards," and "Math/Maths." Similarly, hybridity can be noticed in affixation, compounding, blending, reduplication, coinage, and redundancy. The study shows the heavy borrowing of Nepali and other languages from multiple areas and mixing of words from BE, AE, and IE. It also shows the Englishization of Nepali words and Nepalicization of English words. These are the influences of globalization and bilinguals' creativity.

The findings of the study show that NE speakers nativized the texts deliberately by borrowing extensive number of Nepali words although they have their equivalent words in English. They gave the local flavor to the texts by means of linguistic, pragmatic or cultural, and creative nativization. Linguistically, they nativized by means of affixation, borrowing culture-specific words, making unique and hybrid compounding, and changing the meaning of words. Culturally or pragmatically, they nativized the texts by using culture-specific words instead of English cultural words in the appropriate contexts. Creatively, they coined new words with new meanings, which are not found in other varieties of English such as BE or AE. In addition, considering the inappropriacy of BE or AE, the English teachers in my study focused on using NE for identity, intelligibility/comprehensibility, practicality, resisting linguistic hegemony, teachability, and learnability.

Conclusion

NE is a distinct variety of English which has the typical lexical items and lexical features. There are extensive number of lexical borrowings and codemixing from Nepali and other languages of Nepal in the texts. This shows that lexical borrowing and codemixing are the natural or common phenomenon in the present postmodern era. No language is complete in itself in conveying the intercultural

messages. Therefore, the writers and speakers of NE borrow the words from Nepali and other languages to convey the messages explicitly, whether they have their equivalent words in English or not. They nativize English words linguistically, culturally, pragmatically, and creatively to make them appropriate to the Nepali contexts. In this regard, NE, following Anesa (2019), often undergoes appropriation processes, which allows its speakers to adapt English to fit the local mileu in a creative way.

Besides the lexical borrowings from various areas or sectors, this study shows hybrid and unique word formation processes in NE, unusual words, redundancies, semantic changes, approximant quantification, and inconsistent use of BE, AE, and IE. The different nativization strategies employed by the speakers of NE not only make the texts more comprehensible to the readers but also own English with the Nepali sensibility. The study presents the evidence that despite having some hybrid and unique lexical iterms of NE, the differences between NE and the standard varieties of English are not so wide as to create any serious problems in mutual understanding. However, as for the foreign readers, the borrowings of words from Nepali and other languages and other hybrid features create some problems in understanding the texts.

The lexical items of NE are different from other varieties of English because of hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization. Such hybridized, localized, and nativized variety of English, which has emerged in Nepal with the globalization of English, validates the agency and creativity of NE speakers. All the teachers in my study have agreed that there exists a Nepali variety of English in Nepal and they are all positive toward it. They have also pointed out some benefits and reasons for promoting and standardizing NE. They have highlighted the need for research and

codification of it so that a different local norm can be established to evaluate NE. As a result, NE lexical items will be labeled as "innovations," rather than "errors" or "deviations." The local practices of English use and local English teachers' lived experiences need to be duly considered from policy making to pedagogy.

My study shows how NE is different from other varieties of English at the lexical level. More variations can be found if research is carried out on those people from the urban areas who speak English as a second language and those from the rural areas who speak English as a third or fourth language. Moreover, people working on the hotels and the tourism sectors and others working in the government offices might need different kinds of English. Therefore, to serve the users of English better, the status and functions of English in Nepal need to be reassessed and it must be ascertained who needs what type and level of English and how this is to be achieved (Giri, 2020a). This is all driven by the language policies formulated and implemented according the linguistic landscape of Nepal. In the present linguistic landscape, NE can occupy an important place if it is officially legalized as an official language. The legalization of English as an official language helps to increase the use and functions of English in Nepal. Furthermore, a large scale research is necessary to conduct in order to explore examples of nativization of NE at various levels of language. The politics of making a campaign for NE through its documentation and codification is to let the world know the Nepali cultures and the Nepali variety of English that promotes the Nepali identity, preserve Nepali linguistic and cultural heritages, liberate the users from the so-called standard norms and practices, and empower them.

Implications of the Study

The present research has certain pedagogical implications in the domains ranging from language policy, sociolinguistics, corpus compilation, teaching,

learning, lexicography, grammar writing, and textbook writing to further research. On the basis of the findings of this study, I recommend the following implications in different areas:

Language Policy

The ELT policy of Nepal is top-down (Kafle, 2014; Phyak, 2017) which has a great influence on English curriculum, syllabus, and textbooks. Phyak (2017) maintained that language policy discourse in Nepal is dominantly guided by a top-down and normative ideologies. Such policies cannot address local realities and ignore "on the ground" language practices. In Nepal, curriculum, syllabus, and textbooks are prepared ignoring the real needs of the students (Kafle, 2014). The curriculum and syllabus designers and the textbook writers do not focus on how English is spoken and written in Nepal. They need to "think globally, act locally, think locally" (Kumaravadivelu, 2006, p. 198) to produce better curriculum, syllabus, and textbooks. The policy makers need to figure out the balance between meeting the intra-national communicative needs and achieving international intelligibility and marketability.

The present study on NE presents the local realities of English used in Nepal and local English teachers' perspectives on NE. The policy makers can take some insights from this research to determine the status of NE. They need to change the present language policies and make context responsive or localized language policies. Then, such policies will be reflected in curriculum, syllabuses, grammars, dictionaries, and textbooks. New trends and teaching materials will be prepared considering the local realities and following the features of NE, which will certainly address the needs and interests of both teachers and students. In my study, extensive number of words from the Nepali language has been borrowed. The frequency of such

words in NE is the expression of the Nepali culture in English. Therefore, the policies need to be formulated to incorporate poems, essays, stories, novels, plays, and articles written by the Nepali writers in the English textbooks to a greater extent.

Corpus Compilation

Following and slightly adapting to Mahmood (2009), data from any other WEs cannot replace the corpus of NE because of significant differences among them. These differences occur at all levels of linguistic analysis, particularly at the lexical and semantic levels. Therefore, the lexical items collected and analyzed in this study, which are the corpus of NE, are needed for the linguistic research of NE, particularly in corpus linguistics, contact linguistics, and contact literatures.

The present research will arouse interest in the compilation of specialized and much larger scale of corpora of NE in the future. It can be helpful in the compilation of register based corpora, for example, corpora of Business English, Nursing English, Private School students' English, and English in Tourism.

Codification

Baratta (2019) argued that codification is not only concerned with producing grammars, dictionaries, and other materials ("linguistic codification") but also with societal usage of language ("societal codification") that is generally less discussed. Although NE is already codified by the society in their usage and through articles, academic textbooks, and even on websites, it requires corpora as evidence for further linguistic codification. The present study provides the evidence that NE has the lexical features distinct from other varieties of English. The findings of the study imply that the development and standardization of NE begins at the lexical level. It is at this level that innovations are readily accepted in comparison to other levels. All the teacher participants in my study accepted that they speak and use NE, which is a

societal codification and highlighted the need for linguistic codification of NE for the variety to gain international recognition. In this sense, the study has the implications for linguists interested in codifying NE with the long term objective of standardizing the variety. This is because lexical codification serves as the starting point. Mahmood (2009) pointed out that codification demarcates what errors and deviations are and systematic deviations will be considered "norms" of this variety. The supporters of WEs claim that Englishes emerged and emerging in different countries are innovations rather than errors. On the basis of the NE data and their analysis, we can make an effort to codify NE since codification provides the evidence to establish and acknowledge NE as a separate variety of English.

English Language Teaching and Learning

The present study provides valuable information in the field of ELT in Nepal. It helps the teachers know how people speak and write English in Nepal and why they are innovations, but not errors. It also shows how teachers perceive NE and students' English. The teachers can get some insights from this research to develop the local and context-appropriate materials for the students considering the local practices of English. They realize that it is impossible to follow BE or AE. So, they value NE and even the students' English rather than labeling them as errors. They allow their students to use the nativized lexical items to create and elaborate their ideas. In addition, the teachers can also nativize English according to the needs and interests of the students and the demands of the situation.

In Nepal, the learners of English face some problems because they need to follow the established norms in their writing and if their writings are out of the norms, they are labeled as errors. Once NE is recognized as an independent variety, the English texts written by BE or AE writers will be replaced by the Nepali writers,

which will facilitate teaching and learning and promote the Nepali culture among the readers. The teacher participants in my study also expressed their views that the use of NE will make the job of teachers easy because they will not be compelled to follow BE or AE accents, rules, and structures. Similarly, the teachers can generate corpora from students' writings and speech and use to diagnose errors and innovations. They can compare NE and other varieties of English and find out some similarities and differences between them. Then, they can plan their teaching accordingly.

The study benefits the learners as it shows the trends of speaking and writing English in Nepal and knowing these trends gives them confidence to produce NE without anxiety. The different lexical features of NE described in the study are quite important for the learners as they are new and unique for them which may not be found in the dictionaries. They need to be exposed to such lexical items. Then, they can be taught how to change the nativized lexical items into the standard forms when needed. As NE lexical items are comprehensible to the learners, they can easily enhance their intercultural communicative competence.

Syllabus Designing

First, this study provides information about NE lexis and lexical features to the syllabus designers, which can help them to focus on the linguistic areas where the learners need more practice. On the basis of data provided by this research, the syllabus designers can prepare situation-specific and learners' needs-based syllabus, particularly the lexical syllabus which can facilitate the learners in terms of relevance and ease. As Mahmood (2009) stated, the frequency and register information can be used by the syllabus designers in course planning choices. Second, the study also shows that people in Nepal, whether they are teachers or students, speak NE, NE is practicable, comprehensible/intelligible, and easy to teach and learn, and students are

interested or motivated to read the texts written by the Nepali writers. This fact should be duly considered in designing syllabus.

Textbook Writing

The findings of this study have some implications in textbook writing. They can introduce new vocabulary in writing textbooks. They can compare the NE lexical items and lexical features with other varieties of English and produce textbooks accordingly because the textbooks designed based on such comparison can be really fruitful for both teachers and students. They should not underestimate the local and localized English. The study provides evidence to the textbook writers how English is spoken and written in the Nepali context. Similarly, the teachers' responses in my study show that their students also prefer the texts written by the Nepali writers because such texts are motivating and comprehensible to them because of their background and schematic knowledge and local flavor. Therefore, the textbook writers should include local texts and cultural contents which help to develop the intercultural communicative competence of the students.

Lexicography

The study shows that NE incorporates some lexical items which are different from other varieties of English because of the hybridity, bilinguals' creativity, and nativization. It provides the lexicographers the valuable lexicographical information on how words have actually been used, which words are commonly used by most Nepali people in their writings, and how the meaninga of the English words have undergone some changes in the local contexts. The introduction of different NE lexical items (corpora) and their meaning has significance for lexicographers. The borrowed words from different languages, affixation, compounding, modification, coinage, unusual words, semantic broadening and narrowing, amelioration and

pejoration, which have been analyzed and interpreted in the study, help the lexicographers to make a dictionary.

Grammar Writing

Although the present study is on the lexical items and the lexical features of NE, it may also provide some insights to the grammarians. It makes the grammarians aware of the actual use of English. As most examples are presented at the sentence level, grammarians can see how sentences are formed in NE. Particularly, compounding, e.g. Noun + Noun compounds and Adjective + Noun compounds, and affixation have direct relevance for the grammarians.

Sociolinguistics, Discourse Analysis, Semantics, and Pragmatics

The present study provides invaluable information to the sociolinguists, discourse analysts, and those working in the field of semantics and pragmatics. As NE is itself a variety of English, sociolinguists, from this study, might be familiar with what kind of variety of English is emerging in Nepal and how the Nepali people speak and write English in the Nepali context. They can study the data collected and examples presented in the study to see what sorts of words from Nepali and other languages are codemixed in the English texts. Similarly, discourse analysts can study kinship terms, terms of address, greetings and other social functions, reduplication, and compounding of the present study and get some insights on how people take part in discourse and what particular words they produce or use in their discourse. The study provides both semantic and pragmatic information to those working in the field of semantics and pragmatics. The NE lexical items provide different denotative and connotative or cultural meanings which are different from other varieties of English.

Teacher Education

The teacher education programs need to incorporate the concepts of WEs. The local context must be considered while designing the models used in teacher education or pedagogy in all three Circles of Englishes (Baumgardner & Brown, 2003). The teacher education programs need to produce the teachers who are competent enough to handle the local variety of English as well as other varieties of English. This study provides some information to the in-service and pre-service teachers about the lexical items and the lexical features of NE and teachers' perspectives on it. Similarly, the teacher educators, to make their programs effective, need to take the local realities of English usage into account.

Future Research

This study limits its area on the lexical features of NE as well as the strategies used by NE speakers to hybridize, create, and nativize English at the lexical level and only the six English teachers' perspectives on NE. However, the present corpus and examples of NE will arouse the interests in corpus linguistics as well as contact linguistics and might attract further researchers into these areas. The study will inspire the future researchers who can follow the footstep of the present researcher to compile larger data on NE in both spoken and written forms. For further researchers, I recommend the following things to do:

1. Future researchers can study hybridity, contextualization, bilinguals' creativity, transcultural creativity, and nativization of NE at the phonological, grammatical, sematic, and discourse levels.

2. They can carry out further research on the differences between NE on lectal continuum (acrolect, basilect, and mesolect).

3. Further studies can include the age variable, that is, comparison between NE lexis of young Nepali people with those of older and educated Nepali people.

4. Future researchers can verify the present research results by collecting larger corpora and in-depth studies.

5. The researchers can carry out the geographical and ethnic differences in NE.

6. Further studies can be carried out on NE lexis used in social networks such as facebook and twitter.

7. The researchers can carry out their studies on the role of nativization (linguistic, cultural, pragmatic, and creative) in comprehending the texts.

8. Further research can be carried out on the perspectives of the learners, the teacher educators and the policy makers on NE.

In a nutshell, my research is based on content and multimodal analysis of data collected from only some resources in terms of lexical perspectives as well as English teachers' perspectives on NE. If larger spoken and written data on NE are collected and analyzed, more lexical features of NE can be explored. As there are still limited studies carried out on NE academically, my research has opened the door for those who are willing to carry out research on NE in any of the areas pointed out above.

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APPENDIX I

Interview Questionnaire

Date:……………….

………………..

……………….

Subject: Participation in the Interview

Dear Sir/Madam:

I am Shankar Dewan, an M.Phil. scholar at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Education, Nepal Open University. This open-ended questionnaire has been prepared in order to collect required information for my research work. The research is being carried out under the supervision of Dr. Chandra Kumar Laksamba, Faculty at Nepal Open University. Your co-operation in responding the questions and your responses will have great value in accomplishing my research. I highly appreciate your honest opinion and assure that your names and your responses will remain completely anonymous. I promise that strict confidentiality will be maintained in my study ahead. But your participation is entirely voluntary. You are free to answer or avoid any questions.

Thank you for your active participation.

Researcher

Shankar Dewan

Faculty of Social Science and Education

Nepal Open University, Lalitpur, Nepal

Code: ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐

Researcher:

Participant's name:

Name of institution:

Academic qualification:

Teaching experiences:

1. Have you heard about Nepali English or Nenglish? What is it?

2. Do you speak English or Nepali English? Why?

3. Does Nepali variety of English exist in Nepal? If yes, how do you know that it exists?

4. Are we in the position to call Nepali English or Nenglish, the English used in Nepal? What is your take on it?

5. Does Nepali English differ from British English, American English, and Indian English? Please give some examples.

6. Could you please enumerate the lexical features of Nepali English?

   ❖ Borrowed words:

   ❖ Compound words:

   ❖ Reduplicated words:

- ❖ Hybridized words:

- ❖ Coinage:

- ❖ Sematic broadening:

- ❖ Sematic narrowing:

- ❖ Amelioration (from negative to positive):

- ❖ Pejoration (from positive to negative):

- ❖ Any others:

7. What sort of English words do your students speak in the classroom? Please give some examples.

8. Do you think we should promote Nepali English in Nepal? Why?

9. How do you perceive the prospect of Nepali English?

10. Your suggestions to bring Nepali English in a concrete form?

Thank you for your co-operation.

APPENDIX II

अन्तर्वार्ता प्रश्नावली

मितिः...................

श्रीं.........................

....

विषय:अन्तर्वार्ता सहभागि भईदिनु हुन ।

महोदय,

मेरो नाम शङ्कर देवान हो । म नेपाल खुला विश्वविद्यालय अर्न्तगतको सामाजिक विज्ञान तथा शिक्षाशास्त्र सङ्कायमा एम. फिल. गर्दैछु । यो अन्तर्वार्ता प्रश्नावली मेरो एम. फिल. को शोधपत्र गर्नको लागि आवश्यक सूचना संङ्कलन गर्न तयार गरिएको हो । यो अनुसन्धान नेपाल खुला विश्वविद्यालयका प्राध्यापक आदरणीय डा. चन्द्रकुमार लक्सम्वाको सुपरिवेक्षणमा हुदै आएको छ । यो अनुसन्धान पुरा गर्नको लागि तपाईसँग आवश्यक सूचनाहरु लिनुपर्ने भएको हुनाले तपाईसंग अन्तर्वार्ता लिन आएको छु । तपाईले दिने सूचना को अध्ययनको लागि अति नै महत्वपूर्ण हुने हुँदा सहयोगको अपेक्षा गरेको छु । सोधिएका प्रश्नहरुको उत्तर दिन तपाई स्वातन्त्र हुनुहुन्छ । तपाईले सबै वा केही प्रश्नको उत्तर दिन वा नदिन तपाईको इच्छा अनुसार हुनेछ । त्यसकारण तपाईको सहभागिता स्वेच्छिक रहेको छ । तपाईले दिनुभएको सूचना र तपाईको नाम गोप्य रहने छ । यी सूचनाहरु केवल अनुसन्धानका लागि मात्र प्रयोग गरिने छ ।

तपाईको सक्रिय सहभागिताका लागि धन्यवाद दिन चाहान्छु ।

शोधकर्ता

शङ्कर देवान

एम. फिल.

नेपाल खुला विश्वविद्यालय

सङ्केत: ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

शोधकर्ता:

सहभागीको नाम:

संस्थाको नाम:

शैक्षिक योग्यता:

शिक्षण अनुभव:

(क) तपाईले नेपाली इङ्लीस वा नेङ्लीसको बारेमा सुन्नु भएको छ ? नेपाली इङ्लीस वा नेङ्लीस भनेको के हो ?

(ख) तपाई इङ्लीस वा नेपाली इङ्लीस बोल्नुहुन्छ ? किन ?

(ग) नेपालमा नेपाली प्रकारका इङ्लीस छ त ? छ भन्ने कुरा कसरी थाहा पाउनु भयो ?

(घ) के हामी नेपालमा बोलिन्ने अङ्ग्रेजी भाषालाई नेप्लीज इङ्लीस वा नेङ्लीस भन्न सकिने अवस्थामा छौं ? यस सम्बन्धी तपाईको धारणा के छ ?

(ङ) नेपाली इङ्लीस ब्रिटिश इङ्लीस,अमेरीकन इङ्लीस र इण्डियन इङ्लीस भन्दा फरक छ ? उदाहरण दिनुहोस।

(च) नेपाली इङ्लीसका शाब्दिक बिशेषताको उदाहरणहरु दिन सक्नुहुन्छ ?

● आगान्तुक शब्दहरु :

- संयुक्त शब्दहरु :

- द्वित्व प्रकियाबाट बनेका शब्दहरु :

- मिश्रित शब्दहरु :

- नयाँ आबिस्कार भएका शब्दहरु :

- अर्थ बिस्तार भएका शब्दहरु :

- अर्थ संकुचन भएका शब्दहरु :

- सकरात्मक अर्थ हुदै गएका शब्दहरु :

- नकरात्मक अर्थ हुदै गएका शब्दहरु :

- अन्य केही बिशेषता भएका शब्दहरु :

(झ) तपाईको विद्यार्थीहरु कक्षाकोठामा कस्तो खालको अंङ्ग्रजी शब्दहरु बोल्छन् ? कृपया उदाहरण दिनुहोस ।

(य) तपाईको विचारमा नेपालमा नेपाली इङ्गलीसलाई अघि बढाउनु पर्ला ? किन ?

(ट) तपाईको बिचारमा नेपाली इङ्गलीसको भबिष्य कस्तो छ ?

(ठ) नेपाली इङ्गलीसलाई मुर्त रुप दिन केही सल्लाह दिनुहोस न ?

सहयोगका लागि धन्यबाद ।

APPENDIX III

Diary Keeping

During my research, I heard, saw and read several typical NE words and expressions. I noted down them in my diary. Some of the words and expressions are frequently used in our day-to-communication in Nepal.

• table fan	• crore	• side hero
• ceiling fan	• bigaha	• welcome speech
• Nenglish	• vanwala, taxiwala, rikshawala, tempowala, tractorwala, pocketwala pants, icecreamwala	• auspicious occasion
• Nepanglish		• heighty
• Nepenglish		• hancy
• Neplish		• tower
• Nepalization		• campus
• Nepalese		• don
• Nepaliness	• andazification	• cap topi
• Nepalized	• adkalization	• Neltians, Koshians, Mongolian
• Newarness	• non-Gorkhalis, non-bahuns, non-Janajatis	• Handphone
• pass percent		• Kumbha mela, megha mela
• cent percent		
• black money	• childrenharu, furnitureharu, informationharu	• Ranarchy
• lathi charge		• proudy
• pin drop silence	• cousin brother, cousin sister	• talency
• play back singer		• besty
• how much time	• freeship	• degree
• lemon teako chiya	• sendu, half-pants	• fresh house
• load shedding	• give	• sekuwa corner
	• black color	• sharamless
		• dimagless
		• paisaless

APPENDIX IV

Advertisements/Billboards/Banners

APPENDIX V

Interview Participants

S.N.	Name of Participants	Name of Campus	Qualification
1.	Basudev Dahal	Sukuna Multiple Campus, Sundarharaincha, Morang	M.Ed.
2.	Birendra Kumar Limbu	Letang Campus, Letang, Morang	M. Ed.; M. Phil scholar
3.	Diksha Tumsa	Belbari Multiple Campus, Belbari, Morang	M.Ed.
4.	Govinda Puri	Janata Multiple Campus, Itahari, Sunsari	M. Ed.; M. Phil scholar
5.	Umesh Kumar Khadka	Pathari Multiple Campus, Patharishanischare, Morang	M.Ed.
6.	Usha Kiran Wagle	Mahendra Multiple Campus, Dharan, Sunsari	M. Phil.